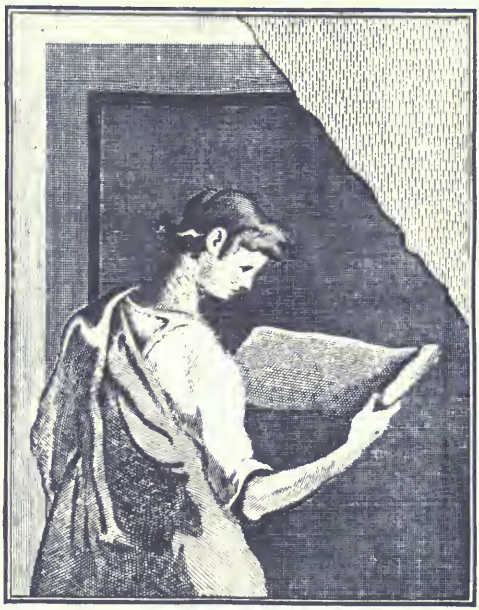

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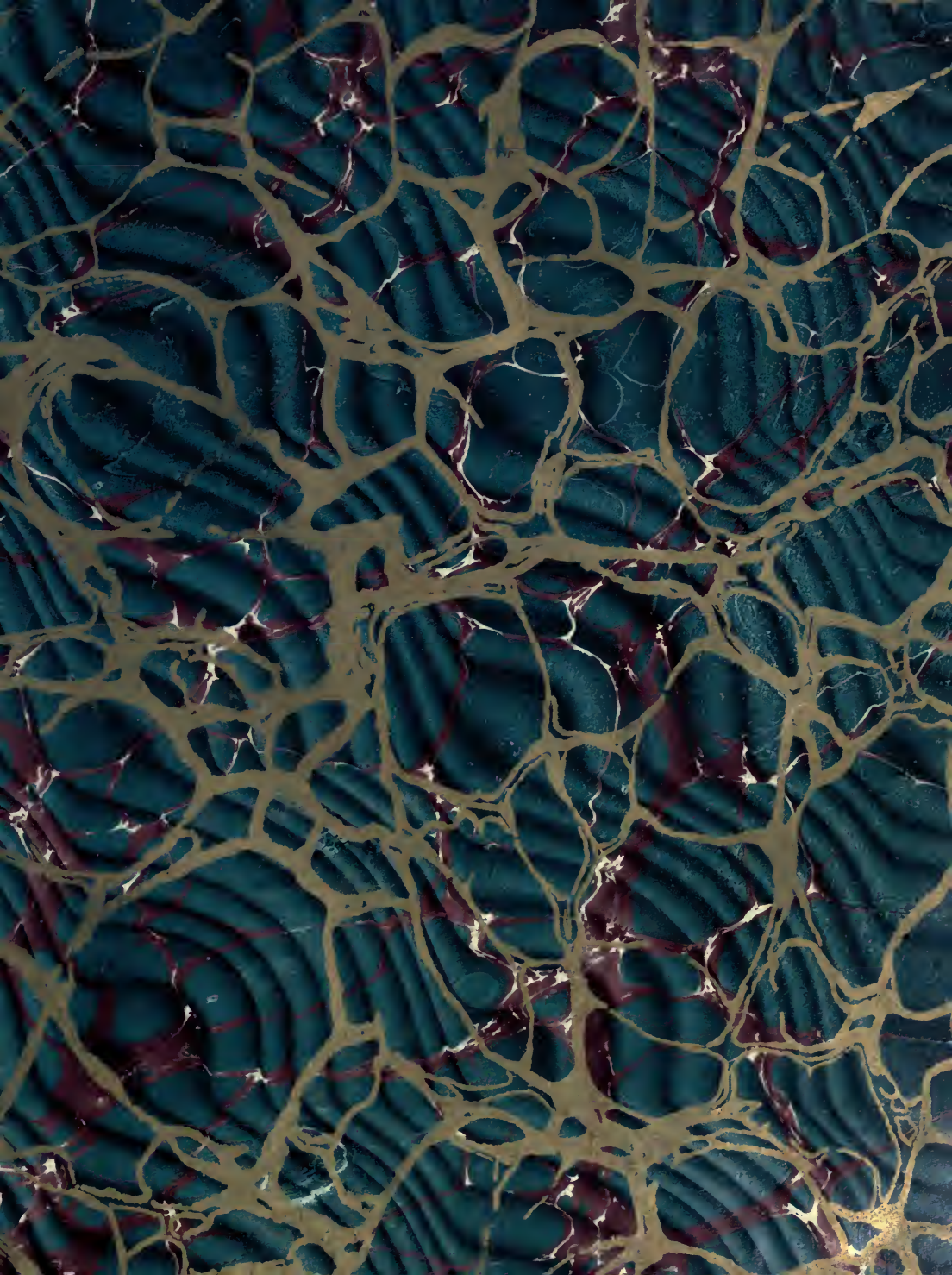

P S PALEY
CASTLE HACKET
1960

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1854.

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FACSIMILES OF THE SIGNATURES OF SOME IRISH CHIEFTAINS, AND ENGLISH COMMANDERS IN ULSTER,

TEMP. ELIZABETH.

THE originals from which these fac-similes have been taken are in the State Paper Office, London. The "Irish Correspondence" is considered the most curious of all the collections in that depository. It extends from Henry VII's. to Queen Anne's time, and comprises very many thousand letters, besides numerous important State documents and papers, written in the stirring days of Elizabeth. Among this voluminous mass there are many letters from the Irish chieftains and English commanders in Ulster. Such letters are, as it were, photographic records, struck off in the heat of the day. They relate historic facts more vividly, and it may be with more truth, than has been done either by the English chroniclers or Gaelic annalists. They are mostly addressed to the Secretaries of State,—shrewd Walshingham, great Burleigh, and his son, astute Cecil. When written by suppliant Irishmen to such potent ministers they contain the special pleading of their suits, and are full of passages illustrative of the social and political history of the time. Letters such as these are the *pabulum* of archæologists, local and national historians, painters, romance writers, and poets.

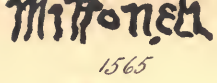
1. & 2.—JOHN, OR SHANE O'NEILL, Chief of the Cinel-Owen, or Clan-O'Neill, and ruler of Tyrone. He was sometimes called *Shane-an-Diomais*, i.e., John the Proud, or Ambitious; but usually Shane *Donghaileach*, having been fostered by O'Donnelly. This extraordinary man's letters, composed in the Latin language, are numerous, and are highly characteristic of the writer and his country. Some of their addresses exhibit the nomad style of life of this leader of predatory and insurrectionary bands.—He dates one, "*Ex finibus de Tirconail*," when about to wage war with the neighbouring sept of O'Donnells; and another, "*Ex silvis meis*," when driven by the English soldiers into a woody fastness. The Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Sussex, in a reply to one of these letters, remonstrates at their proud tone. Their ambitious tenor bears out the *soubriquet* of the arrogant writer, and their wit and spirit shew that his mind was as vigorous as his body. He does not sign his Christian name; but "MISI O'NEILL."—BY ME THE SON OF NEILL!

A notice of this formidable chieftain at page 159 of this Journal may here be referred to, and the following particulars subjoined. Shane O'Neill took upon him the rulership of his clan on the death of his father, Con, first Earl of Tyrone: but, as his right was disputed by Hugh, Baron of Dungannon, on whose father that title, with right of succession to the Earldom, had been conferred by the Crown, his authority was unacknowledged by the State. His precarious power rested solely, therefore, on the attachment of those warlike swordsmen of the clan who supported his claim, and was only to be up-

held by leading them to battle and plunder. Involved in an hereditary and deadly feud with the O'Donnells, his earliest achievement was to surprise their chief, his own father-in-law, and carry him and his wife away prisoners. The lady was daughter of the Hebridean island-laird, McLean, and widow of an Earl of Argyle; and annalists say, that although O'Donnell was at length ransomed and released, his wife was not restored to him, but altogether detained by the lawless captor, to whom she bore several children. One of these was a son, called Hugh *Gaveleach*, or Hugh of the Fetters, because his mother was in prison at the time of his birth. The annals add that Shane's own wife, Mary O'Donnell, died of anguish and horror at the severities inflicted by her savage lord on her father before her very eyes!

Shane O'Neill is described as an immoderate devotee of Bacchus and Venus. Although his cellars at Dundrum contained some 200 tuns of excellent Spanish wine, his favourite beverage was native *usquebaugh*; of which he drank oft-times so copiously that he was customarily placed in a pit, and covered with mould to his chin, to cool his heated body!—a *panaceum* in which this mighty toper anticipated the "earth-bath" of modern empirics. His visit to Court, and the description of the strange appearance his outlandishly-attired body-guard presented in London, are well-known. One of the most curious of his letters is addressed to the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, desiring their influence with the king of France to induce that monarch to send an army to aid him in restoring the Catholic faith; and reminding them of a singular incident which occurred one day when they and the writer were present at a grand hunt in England, when their brother transfixed two stags with a single arrow. In the summer of 1561, Lord Sussex, renowned for his military skill, marched into Ulster with a considerable force, to chastise this rebellious chieftain; but came off with so little triumph in an engagement, as to cause Burleigh much anxiety in breaking the news of the disaster to her Majesty. [Wright's Elizabeth, vol. I. p. 67.] Sussex's atrocious attempt to procure the assassination of so troublesome an enemy is related in Moore's History of Ireland. The death of this turbulent man was at last contrived by the governor of Carrickfergus, Sir William Piers, who prevailed on the leader of a band of Hebridean Scots to come over, under the pretence of aiding Shane in his insurrectionary designs, and then quarrel with and kill him. He was murdered at Cushendun, in Glenarm, near the cliffs on which the Scots, who acted as auxiliaries in the Irish intestine wars, used to make their signal-fires for more men from Cantire. The place where he met his tragic end is thus indicated in old Norden's map: "Here Shane O'Neill was slayne."

3. Sir Turlough Luineach O'Neill.—Called *Luineach* from having been fostered by O'Luinigh. He was son of Neill Conallach, second son of Con More, and was nephew to the first Earl of Tyrone. During the dynasty of Shane the Proud, he acted as his "chief-governor," being his chosen *Tanist*, lieutenant, or successor-elect to the chieftancy,—to which he succeeded after the murder of Shane. Campion, writing during the life of Sir Turlough, states that it was he who practised with the Hebridean leader, Alexander oge McDonnell, to put Shane to death; but this surmise can be proved unfounded upon better informed authority, and is controverted by the fact that, immediately after succeed-



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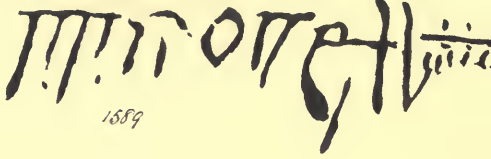

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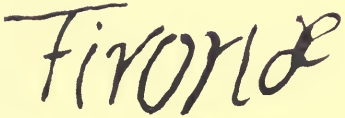

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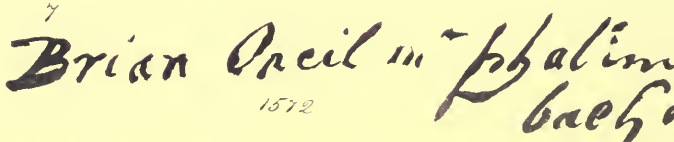

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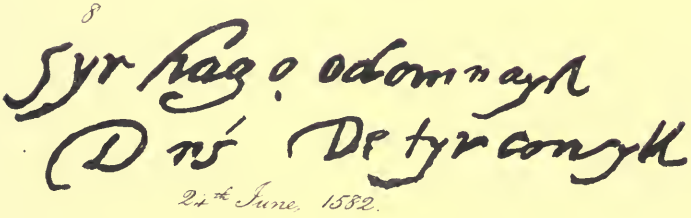

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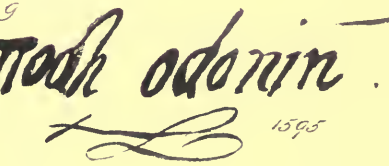

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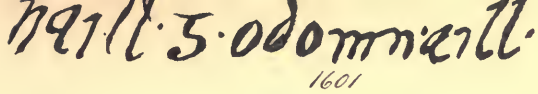
FAC-SIMILES of the SIGNATURES of some NORTHERN IRISH CHIEFTAINS and ENGLISH COMMANDERS in ULSTER in the reign of ELIZABETH.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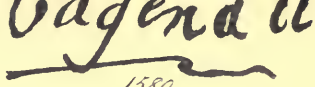
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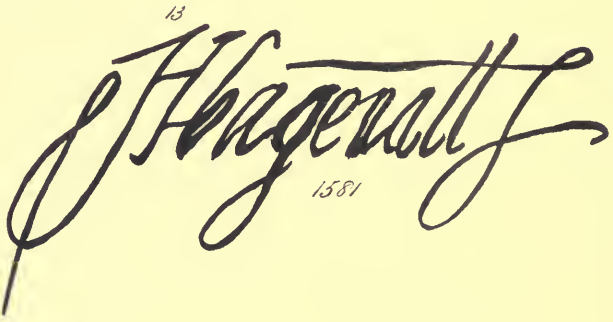
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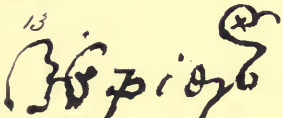
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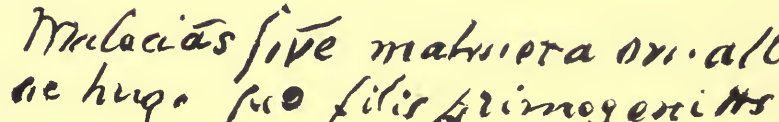
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Paris, 28th Oct. 1582

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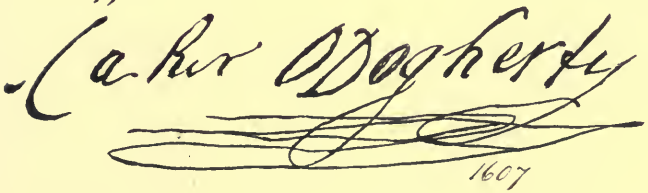
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FAC-SIMILES of the SIGNATURES of some NORTHERN IRISH CHIEFTAINS and ENGLISH COMMANDERS in ULSTER in the reign of ELIZABETH

ing to the chieftainey, he attacked the Hebrideans, and slew their perfidious captain. Fierce contention as to the succession arose between himself and Hugh, Baron of Dungannon (afterwards Earl of Tyrone,) but he was at length established as head of the clan:—for all the power of England could not force the clansmen to accept a chief otherwise than at their own choice. Dreading that remarkable man, whose claim was recognized by Government, and elbowed by the powerful English commanders who had recently settled in Ulster, Turlough endeavoured to strengthen his interest by alliances, and by demonstrating his military strength without risking his clan or himself. In 1567 he made an offer of marriage to the sister of Marshal Sir Nicholas Bagenal's wife; promising, if his suit were accepted, to retain six English gentlewomen and twenty English men to wait on her. The contumacious Marshal, in his hearty distaste of Celtic chieftains and their slippery connubial arrangements, declared he had rather "she were burnt!" Disappointed in his search for a *Sassenach* spouse, (in which it would have been politic to have aided him,) he threw himself into the arms of a Scottish one, allying himself with a powerful family in a kingdom then inimical to England, by marrying a daughter of the Earl of Argyle, and widow of McDonnell, Lord of Cantire. The influence already exercised by the Campbells in the North of Ireland was strengthened by this match, and was afterwards exerted much to the annoyance of Elizabeth.

In 1575, when the admirable Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, made an expedition into Ulster, Turlough Luineach, was one of the four northern chiefs who saw fit to make their submission. He would not, at first, trust his own person within the English camp, but sent his wife to meet the Viceroy; "and she," writes the chronicler Hooker, "being a woman veric well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then Earl of Argyle, was very desirous to have her husband live like a good subject, and that he should be nobilitated." O'Neill shortly after "came in" to the Lord Deputy, and submitted himself without any conditions;—a course deemed in those days a singular example of confidence. A patent was prepared creating him Baron of Clogher and Earl of Clan-Connell. He however at this period despised these titles, in the plenitude of his unharnessed rule as a Celtic chieftain.

After the political calm which ensued on the destruction of the great Earl of Desmond, and before the vigorous Sir John Perrott came over as Lord Deputy, the northern chiefs conspired to make a bold attempt to throw off the foreign yoke. Turlough was at the head of this confederacy, and in order to sound the disposition and enlist the assistance of all who might be prevailed on to join, dispatched trusty messengers to the principal lords of native birth who were inimical to the State. He assigned, as motives for the meditated revolt, certain promises he had received to be elected King of Ireland, and the smallness of the force the *Sassenach* then had in the land, with no great martialist to lead it, declaring "it were a pitie to let slip so fair an occasion." But the southern clans were found to be in so shattered a condition,—their leaders either slain, in exile, or heart-broken,—that their support could not be counted on, and the intended revolt was nipped in the bud.

It is stated in Sir John Perrott's memoirs that in the year 1585 this veteran toparch, finding

himself, through age and infirmity, unable to govern his extensive region and keep order among the insubordinate inferior chiefs, offered to surrender portions of territory to the Earl of Tyrone, and to his own son, Sir Arthur O'Neill. Government were well content with this proposal, as tending to hasten the dismemberment of the clan, and the abolition of that potent sway the "great O'Neill" had wielded for many centuries. Becoming year by year less able to rule or lead the warlike among his rude followers, or defend their possessions from attack, he leant more humbly on the State for countenance and support; and, in the words of Perrott's memoirs "the more conformable he shewed himself to obey the Government, the less obedience his own people paid him :—the people of those parts little regarding governors that are obedient to the prince, or unable to lead their stirring spirits in such actions as they were inured withal." Finding his authority thus on the decline, he entered into an agreement making certain concessions to his youthful and ambitious rival, Lord Tyrone :—but soon repented of them, and warned the officers of State that "they had raised up a whelp they would not easily pull down:"—meaning the young Earl, whose aspiring mind he well knew. Marshal Sir Henry Bagenal, who inherited from his father a hatred for the whole tribe of the Cinel-Owen, and whose fortunes were built on weakening them, and were to be enlarged by their downfall, adds this postcript to a despatch dated 9th September, 1595 :—"Since writing of my letter old O'Neyle (Turlough) is dead, and the Traitor (Hugh, Earl of Tyrone) gone to the Stone to receive that name." The stone on which the chiefs of the Cinel-Owen were inaugurated was at Tullaghoge, near Dungannon. Camden writes of it as—"Ublogahell, where O'Neill the haughty tyrant of Ulster, used to be crowned in the barbarous manner of his country."

4, 5, & 6.—Hugh O'Neill, Earl on Tyrone.—His father, Ferdoragh, was putative son of Con, 1st Earl of Tyrone, by the wife of a smith of Dundalk. By the custom of Tanistry illegitimate sons had equal claim to be elected to the chieftaincy of their sept with legitimate, and the old Earl destined the succession to his favourite, Ferdoragh, "a lusty horseman and tried souldiour". He even prevailed on Henry VIII. to sanction his wish and the young warrior was created Baron of Dungannon by patent, with a clause making him heir-apparent to the Earldom. This provision was prejudicial to the earl's indubitable son, Shane the Proud, who, just before his father's death removed the obstacle to his own succession to the chieftaincy by slaying the Baron, declaring he was no child of *his* father, but son of the Dundalk smith.

Hugh O'Neill, when a young orphan nobleman, was protected by the State from the jealous malevolence of his father's murderer, and went over to the English Court, where he was well received, and resided in London for some time. He commanded a troop of horse in the Queen's pay, and served so loyally during Desmond's rebellion and on other occasions that he was rewarded with a yearly allowance from the Exchequer of one thousand marks. The experience he acquired in military affairs while in the royal army, afterwards enabled him to discipline his wild clan and Scottish auxiliaries, and lead them against that army to victory. During the dynasty of Turlough Luineach he was supported, as Baron of Dungannon in Tyrone, by successive viceroys, as a check upon that formidable ruler, and

persuaded them he never intended to assume the dangerous authority of a Celtic chief, but that he would comport himself as amenably to the laws as the Anglicized Earls of Thomond and Clanricard;—while all the time he covertly ingratiated himself so much with the leading men of his sept that, on Turlough's death, he was inaugurated THE O'NEILL—an honour he prized beyond all others, and a name "in comparison of which," writes Camden, "the very title of Cæsar is contemptible in Ireland." Even so early as 1592, before the death of his aged and feeble predecessor, he assumed the name of THE O'NEILL, and signed by that title in writing to Gaelic chieftains, sinking the *Sassenach* rank, to which he had been elevated, of Earl of Tyrone.

Moryson describes this remarkable man as of "mean stature, but strong in body, able to endure labours, watching, and hard fare; being withal industrious, and active, valiant, affable, and apt in the management of great affairs; and of a high, dissembling, subtle, and profound wit; so as many deemed him born either for the great good or ill of his country." Moryson, whose "History of Ireland" from 1599 to 1603 is in fact a narrative of the suppression of the general rebellion headed by Tyrone, accuses the Earl of acting as a dissembling traitor, in simultaneously offering submission to Elizabeth and treating with the Spanish King for military aid. From the dispersal of the Armada to the defeat of the Spanish invaders and Tyrone's forces at Kinsale, the monarchs of Spain constantly supported the great Irish rebel as a strong instrument of offence against Elizabeth.

Tyrone came in frequent collision with Marshal Bagenal, who, as commander of the Northern garrisons and representative of Government, zealously exposed the treasonable designs of his desperate neighbour; but in one instance acted with cruel injustice in detaining letters the Earl had, before he was proclaimed a traitor, addressed to the Queen, explanatory of his conduct and offering terms of submission. Both Celtic chief and Saxon general reciprocated the bitterest animosity. The elopement of Mabel Bagenal, Sir Henry's beautiful sister, with the fascinating rebel added fresh fuel to this enmity. At the famous battle of the Blackwater, when Bagenal led the royal forces, Tyrone, full of "rage of envy and settled rancour against the Marshal," charged eagerly into the enemy's ranks, seeking to confront his mortal foe;—but he met him not, for the Marshal had already fallen by a chance bullet. The signal routing of the English that day was long remembered by them as "the defeat of the Blackwater." Seventeen gallant captains and eighteen hundred infantry, many of them veterans of Border and Continental warfare, were left dead on the field. Never before on Irish soil had the banner of England sustained so complete an overthrow.

"Who has not heard—while Erin yet
Strove 'gainst the Saxon's iron bit—
Who has not heard how brave O'Neill
In English blood imbrued his steel,
Against St. George's cross blazed high
The banners of his Tanistry,
To fiery Essex gave the foil,

And reign'd a prince in Ulster's soil?
But chief arose his victor pride,
When that brave Marshal fought and died,
And Avon-Duff to ocean bore
Her billows, red with Saxon gore."

Hugh O'Neill now exultingly announced himself the national champion, armed to avenge the wrongs of his countrymen. He roused their deepest sympathies by rallying them to recover their property and freedom, and re-establish their religion. His career is a matter of history, and too extensive a theme for our limits:—many portions of it are as interesting as they are unknown, and might be specially investigated by means of this Journal.

Tyrone, in preferring the name of O'Neill to the title of Earl, made his choice. Elated with pride of place, he ran the fitful course of an independent Gaelic Prince, instead of fulfilling the calm duties of a subordinate peer. The work of conforming his rude people to English law and order was ungenial, and he assumed a defensive and offensive attitude—proudly confiding in the natural defences of his country and the valour of his men. This great and bold Irish falcon, though trained in the mews of the English Court, turned "haggard" on beginning to soar in native air; and then was lured from loyalty by the Continental powers, and flown at that stout quarry—England. The fac-simile dated 1613 is taken from a letter written in Rome, where he died in exile, in the year 1616.

7. Sir Brian O'Neill, Chief of the Clan-Hugh-Boy, Lord of Clandeboy, and, according to the Four Masters, chief of the senior stem of the Cinel-Eoghain or Clan O'Neill.—His letter, from whence this fac-simile of his signature is taken, is a remonstrance that his territory of Clandeboy, which he declares had been in the possession of his ancestors for fourteen descents at the least, should be bestowed upon Thomas Smith. The grantee was a natural son of Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and, on landing in 1571 to establish himself in the Ardes, was attacked and slain. Two years afterwards, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, came over with the intention of subduing the fertile parts of Ulster, (the Queen having granted him the moiety of the seigniories of Clandeboy, Ferney, &c., *si rebelles submoverent)*, and took up his quarters in Carrickfergus. He was strenuously resisted by Sir Brian, whose country was thus menaced. According to Camden, Sir Brian was head of a powerful sept of the O'Neills, and lord of a fertile and wealthy district; his own herd of kine numbering no less than 60,000 horns. A truce was entered into the following year between the Earl and the chieftain; when, to celebrate it, O'Neill prepared a grand feast, to which the Viceroy and English officers of state were invited, and three days and nights were passed in revelry:—but, in the end, Essex seized his host, slew 200 of his followers, and carried him off captive to Dublin, where he was executed.

8. Sir Hugh O'Donnell, Chief of the Cinel-Conaill, and Lord of Tyrconnel, son of Manus, Lord of Tyreonnel, who died 1563.—The particulars of his life are given in the Annals of the Four Masters.

9. Hugh Roe O'Donnell, son of Sir Hugh.—The signature, of which the fac-simile is given, is af-

fixed to his submission, dated 1595. In the words of a memoir of the O'Donnells, in the appendix to the above-mentioned Annals :—"History does not present a more chivalrous and devoted Irishman than Hugh Roe proved himself to be during his short and eventful career." The cotemporary biography of this extraordinary man is one of the most interesting and instructive pieces of Irish History, and it may be hoped will be published at some future time by means of this Journal.

10. Sir Neill Garve O'Donnell.—Fourth son of Con, who was excluded from the chieftainship of his clan by his uncle Sir Hugh. There is a full notice of this knight, who was called "the Queen's O'Donnell," in the above-named memoir.

11. Sir Nicholas Bagenal.—A native of Staffordshire, who came into this kingdom in 1542, under circumstances related in the 3rd volume of the printed State Papers, page 439; and having at the instance of Con, 1st Earl of Tyrone, obtained pardon,* settled in the North, where he and his son became the supplanting enemies of the O'Neills. He obtained grants of a large tract in Downshire, and around Newry, a town commenced by him, and the castle of which he built and resided in. He was appointed Marshal of Queen Elizabeth's armies in Ireland, a post in which his son, Sir Henry, succeeded him.

12. Sir Henry Bagenal.—Son of the above. The Marshal celebrated in "Rokeby." He wrote a Description of the state of Ulster in the year 1587; the original is in the State Paper Office, and there is a copy in the Carew MSS.

13. Sir William Piers.—Governor of Carrickfergus. He received the reward of 1,000 marks promised by proclamation to any one who should bring in the head of the rebel Shane O'Neill. From this officer descended Sir Henry Piers. Bart. of Tristernagh, in Westmeath, who, in 1682, wrote the description of that county printed in Vallancey's Collectanea; the first of the only two of the many curious descriptions of the counties of Ireland written at the same time for the information of Sir William Petty, which as yet have been published.

14. Malachias or Maelmora O'Reilly, and his eldest son Hugh.—Their letter is addressed to the Queen, desiring to borrow the large sum of £1,169, which they engage to repay in *cows*. Sir Hugh O'Reilly became Chief of Breifney (part of the present county of Cavan) and died in the year 1583, when a fierce controversy arose as to the succession between his son Sir John, and Edmond an illegitimate brother of the deceased. While the bastard claimed under the Celtic custom as Tanist, or successor-elect, to the leadership of the clan, Sir John founded his claim on the English law of

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*Lord Deputy and Council to Henry VIII, 7th December, 1542.—"And whereas at the repaire of the Erle of Tyrone into these parts, he made humble and earnest suit unto us to be mean to your Majesty for the pardon of one Nycholas Bagnalde, late your Highnes' servant, who by chance (as the thing is to us declared) was in company of certain lyght personnes, wher ther was slayne one of your Majesty's subjects, for the whiche the sayde Nycholas hither fledde, and hath sythens doon here very honest and paynefull servyce; and therefore, at the humble suete of the sayde Erle, we moste lowely beseche your Majesty to be so good and gracious lorde unto him as to graunt him your most gracious pardon."—In reply the king writes :—"And of our especial grace, at your like sutes, and the sute of our cousin the Erle of Tyron, have also pardoned Nicholas Bagnald; not doubting but he woll heraftre use himself as apperteyneth.
State Papers, London, 4to. 1834. Vol. III pp. 439, 442.

hereditary succession to the ownership of the country. It would seem, by the above-mentioned letter, wherein the eldest son joins his father as security for repayment of the required loan, that the main line of the O'Reillys were anxious, like many others among the Celtic septs, to substitute the law of hereditary and primogenitural succession for the irregular and faction-fraught custom of election. A document describing the rents, duties, and customs, paid to O'Reilly by his tenantry is printed in the first volume of the publications of the Celtic Society, and is curiously elucidatory of the social history of the Gael.

15. Sir Hugh Magennis—Chief of Iveagh in the county of Down; was elected one of the knights of the shire for that county in 1585; his colleague being Sir Nicholas Bagenal.

16. Brien McGeoghegan, 1582.—This letter is dated Paris, whither the writer had fled after having slain his brother, as related by the Four Masters.

17. Sir Cahir O'Doherty.—Son of Sir John O'Doherty, Lord of Inishowen. The above-mentioned annalists write of his nomination to the chieftainship in 1601 by an English general, and of his quarrel in 1608 with Sir George Paulet, Governor of Derry. His surprise of that fort and the fighting that ensued, occurring after the flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, led to the colonization of Ulster.

Pole-Hore, Wexford, 6th September, 1853.

HERBERT F. HORE.

THE TWO BALLADS ON THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

BY THE REV. DR. HUME.

Some of the readers of your Journal will no doubt be surprised at this heading. One ballad on this subject is well-known; but comparatively few are aware that a much older one, evidently the original, existed till lately. I happen to have been, for several years, a collector of Irish ballads, and I believe that I possess the only perfect copy in existence of this curious document. That it should have passed away so completely from the mouths of the common people, is an illustration of Beauclerk's remark to Dr. Johnson,—that probably not much poetry is preserved by tradition. The learned were never familiar with the ancient ballad, for it lived mainly among Irish Protestants of the middle and lower classes,—and chiefly in Ulster. The style, language, and versification, too, though decidedly vigorous and pleasing, are not sufficiently polished to attract much more than rustic attention. Independent of all this, it is too much of a ballad, and too little of a song; that is to say, it is too completely a metrical narrative, to retain its place by the side of a shorter composition. Though it is scarcely necessary to defend its genuineness, when many hundreds of your readers know whole stanzas, and will be able, perhaps, to recognise every line of it, yet, for the sake of the more sceptical, it may be well to consider both the external and the internal evidence.

I. External Evidence. (1.) The old form of the ballad was the only one which I knew in early life, or which appeared to be then in print. I recollect well that it was in 1825 or 1826, that I first heard the more modern ballad. It was called "*The Battle of the Boyne;*" whereas the other had always been known as "*The Boyne Water.*" The first copy of the former that I ever saw, was printed on the margin of a broadside, the principal feature of which was a man on horseback crossing a river. It is not improbable that it was originally composed to suit the limits of a "chap" publication of the time, and that it obtained its rapid popularity, by the picture which it accompanied forming a cottage decoration. (2.) My grandmother was born in 1739, and in her early days, as I have often heard her relate, conversed with the heroes of the Boyne. She possessed the acquaintance of Bishop Percy, and was familiar with ballad lore; yet she never knew any ballad on the subject except the old one. (3.) A fragment of it from the recollection of the late Mr. M'Skimmin, of Carrickfergus, was published by Mr. Duffy, in his "Ballad Poetry of Ireland," in 1845. But five years previous to that date, an elder brother of mine who resides in Belfast, together with myself, both of us being possessed of very retentive memories, had written it out nearly complete. Within the last four years also, I received a full copy of it from the hands of a trustworthy correspondent, in the parish of Ballymena, Mr. David Herbison, affording the most complete verification of the correctness of my own copy. (4.) By means of persons interested, more or less, in inquiries of this kind, I have been able

to identify the ballad at the following additional points, viz., Clones, Dungannon, Lurgan, Rathfriland, Waringstown, and Hillsborough. Thus, it existed among the Protestant people in districts which are respectively English, Irish, and Scotch. (5.) The late Mr Johnson of Ballykilbeg House, near Downpatrick, who was well informed on these subjects, always assigned July 1814 as the date of the modern ballad. It is said that his son possesses a manuscript copy of a portion of the original one, more than a century old. (6.) Mr. Crofton Croker, a native of the county Cork, is not aware of the existence of the latter. He makes no allusion to it in his "Historical Songs of Ireland, illustrative of the Revolution," published for the Percy Society, in 1841. I have been told, too, that the Rev. Dr. Tresham Gregg, in his remarks on the ballad, seems only to know of the existence of the modern one.

II. Internal Evidence. (1.) The narrative is a much more complete one than that in the modern ballad, and contains a statement of the events during one remarkable day. The other gives a general view of the various transactions; and mixes up without regard to time or place, the events of the 30th of June and the 1st of July. The third verse of the modern ballad is obviously a poetic fiction, the writer, in that and in other parts, being desirous to say something, though with small materials. The more minute account is such as people would delight to possess, for the first two generations after the event—the more sketchy narrative is perhaps better suited for the multitude in these remote times. (2.) The ancient ballad is evidently written by an eye-witness. It is, in short, a personal narrative. The minuteness of detail can only be explained in one of two ways—viz., either as a true description of a series of great incidents, or as a perfect fiction, like a creation of De Foe's. But so far as history notices them, it is, throughout, corroborative of these details. Numerous instances are mentioned in the notes. (3.) From the particular position which the speaker is supposed to occupy, he must have fought in the left wing of William's army, that is, in the division nearest Drogheda, which the King led in person. This was composed of Dutch and Danish troops, with a few French Protestants, the Enniskillen Dragoons, and English soldiers. The authorship of the ballad is confined, of course, to one of the two last. (4.) The writer was evidently an Irishman, for the composition is full of Hibernicisms, as "shouldher," to rhyme with "powder," "trimble," to rhyme with "nimble," and the expression "bear a hand" in reference to the active exertion of the Enniskilleners. The last verse but one, contains a striking Hibernicism where "further" is made to rhyme with "murder." We know that *d* and *th* are interchangeable, as in burden and burthen; but we have only to Hibernicise both words and they rhyme perfectly, *furd-ther* and *murd-ther*. (5.) Two reasons suggest that the writer was of Scottish ancestry, not of English; one being the use of such a term as "*brae*" for the steep bank of the river, the other the introduction of scriptural allusion, in some degree characteristic of that age. The theory of Mr. Robert Blakey in his History of Political Literature, is, that all such has originally had a religious basis. This was eminently the case in the battles and literature of the Revolution; and at all times, such allusions were common with the Scotch. (6.) In poetry, which is called common measure, there may be double rhymes or single ones, the latter merely requiring the second and fourth lines to harmonise. This is all that is attempted, and all that could be expected, in the

* See "Irish Book Lover" Vol. 1. p. 5 where it is stated that at the Beaufort [illegible] a Copy of "Collection of Loyal Songs Sung in Orange Lodges" in 2 parts, 1798, contained the later version.

ancient ballad—and some of the rhymes are rude enough, and for that reason, proof of the genuineness of the ballad. The last verse contains double rhymes, and allusions of a national, rather than of a civil character. It is, therefore, probably an interpolation of modern times. The more modern ballad aims at smoother versification throughout, and in this way, no doubt, secured the popular ear. But the English vulgarisms which it contains, such as "don't deserve," for "does not deserve," and "a'ter" for *after*, (to rhyme with "water") should have ensured its condemnation among Irish Protestants of national feeling. These remarks will be confirmed, and no doubt similar ones suggested, by the perusal of the two ballads, which I have arranged nearly according to the sequence of events. The notes explain almost all that is necessary to be known.

THE BOYNE WATER.

July the first, in a morning clear,[a]
  One thousand six hundred and ninety,[b]
King William did his men prepare,
  Of thousands he had thirty;[c]
To fight King James and all his host,
  Encamped near the Boyne Water,
He little feared, though two to one,[d]
  Their multitudes to scatter.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

July the first, in Oldbridge Town,
  There was a grievous battle,[a]
Where many a man lay on the groun'
  By cannons that did rattle.[b]
King James he pitched his tents between
  The lines for to retire;[c]
But King William threw his bomb-balls in,
  And set them all on fire.[d]

Thereat enraged, they vowed revenge
  Upon King William's forces,[e]
And oft did cry vehemently,
  That they would stop his courses.
A bullet from the Irish came,
  And grazed King William's arm;
They thought his Majesty was slain;
  Yet it did him little harm.[f]

---

[a] The weather was fine, and the morning remarkably beautiful.

[b] The rustic poet is particular in his details, as in the matter of dates.

[c] On reviewing his troops at Loughbrickland, near Newry, he was said to have 36,000; but the number in the text is more correct.

[d] The amount of James's force has been differently stated; it probably amounted to 50,000, besides the 6,000 auxiliaries just received from France.

[a] At this village, the principal part of the fight occurred.

[b] This is a poetic embellishment; very few were killed by cannon shot.

[c] It is difficult to understand this half verse. King James's tents were pitched in a double line along the south bank of the river; on his right was the fortified town of Drogheda; on his left the entrenchments and breastworks of the ford.

[d] [e] More poetic embellishments, entirely at variance with the facts. The cannonading from William's troops took place *after* he was wounded, not *before;* both events occurring on the evening of June 30th.

[f] It tore his coat, lacerated the flesh, and occasioned a difficulty in using the sword arm. He said to Lord Coningsby who applied his handkerchief, "it should have come nearer;" and he is supposed to have added, "every bullet has its billet."

King William called[e] his officers, 2
Saying "gentlemen mind your station,
And let your valour here be shown
Before this Irish nation.
My brazen walls let no man break;
Our subtle foes we'll scatter: 3
See that you shew good English play,
This day at the Boyne Water."

His officers they bowed full low,
In token of subjection,
Said they "My liege you need not fear, 4
We'll follow your direction."[f]
He wheeled his horse[g]—the hautboys played,
Drums they did beat and rattle[h]
And Lilli-bur-lero[i] was the tune
We played going down to battle. 5

Both foot and horse we marched on, 6
Intending them to batter;
But brave Duke Schomberg he was shot,
As he crossed over the water.

Duke Schomberg then in friendly care,[g]
His King would often caution.
To shun the spot where bullets hot,
Retained their rapid motion.
But William said "he don't deserve,
The name of Faith's defender,
Who would not venture life and limb,
To make a foe surrender."

When we the Boyne began to cross,
The enemy they descended;[h]
But few of our brave men were lost,
So stoutly as we defended.

---

[e] This was in the morning of July 1st. He had addressed them late on the previous evening, assigning the badge which they were to wear, a green sprig, to distinguish them from James's men, who wore white cockades.

[f] If this dialogue really took place, as in all probability it did, it must have been about ten o'clock, on the morning of the first of July: as the crossing of the river took place about half-past ten.

[g] The remark of an eye-witness, obviously.

[h] The histories state that the Dutch Blue Guards beat a march, down to the water's edge.

[i] This is the air now popularly known as the "Protestant Boys." It was first published in 1661, and was afterwards used in singing the burlesque lines called Lillibur-lero, by which popular ridicule was brought to bear powerfully against King James and his party. The poem is in two parts, only one of which is given by Percy or Mr. Duffy: but both may be found in Mr. Crofton Croker's "Historical Songs, &c." Bishop Burnet says in his "History of his own Times,"—"A foolish ballad was made at that time, treating the papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a

[g] The whole of this verse is imaginary. There was no opportunity for frequency of threats or cautions: and the wound was received not in battle, but in a military inspection beforehand.

[h] Not strictly correct. The enemy lay behind their intrenchments and poured in a heavy fire, just as William's men had got fairly entangled in the stream.

And when King William he perceived,[7]
The brave Duke Schomberg falling,
He reined his horse[k] with a heavy, heavy, heart,
And the Enniskillen men he called.

"What will you do for me brave boys;
See, yonder's men retreating,[l]
Our enemies encouraged are,
And our English drums are beating.[m]
I'll go before and lead you on;[n]
Boys use your hands full nimble;
With the help of God we'll beat them down,
And make their hearts to tremble."[8]

The Enniskillen men they did not know,
It was their king spoke to them,
But when informed of their mistake,
They bowed full low unto him:
"We'll go before—stay you behind,[9]
And do[o] not cross the water.
Old Britain's lamp shall clearly shine,[10]
And our enemies we'll scatter."

The horse were the first to venture o'er,
The foot soon followed after;
But brave Duke Schomberg was no more,
By venturing over the water.

When valiant Schomberg he was slain,
King William he accosted
His warlike men for to march on,
And he would be the foremost;[i]
"Brave boys," he said "be not dismayed,
For the loss of one commander,
For God will be our King this day,
And I'll be general under."

---

very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, said to be Irish words, '*Lero lero, lilliburlero*,' that made an impression on the [king's] army, that cannot be imagined by those that saw it not The whole army, and at last the people, both in city and country, were singing it perpetually; and perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect."

[k] Evidently a fact witnessed by the narrator.

[l] One of Schomberg's regiments had been driven back, and the Irish horse had cut their way through the main body to near the water's edge. It is said that Schomberg was killed on the return of these to their own party, either by a shot from one of them, or from one of his own men assailing them.

[m] To rally and concentrate Schomberg's men.

[n] Some of the histories say that this address was delivered at the hill of Donore, where James's men made a firm stand; but if so, William must have appealed *twice* to the Enniskilleners, i.e., before the passage of the river and after it

[o] The order in which the three bodies of William's men crossed is apparent from this. Young Schomberg and General Douglas had crossed at the upper ford of Slane, early in the morning; the Duke had crossed at the middle fords, opposite Oldbridge, and had been killed shortly after reaching the southern bank. King William was conducting the passage of the river at the lowest fords, within a mile of Drogheda, when he saw by the consternation of the troops who had crossed, that something was wrong. The Enniskillen men show a natural anxiety for his personal safety, and beg that he will stay on the side of the river where the battle is not raging,

[i] This verse is not narrative, but Gasconade.

We formed our body at the ford,
And down the brae did swatter, [p]
And each man grasped his fellow close, [q]
As we passed through the water. 11
But oh! my stars had you been there,
When we their trench came under;
Sulphur and smoke darkened the air, [r]
And the elements did thunder. 12

King William he did first advance,
Where bullets sharp did rattle,
The Enniskillen men bore noble hands, [s]
And soon renewed [t] the battle;
Then lion-like we made them roar,
Like chaff we did them scatter;
King William pressed his way through blood,
That day at the Boyne water.

My Lord Galmoye [u] within a crack 13
Of our fore-front [v] advanced,
Both great and gay in rich array,
Like princes' sons they pranced.
In a full body they came down,
With broad sword and caliver, [w] 14
With whip and spur, most Jehu like,
As the devil had been their driver;

Then stoutly we the Boyne did cross,
To give our enemies battle;
Our cannon, to our foes great cost,
Like thundering claps did rattle.
In majestic mein our Prince rode o'er, [k]
His men soon followed after,
With blows and shouts put our foes to rout,
The day we crossed the water.

---

[p] This is a capital description. The words 'brae' and 'swatter,' show precisely the pell-mell manner in which they took the water.

[q] No action could be more natural. It is true that at this season the river is low; yet a rank or breast of men would naturally lock themselves together for greater permanence of footing. On a small scale they constituted a Greek "phalanx," or Roman "testudo."

[r] Strictly true. It was this dreadful cannonade that drove back a regiment of Brandenburghers, under William: some Huguenots also suffered severely.

[s] Bore a hand, that is, played their parts nobly.

[t] After the partial repulse.

[u] In the copies of the ballad as printed and sung, he is called Lord Garmoyle and Calmoyle There never was any such title. The person meant is Piers Butler, third Viscount Galmoye, who commanded a regiment of Irish cavalry, under the Duke of Berwick. In 1697 he was attainted, and his estates were forfeited; but in the meanwhile he had fled to France, where he attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and died without issue, in 1740.

[v] This is a scriptural expression, occuring nine or ten times in the Old Testament. It is best known in connection with the death of Uriah

[w] By the caliver is meant the carabine or blunderbuss, which the horsemen of the period carried. As people do not understand the word, this line is usually altered to the following:

"Their captain the contriver."

[k] It will be observed that this verse contains no description whatever, either of the passage of the river, or the attacks and defences on the opposite side; although on the southern bank there were ten distinct charges It was obviously written by some one utterly ignorant of *details*, who simply knew that a remarkable victory was gained, and that there must have been a reasonable quantity of hard fighting. It does not pretend even to the dignified simplicity of Wellington's account of the Battle of Waterloo;—"we met the enemy, we fought a battle, we gained a victory."

Within ten yards of our fore-front,[x] 15
Before a shot we fired;
But a sudden snuff they got that day;
They little it desired.
For man and horse fell to the ground,
And some hung in their saddles,
And many turned up their forked end,
As we call 'coup the ladles.'[y]

Prince Eugene's[z] regiment was the next,
On our right hand advanced,
Into a field of standing wheat,[a]
Where Irish horses pranced;
But the brandy ran so in their heads,[b]
Their senses soon did scatter;
They little thought to leave their bones,
That day at the Boyne Water.

We turned about, our foes to flank,[c]
Intending them to batter;
But suddenly they did us spy,
And fast began to scatter.
The Irish they ran first away,
The French they soon did follow,[d]
And he that got fastest away,
Was aye the happiest fellow.

"Oh, ree! oh ree!" cried Dermot Roe,[e]
"Oh help, dear Lady Mary,
By my fet we are all dead men this day,
If we do longer tarry."
They threw away both fife and drum, 16
And fireloek from their shoulder;[f]
King William's men pushed very hard,
To smell the English powder.[g]

---

[x] A distanee at which, as William himself said, "every bullet has its billet." The suggested emendations of "four" yards and "two" yards, are repugnant to the sense; but being monosyllables, they do not interfere with the rhyme.

[y] An idiomatie expression, like "coup the creels," or "coup the erans." The effect of the deadly fire which they poured in on the advaneing eavalry, is graphieally deseribed. At Waterloo, it was said that some of the elouds of horsemen seemed to melt away in smoke, as they reached a certain point of proximity to their antagonists.

[z] Prince Eugene, afterwards so distinguished under Marlborough, does not seem to have been present himself; but his regiment naturally formed part of William's allies.

[a] A minute fact, which none but an eye-witness would have described.

[b] The Irish horsemen had probably been nerving themselves in their usual way, and had passed the proper limits.

[c] William being on the left of his own line was opposed to James's right. He therefore wheeled to the right to attack James's eentre at Oldbridge.

[d] This is true, but seareely fair on the part of the poet. The gallant regiment of the well-known Sarsfield, had formed the body guard of James, and therefore retreated with him at the first: but bitter was their sorrow and deep their indignation, at the inglorious part whieh they were compelled to act. The French retreated in bad order.

[e] It is very probable that sueh exelamations were uttered. "Ree" in the text is *Righ* (a king): Dermot is evidently ealling upon both the King and Queen of heaven. "Fet" represents the Irish mode of pronouncing the English *th*; and instances are common in the jocular ballads of the period.

[f] Showl-dher, or rather *show'dher*.

[g] They were desirous to follow the smoke of their own muskets, not to avoid it.

I never saw nor never knew,
Men that for blood so gaped;
But yet I'm sure that three from ten,
Of them that day escaped. [h]
We formed the French on our left wing,
The enemy to batter,
And glorious was our victory,
That day at the Boyne Water.

Both man and horse lay on the ground,
And many there were bleeding.
I saw no sickles there that day,
And yet there was sharp-shearing. [i]
But still the faster we pursued,
The more we did them scatter,
Our hearts were to each other bound,
That day at the Boyne Water.

Had Enniskillen [k] men got leave that day,
When they their foes defeated,
For to pursue the enemy,
That from the field retreated. 17
Ten thousand broguineers [l] and more,
Would not have been much cumber,
Nor James's men have rose again, 18
By the third part of their number.

The Protestants of Drogheda [l]
Have reason to be thankful,
That they were not to bondage brought,
They being but a handful.

---

[h] The men in actual pursuit were not a third of the number of those pursued. It is known that William might have made more use of the victory; nor is this denied by the Abbé MacGeoghegan who slurs over the whole affair in a manner very unusual with him. There were French fighting on both sides in this battle. When Schomberg saw the contingent of Louis opposed to him, he called to the Huguenots by his side, "Allons, messiurs, voila vos persecuteurs," and he died almost with the words on his lips.

[i] The Scottish and Ulster term for reaping the harvest. A curious mistake was made, on the occasion of the Queen's first visit to Scotland, by confounding it with sheep-shearing. The wood cut in the *Illustrated London News*, from a drawing purely imaginary, gave, of course, an incorrect version of the facts.

[k] Farther proof that the writer was an Enniskillen man.

[l] King William is said in popular toasts to have saved us from brass money and wooden shoes.

[l] The modern ballad having omitted all details of the fight, indulges in some reflections. This is easy.—Drogheda was defended by a garrison of 1300 men under Bryan Magennis, Viscount Iveagh. He surrendered the garrison the day after the battle, to Brigadier La Melloniere, whom William had sent for that purpose.

First to the Tholsel they were brought,
And tried at Willmount after;[m]
But brave King William set them free,
By venturing over the water.

The cunning French near to Duleek,
Had taken up their quarters,
And feneed themselves on every side,
Still waiting for new orders;
But in the dead time of the night,
They set the fields on fire,[n]
And long before the morning light,
To Dublin did retire.

Then said King William to his men,
After the French departed,[o]
"I'm glad, (said he,) that none of ye
Seemed to be faint hearted;
So sheathe your swords and rest awhile,
In time we'll follow after;"
These words he uttered with a smile,
The day he crossed the water.

Now praise God all true Protestants,
And heaven's great Creator,
For the deliveranee that he sent,[m]
Our enemies to scatter.
The church's foes shall pine away,
Like churlish-hearted Nabal,
For our deliverer eame that day,
Like the great Zorobabel.

Now praise God all true Protestants,
And I will say no further:
But had the Papists[n] gained the day,
There would have been open murder.

Come let us all with heart and voice,
Applaud our lives' defender;[p]
Who at the Boyne his valour shewed,
And made our foes surrender.

---

[m] Another version has
"Who sent to us a Gideon."

[n] The local term "papishes" is here abandoned for the more correct one, which is probably demanded by the rhyme.

[m] This line is very incorrect. It should be
"And tied at the Millmount a'ter"
They were first thrown into the Tholsel (tollbooth or prison); and afterwards they were tied together and exposed on the mount where William's eannon must have played, had he besieged the town. The word *tholsel* is current in several Irish towns, and is of English origin. There is still a Tolsey, i.e. market-house, or exchange, in Bristol.

[n] This may have been accidental. But it is probable that they hoped to delay William's pursuit by destroying the grain and forage in his route.

[o] This is obviously introduced for the sake of the rhyme. King William would say this at a much earlier period, if at all.

[p] "Lives defender" and "faith's defender" are un-

Although King James and many more,
Were not that way inclined,[o]
Yet it was not in their power to stop,
What the rabble they designed.

[Both France and Spain they did combine, 19
The Pope and Father Peter,[p]
They thought to steep a rod in brine,
Great Britain to whip completer,[q] 20
But Providence to us was kind,[r]
Sent William to cross the water,
Who broke the rod and their black design, 21
And their bones lie at the Boyne Water.]

To God above the praise we'll give,
Both now and ever after;
And bless the glorious memory,[q]
Of William who crossed the Boyne Water.

---

[o] This is generous and true.

[p] This is very like a verse that would be added by some clever member of an Orange Lodge. But it is not in accordance with the facts; for Spain did not combine with James, and the Pope only apparently. Most of the continental powers were annoyed with the overbearing conduct of Louis: so that the Pope forgot his religious feelings in the political impulse, and the gold of Italy actually assisted William in winning the Battle of the Boyne!

[q] Otherwise thus,
Therewith to whip Great Britain.

[r] Hibernice "kine," to rhyme with "design."

English expressions, which are tolerated only for the sake of the rhyme.

[q] This expression shows unanswerably the modern nature of the poem. Until 1703 no one *could* speak of the memory of William, and few *would* do so in the early part of that century But when Orangeism became a system, and Orangemen a party, "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory" was a bacchanalian password; and long after it had originated and became current, this second ballad was penned.

The following notes and various readings are communicated by Dr. James McKnight, whose name is enough to give them importance; for we are aware this gentleman had endeavoured to collect the disjected fragments of this historic ballad. Dr. Hume has added some "notes upon notes," which we also publish. The lines marked D. H. show the readings in Mr. Herbison's copy.

"There is no doubt about the genuineness of this Historical Ballad, which was formerly current amongst the rural population of Down and Antrim, and probably also in other districts of the North. It is in fact, *one of my own earliest traditional recollections*, and I remember to have once seen a *printed* copy of it. The other ballad, "July the first in Oldbridge town, &c.," is quite a *modern* imitation, which I have seen in the form of a street *chanson*, as well as in an Orange collection, called, I think, "*Orange Boven*;" but its date is not earlier than 1815, or the beginning of the present century at all events. When Mr. Duffy was collecting his "Ballad Poetry of Ireland," he applied to me for a copy of the "Boyne Water;" but though I recollected whole passages of it, I could not guarantee a complete transcript, and on reference to the late Sam. McSkimmin of Carrickfergus, I found him in a parallel position. We then set to work, and, with far more difficulty than had been expected, we succeeded in collecting a version of it from oral recitation; while from my own memory I could rally correct it, according to the edition current in county Down amongst the rural patriarchs of

the district in which my "early days" had been spent. I note, in numerical order, the principal variations which occur to me, giving invariably the "readings," accredited by the country traditions."

1 "To fight King James, and all his *host*."—D. H.

Rural Verse. "To fight King James and all his *foes*."

2 "King William called his officers, &c."—D.H.

Rural Verse. "King William he called his officers,
Saying gentlemen *amind* your station, &c."

3 "My brazen walls let no man break, &c."

Rural Verse. "My brazen walls let no man break,
Nor subtle foes you scatter."—D.H.[a]
Be sure that you shew them good English play,
When you go down to the battle."

4 "Said they, my liege, &c."—D.H.

Rural Verse. "Saying, my liege, &c."

5 "We played, &c."—D.H.

Rural Verse. "*They* played, &c."

6 "Both foot and horse *we* marched on, &c.,"—D.H.

Rural Verse. "Both foot and horse *they* marched on."

7 "And when King William he perceived, &c."—D.H.[b]

Rural Verse. "When that King William he observed, &c.,
"He reined his horse with a heavy heart.[c]

[d](8.) It is about this place that a stanza occurred in the traditional ballad, of which I recollect perfectly the first verse, and it was followed, I think, by one which has been incorporated into the modern ballad with scarcely any variation. The whole will stand thus—

"A bullet from the Irish came,
And grazed King William's ar-m;
They thought his majesty was slain,
But it did him little har-m.
Said he, "Brave boys don't be dismayed,
At the losing of one commander;

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[a] Dr. Hume says, "Mr. Herbison's copy agrees with this line, but it is contrary to sense and reason." We say, "*let*" is understood in the sense, after "nor," the meaning being, "nor let subtle foes scatter you." The ambiguity is caused by the inversion, placing the objective pronoun before the verb. [Ed.]

[b] Up to this Dr. Hume prefers his own reading.

[c] On the Enniskilliners *calling*. This in Duffy and Herbison, apparently for better rhyme, but Dr. Hume considers his own version correct.

[d] "This remark *may* be right. The next portion of the Notes and Queries would draw it out. The verse could not have excited honor in the form in which it is given. The total circumstances are against it. The misconception arises from not keeping the two ballads distinct in the mind."

For God shall be our king this day,
And I'll be general under."
"The Enniskillen men they did not know, &c."

I am quite *sure* that the passage *I'll be general under, &c.*, was contained in the rural version of the ancient ballad, long before the modern imitation had obtained currency.

9 "We'll go before, &c."

Rural Verse. "Stay you behind, we'll go before,[e]
Don't you cross over the water."

10 "Old Britain's lamp, &c."

Rural Verse. "Bold Britain's lamps shall clearly shine,
And their multitudes we will scatter."

11 "As we passed *through*, &c."

Rural Verse. "As we passed *over* the water."[f]

12 "And the elements did thunder, &c."[g] D.H.

Rural Verse. "And the elements roared like thunder."

13 Here in my version comes in the episode about Dermot Roe, but it seems misplaced; Dr. Hume's arrangement is better.

14 "With broad sword and *caliver*."[h] D.H.

Rural Verse. "In a full body they came down,
Their captain's bold contrivance."

This line about "*caliver, &c.*," is an interpolated attempt to mend the original rhyme. On this point my recollection is *positive*.

15 "Within *ten* yards, &c."

Rural Verse. "Within *four* yards, &c.,"
"Within *two* yards," &c. D.H.
"A sudden snuff they got that day,
That little they desired."

16 "They threw away both fife and drum, &c."

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[e] On this Dr Hume says "it is impossible I can be mistaken—when a boy I have repeated it a thousand times."

[f] "On this point," says Dr. Hume, "I cannot speak with the usual degree of certainty, but my version is more probable.

[g] Undoubtedly correct. D. H.

[h] Dr Hume replies—"Broad sword and caliver," was, unquestionably, the original: but from the country people not understanding the word, they changed the line to "their captain the contriver." A similar change takes place in the old ballad of Lord Willoughby. "Ye musketeer and caliver men," becomes—"Ye musketeers, and cavaliers," &c. Besides, it was really not the captain of a company or of a troop who was the contriver, but the colonel of a cavalry regiment, or some superior officer. In 1690 the caliver was as well known as a rifle is in modern times. The word is a corruption of the word *calibre*. the name being given in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, to those pieces whose bores were of one standard size There is one figured in *Meyrick's Illustrations of Arms and Armour*, plate cxv, fig. 1; and in the *Archæological Journal* for March 1853, there are engravings of one, from the Armoury of Penthurst Castle in Kent. The length of the barrel is 3 feet 6¼ inches. See also, *Archæologia*, vol xxii, pp. 71, 78."

Rural Verse. "They threw away both fife and drum,
And firelock from their shoulder,
But King William's men pursued them hard,[i]
And made them smell English powder." [k]

(There is here some confusion, or interpolation, which I am not able to rectify, as my version differs considerably in its arrangement from that of Dr. Hume.[l] But I proceed—)

17 "*That from the field retreated, &c.*"

Rural Verse. "*Which with honour they had gained.*"

18 "Nor King James's men, &c."

Rural Verse. "Nor King James's men have returned again,
By the third part of their number."

19 Here the second thanksgiving, or rather the continuation of the first, ought *certainly* to be inserted, as both the traditional ballad, and the printed copy alluded to, *invariably ended* with the stanza—[m]

"France and Spain they did combine," &c.

20 "Great Britain to whip *completer.*"

This is another attempt to improve the rudeness of the original rhyme. In its primitive form the line stood thus:

"*Therewith to whip Great Britain.*" [n]

The word "*brine*" though contained in the primitive copy, is an '*eupheuism,*' a different term being traditionally sung, or recited.

"Who broke the rod, &c." [o]

Rural Verse. "He broke the rod and their black, (base,) design,
And *their bones lies* at the Boyne Water."

These two lines form the genuiue conclusion of the ballad, and in printing it this order ought to be followed.

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[i] This is evidently a country singer's attempt to rationalize his own version. Dr Hume, however, considers he himself cannot be mistaken.

[k] "King William's men pursued them hard
To smell their *Irish* powder."

[l] "These may both be correct. Indeed this verse is one in which I abandoned my own recollections, as they were indistinct, and followed others."

[m] Dr. Hume agrees with this view,

[n] Dr. Hume says this is right; "the singers" he adds, "usually adopted a different word, but brine is surely the correct one.

[o] Dr. Hume says, "I am unquestionably right in the form of this verse, but yield to it the last *position.* The whole is a subsequent addition, *obviously.* The ballad is complete without it; its style is different; its metres too good, and its national allusions quite incorrect."

NOTICE OF THE

ANCIENT CHAPEL ON ST. JOHN'S POINT,

IN THE COUNTY OF DOWN.

BY THE ARCHDEACON OF DOWN.

THE investigation of the ancient remains, to be found in various parts of Ireland, illustrative of the history of the several tribes that at different periods have occupied its soil, has become of late years a subject of interest to many, who might previously have passed by such remains with a careless glance, or, perhaps, with even a contemptuous feeling at the rudeness of the period of whose arts they are the sole existing memorials. Yet it has happened that some buildings, erected at a period, and by persons, of which there is existing no historical memorial—the only clue to whose probable age is to be found in internal evidence, and constructed so rudely, that one wonders they have not long since been utterly obliterated—remain to the present day records, however humble, of the piety of former ages, of warlike achievements, and even of territorial dominion.

How many of such memorials, well worthy of the notice of the antiquarian, the historian, or the artist, some fifty years, or more, ago, have, during that period, been utterly wiped from the face of the earth, by reason of the ignorance of some, the sectarian rancour of others, and the apathy of more—by the joint instrumentality of the spade, the crowbar, and the mason's hammer—it is, perhaps, impossible to say. But it is certain, that even within the memory of many, who *now* would gladly preserve every relic of antiquity, many a curious piece of architecture has mouldered to ruin, or been destroyed; an opportunity thereby lost for ever of illustrating, perhaps, some interesting fact connected with the ancient art of this country.

Even at the present time, when the minds of intelligent men are alive to the many curious and interesting subjects of Irish antiquities, and when the eminently acute and argumentative investigations of Petrie have opened to the light a region hitherto overshadowed in darkness almost Cimmerian, there are many among us Northerns, who are inclined not only to believe, but to assert, that investigations relative to Irish antiquities, may be successful and satisfactory in the South of Ireland,—where the *old stock* of inhabitants has had a longer continuance, and where, therefore, such remains may be cherished and preserved—but that there is little hope of finding in the counties of Down and Antrim much, if anything, worthy of an antiquarian's examination at all. There is, probably, a prevailing opinion, that from the many changes of population which these counties have undergone, and especially from the great change which took place in the 17th century, under James I., and at subsequent periods, and the very general demolition of ancient, or at least, Romish edifices, there is now

little remaining worthy of an individual antiquary, and far less of an Antiquarian Society, wherewith to occupy the attention.

The observation of Mr. Wm. F. Wakeman, in the "Introduction" to his well executed "Hand-book of Irish Antiquities," with regard to such as are "within easy access from Dublin," is equally true with regard to the counties of Antrim and Down; and we may venture to affirm that there are in these two counties, and consequently, within easy access from Belfast, "examples, many of them in a fine state of preservation, of almost every object of antiquarian interest to be met with in any part of the kingdom." And if, as stated in the prefaee of the same publication, it is desirable that "a feeling should be awakened in the breasts of the people generally, to preserve with scrupulous care, the numerous remains of early Irish art, with which the country abounds;" and if it be true as it is believed to be, that many such remains have been permitted to perish from natural causes, or to be destroyed by violence, from sheer ignorance of their interesting character; it will not be considered out of place, if one who lays claim to no higher title than that of a mere investigator and pioneer, endeavours to put before his fellow countrymen, some fruits of his own inquiries.

The counties of Down and Antrim contain a few examples, some of them in a good state of preservation, of different objects of antiquarian interest. Among these are specimens of ecclesiastical structures, some of which bear internal evidence of very high antiquity; and of these there is, perhaps, scarcely any one more deserving the notice of the curious, than the small, remote, and ruined Chapel of St. John's Point, at the eastern extremity of the outer bay of Dundrum, in the barony of Lecale, and county of Down.

A brief preliminary notice of the characteristics of the early Christian churches of Ireland, may not be considered inappropriate. These buildings are oblong, but of *small* dimensions, rarely exceeding 60 feet by 20, and frequently much smaller; they are often of one apartment only, but frequently consist of a nave and chancel, separated by a circular arch.

The masonry of these buildings is massive, but rude; the walls are always thick as compared with the dimensions of the building, and often are very massive and composed of very large stones:—the stones are generally cemented with very good mortar; but in several instances with a kind of clay, tempered for the purpose; sometimes there is no cement at all.

The doorways are generally flat, covered with a single massive stone, or sometimes the door has a circular head, cut out of a single large stone. The jambs of the door are built of large and massive stones, and invariably incline inwards, so that the opening is 3 or 6 inches narrower at top than it is at bottom.

The windows are few in number, and very small, very much splayed inwards, often the jambs (as of the doors,) inclining, so that they are narrower at the top than below, and at the top are either covered with a single flag, or brought to a point by the junction of two flags, or have a circular head cut out of a single, or of two conjoined, stones, or have a rudely constructed arch formed of small stones wedged together.

The roofs of these buildings were very steep, and in many cases they were covered with stone roofs of which curious instances remain; but none, it is believed, in these two counties.

Of such ancient buildings, one of the most interesting in this country is the chapel on St. John's Point, between Tyrella and Killough in the county of Down, formerly recorded in the Taxation as the Capella de Styoun, evidently a corruption of St. Jon. Of this venerable building, when visited in September, 1846, the north and south walls were standing, and the west wall and gable; the east gable had fallen a few years before, but its position was clearly marked, so that the dimensions of the building were easily ascertained. The length inside is 20 feet 2 inches, and the breadth 13 feet; outside length, 24 feet 6 inches; breadth, 17 feet 6 inches; the north and south walls 9 feet high, and 2 feet 3 inches thick; the east and west gables are 2 feet 2 inches thick. The doorway is in the west gable, measuring 5 feet 6 inches high; 2 feet 9 inches wide at the bottom, and the opening narrowed to 2 feet 3 inches at the top, where it is covered by a single stone as lintel, 3 feet 6 inches long, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. and in width 2 feet, being nearly the thickness of the wall; and above this, on the outside, is another larger stone, laid horizontally, being 4 feet 7 inches long, and 11 inches deep. In this building there were only two small windows. The east gable, now fallen down, contained one, which has been described to the writer as very small and narrow, and covered at the top with two flagstones placed at an acute angle, so as to give the window a pointed head. The other window was in the south wall, its eastern jamb being 6 feet from the east wall: like the east window as described, it was when accurately examined, small and narrow; its height being 2 feet 6 inches, and its width outside only 1 foot 8 inches, at the bottom, and 1 foot 4 inches at the top;—for, like the doorway, it too, narrows upwards. It had been covered with a single flag, 2 feet long, and 7 inches deep; but this had been removed. The only other particular that occurs as remarkable about this curious building is, that there is on each side of the west wall, externally, a buttress-like projection, about 18 inches from the wall, and there seems to have been a similar projection at the east end; probably intended to assist in bearing the weight of the gables.

Of the age of this curious building it may not be easy to speak with any degree of certainty. Its characteristics agree very strikingly with those of St. Mary's Church, and the Reefert Church at Glen-da-lough, and of some other buildings described and delineated in Dr. Petrie's Essay on the Round Towers and Ancient Architecture of Ireland, and assigned by him to the early part of the seventh century.

Of its early history nothing appears to be known; and even tradition ventures to say no more than that it was founded by St. Patrick, which amounts only to an expression of an opinion as to its remote antiquity.

In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, A.D. 1291, it is thus named: "Capella de Styoun iij. marks decima. iiij. s." and the following is the note of Dr. Reeves, in his elaborate "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," p. 33. "*Styoun.*—Now St. John's Point, a detached townland of Rathmullan Parish. (Ord. Survey, sheet 45.) The name seems to be derived, by the process

mentioned in a a former note, from Tigh Eoin, 'John's House,' in which form it is mentioned in the Calendar, at the 17th August. This seems to be the church of Stechian, which was granted about the year 1183, by Malachi, bishop of Down, to the abbey of St. Patrick. (Inspex. in Rot. Pat. 42. Ed. III. m. ii. 2nd. pt. Tur. Lond. As also the *Stion*, which was annexed, by the charter of James I. to the Precentorship of Down. At the Dissolution, (viz. of the monastic bodies,) the tithes of this chapelry, under the name of 'St. Johnstown,' were appropriate to the Preceptory of St. John in the Ards. (Ulst. Inq. No. 104. Car. I. 'Capella de Sancto Joanne Jerusalimitano.' *Terrier.*

Harris (Topographical Survey of Down, 1745.) mentions it briefly, page 271, stating that at that time, the walls were "yet entire." The east wall, as above mentioned, has been demolished to the foundation.

ULSTER ROLL OF GOAL DELIVERY.

(Continued from page 270.)

No. 7.

Monaghan.—A General Session was held at Monaghan, on the 2nd day of March, 12 James, 1, (1615,) before Gerard Lother, Esq., one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, and John Beare, Esq., Sergeant-at-Law, under a Commission dated the 15th Februaray in the same year, and an Inquisition taken before the following Grand Jurors:—

James Fielde,
Toole McKena,
Adam Kelkelly,
Rice Evans,
Thomas Warren,
Robert Morgan,
William Pughe,
Piers Harris,
Marcus Connolan,
Hugh McShane Roe McMahon,
Edward Corbett,
William Price,
John Harforde.

Who say that Brian McToole boy, of Ballenegar, yeoman, on the 16th September, 12 James 1, at Ardell, stole "a brasse kettle" worth 30s., "twoe firkins of butter" value £4, and a sword worth 6s. 8d., belonging to Robert Cowell, Esq. He says he is not guilty; which being denied by John Walker, Esq., the Attorney-General for Ulster, is put upon his trial, found guilty, adjudged, and ordered to be executed.—That Sallowe O'Hananan, of Corfenlaghe, yeoman, on the 2nd December, 1614, at Ballydromaran, stole 4 cows worth 20s. each, the property of Patrick McToole McKena.—Not guilty.—That Toole McCabe, of Ballcleke, Shane McEgowne, of Tetallon, and Hugh McEgowne, of same, yeomen, on the 18th December, 1614, at Ergill, stole 10 pigs worth 6s. each, belonging to Tirlagh —McArt, O'Neile.—Not Guilty.—That Patrick O'Kenechan, of Crymorne, yeoman, on the 11th June,

1614, at Killevan, stole a bay horse worth 40s. the property of Brian duffe O'Higgen, of Killevan, yeoman.—Not guilty.—That Patrick bedy McMelaghlin McMahon, of Monaghan, yeoman, who was apprehended and committed to gaol on the 4th of February, 1614, for a felony, made his escape therefrom, on the 14th of the same month.—That Patrick Lea O'Connally, of Monaghan, yeoman, on the 9th November, 1614, stole a bay horse there worth 15s. the property of Gilldony O'Pronty, yeoman. —Not Guilty.—That William Linton of Glasloghe, gentleman, on the 11th of January, 1614, insulted and committed an affray upon Edward Payne of the same place, yeoman, a true and faithful subject of the King, and with "a skeane drawne" worth 12d. which he held in his right hand, he struck him on the left side of the throat, giving him a mortal wound of half an inch long, and an inch and a half deep, of which he instantly died. The Jurors find that he killed him in self-defence, wherefore it is adjudged that he should be detained in prison until he produces the King's pardon, as in such cases usual. He produces the pardon and it is allowed.—That Donald McGonell, of Trughe, yeoman, on the 4th January, 1612, at Monaghan, stole a black horse worth 40s. belonging to Sir Edward Blayney.—Not Guilty.—That Morroghe McPhilip of Balleviddegan, yeoman, on the 2nd January, 1612, stole 2 cows, one being black, having her horn cut, and worth 20s. and the other without horns, of a brown colour, and of the same value, the property of a person unknown.—Not guilty.—That Patrick beddy McPhilip, of Monaghan, yeoman, on the 14th June, 1614, stole a mare worth £3, the property of William Bradborne of the same town.—Guilty.—Says he is a clerk, upon which comes Lewes Prudereke the Bishop's minister of that place, and the book being delivered to him by the court, and the accused having read it, it is adjudged that his left hand be branded, and that he be afterwards delivered to the ordinary, to be safely kept under the peril thereupon incumbent.—That James boy McArdell, of Tullykeghan, Henry McEmiske, and Art McMahon McGillpatrick, of same, yeomen, on the 12th January, 1612, there stole a bay horse, worth 40s. the property of Donogh Modder Brady, and a grey horse of the same value, the property of Owen McTurlaghe O'Rely.—Said James and Henry are found guilty, and adjudged to be executed.—That Patrick oge O'Loghran, of Killeehoran, yeoman, on the 2nd February, 1614, at Killvilley, stole a cow worth 20s. belonging to Neill O'Conally of Kirboyan.—Guilty.—To be executed.—That Hugh McDonell of Clankelly, County Fermanah, yeoman, on the 3rd of October, 1614, at Clonis, County Monaghan, stole a cow worth 20s. the property of Master Dunbar, and that he was relieved, comforted, abetted and sustained, by Gillterny McGudrive, of Clonis, yeoman.—No finding of the Petty Jury.—That Art McToole McOwen, McMahon, of Lisinakeny, Gerald roe O'Byrne, of Aghetowne, James O'Boyle, and Patrick O'Boyle McJames, of same, yeoman, on the 20th December, 1612, at Aghetowne, stole 14 pigs, price 4s. each, the property of Thomas beddy McEehee.—No finding.—That Patrick McAve McPatrick boy McArdell, and Henry duffe McEdmund McHenry duffe McArdell, of Cavancreevy, yeoman, on the 25th February, 1614, stole a cow there, worth 20s., the property of Cahall O'Quyn.—No finding.—That Patrick McAve McPatrick boy McArdell, of Cavancreevy, yeoman, on the 2nd of May, 1614, at Mucknowe, stole a black horse worth 30s., the property of Donald McJames O'Hughe.—No find-

ing.—That Tirlaghe O'Duffy McGillpatrick O'Duffy of Balleclonarne, yeoman, on the 1st December 1614, stole one grisell hore [a] mare [*equam canam*] worth 40s., a brown mare of the same value, and a cow worth 20s., the property of Patrick McCabe.—No finding.—That Tirlaghe O'Conally, of Monaghan, yeoman, on the 12th September, 1614, at Balledeke, "in quandam Margaretam Envagher spinster puram virginem de etate octodecim annorum &c., feloniee insultum fecit, et violenter et feloniee coegit et eam carnaliter cognovit contra voluntatem."—Not guilty.—That Tirlagh Duff McGerrot O'Relly, of Ballelurgan, yeoman, on the 16th January, 1607, insulted Cormucke O'Looy, of the same place, yeoman, a true subject, and with a drawn sword worth 5s, which he held in his right hand, he struck him on the top of the head, giving him a mortal wound of 12 inches long and two inches deep, of which he then and there instantly died.—Guilty.—It is adjudged that he be drawn upon a hurdle "et membra sua et interiora ex ventre suo capiantur &c.," as in former cases.—That Phellemy oge O'Conally, of Drumroghan, yeoman, on the 1st November, 1614, stole a grey mare worth 40s., and a chestnut mare [flavam equam] of the same value, the property of Hugh O'Shallowe.—No finding.

No. 8.

Ardmaghe.—A General Session was held at Ardmaghe, on the 8th March 12 James 1., before the same Judges, and under the same Commission, and an Inquisition being taken before the following Grand Jury:—

John Ellocke,
William Peerson,
Richard Kinde,
Edward Poe,
Shane oge O'Hanlon,
John Custiee,
Tirlagh oge O'Neale,
Tirlagh oge O'Donell,
Donald McJa: O'Hugh,
Richard Cadwell,
John Nevire,
Henry Clarke,
Gregory Coe,
William Willsy,
Henry Grindall,
William Hodgeson,
Alexander oge McDonelly.

They say that Brian O'Mullen and William O'Mullen of Annaereene, yeomen, on the 2nd of January 1612, at Drumullen, stole a cow worth £4, the property of Richard Hanley.—Guilty. To be executed.—That John *alias* Shane O'Neale, of Ardmagh, yeoman, on the 1st October, 1614, at Naven, stole a bay mare worth 40s., belonging to Owen O'Donellan, yeoman.—Acquitted.—That Hugh O'Creggan, of Crena, yeoman, on the 9th Feburary, 1613, at Drumullen, stole a grey mare, worth £6 6s 8d., the property of Richard Handley, yeoman.—Guilty. To be executed.—That

[a] Sic, it ought to be "hair."

Laghlin McDonell O'Hanlon of Carrickelaghan, yeoman, on the 10th December, 1614, there, stole three cows worth 20s. each, and three oxen worth 40s. each, the property of Henry Acheson, Esq. Guilty.—To be executed.—That Patrick Roe McSlevan, of Killcluny, yeoman, on the 4th July, 1614, at Corlosty, stole two heifers worth 10s. each, the property of Glasny McGlasny O'Hanlon.—Acquitted.—That Art McGillechree, and Gilleese McKerny of Mollanbracke, yeomen, on the 3rd January, 1614, stole "a black gelldinge" worth £4, belonging to Patrick Granton, of Dromfergus.—Guilty. To be executed.—That Owen O'Neale McEvicker, of Ardmaghe, yeoman, on the 17th February 1614, at Dromonbegg, stole 5 cows, worth 20s. each, the property of William Pallmer yeoman.—Acquitted.—That Hugh and Owen O'Donellan, of Cargin, and Manus Sallagh O'Hanlon, of Orier, yeomen, on the 10th December, 1614, at Carricklaghan, stole three oxen worth 30s. each, and three cows of the same value, the property of Henry Acheson, Esq.—Acquitted.—That Shane O'Daly of Dolleghgallegan, yeoman, on the 17th of October, 1614, at Drumishe, burnt the mansion-house of Patrick McArdell a true and faithful subject.—Acquitted.—That Patrick and Brian McMaddoicke of Carickin, yeoman, on the 10th December, 1614, at Carricklaghan, stole three oxen and three cows price 20s. each, the property of Henry Acheson, of Dromlacke, Esq.—No finding.—That Patrick McTirlagh McJames McArdell, of Annaghmarra, yeoman, on the 17th Decem- 1613, at Ballynlecke, stole a grey mare worth 50s., the property of Tirlagh McEwigin, yeoman.—That James Maffott and Saundy Cavorte, of Ardmaghe, yeomen, on the 20th November, 1614, stole 4 cows, worth 20s. each, belonging to George Chambers Esq., and another cow worth 20s., the property of Nicholas Gasse, and that Richard Greames, of Dromargan, yeoman, on the 21st of the same month, relieved and abetted them.—Acquitted.

That Brian grom McCan, of Derrymakeshe, yeoman, on the 13th November, 1613, instigated and provoked, Patrick McFardorogh McCan, yeoman, to kill and murder Toole McPhellemy McCan, gentleman, a true and faithful subject, and that on the 17th of November following, at Dromeneeullyn, with a drawn sword worth 5s., which the said Patrick held in his right hand, he gave him a mortal wound of four inches deep, and one inch in length in his breast [super anteriorem partem pectoris] under his right arm or sleeve [subter dextram manullam] of which he instantly died.—Acquitted.—That Saundy Cafforte, James Maffott, and Nicholas Gasse, of Ardmaghe, yeomen, on the 21st November, 1614, stole two cows there, worth 20s. each, the property of Granye ny Gwire, and Jowan ny Kene, widows.—No finding.—That on the 13th February, 1614, Con McToole boy McMahon, of Doynan, yeoman, was there taken and apprehended by Hugh McManus, one of the Sheriff's bailiffs, for the theft of a cow the property of Gilleballagh McCasy, the which bailiff intended to bring him before a Justice of the Peace, when one Art McHugh roe McMahon, of Doynan, yeoman, forceably reseued him.—No finding.—That on the 1st of February, 1614, Art oge McEyirr, of Mollenarm, yeoman, was apprehended by one Neale O'Conally, of Ballekiselan, County Monaghan, for felony, "scilicet pro eo quod ipse predictus Art presens adjuvans et auxilians fuit quando uxor dicti Neal violenter rapta et carnaliter cognita erat," when he was forcibly reseued by Edmund duffe McEyirr, the following day at Mullenarm.—No finding of the petty Jury.

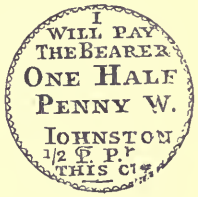
NOTICES OF LOCAL TOKENS ISSUED IN ULSTER.—1.

BELFAST TICKET.

[We are indebted to Mr. George Benn, now of Liverpool, formerly of Belfast, a gentleman well-versed in our local history, for the following notice of a very curious coin issued in this town. It was picked up by his brother, many years ago, in London, out of the vast collection of that great coin-dealer, the late Mr. Young, of Tavistock Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Benn kindly promises a future paper on other local coins, and, in the meantime, inquires if any information can be given respecting the issuer, or the building here represented, which, he supposes, may be intended for the old market-house.—Ed.]

"I send you a representation of a local token of Belfast, and the most interesting one, perhaps, in existence. The traders of the present day, accustomed to the facilities arising from the circulation of small money, issued from time to time by the Government, have no idea of the inconvenience to which their shop-keeping predecessors of the 17th and early part of the 18th centuries were put, when such was not the practice, and the want of which obliged them to adopt the plan, throughout this kingdom, as well as England, of coining money, (generally copper penny tokens) on their own account. These tokens, I believe, are not held in very great esteem by collectors. This would seem to be a mistake; for, if the true object of antiquarian research be, by a scrutiny of monuments and records, to present to the curiosity of the living an account of the thoughts, the habits, the costume, the buildings, the state of trade, of the useful and ornamental arts, the employments, the daily life, as it were, of those who lived in the world in past times; and if such pursuit be laudable and proper regarding the inhabitants of Nineveh, of Athens, of Rome, or of London, we must by no means overlook the claims upon our attention of the very respectable and worthy citizens who lived and moved in the shops and streets of our own good town, two hundred, or one hundred years ago, so far as we can be assisted in such inquiry by the inspection of the small change which was daily passing through their honest fingers. Private tokens are, without doubt, quite within the scope of antiquarian inquiry, as illustrative of the general state of the country at the time, but more particularly of the local and family history of the places in which they were issued. They have also more or less come down to our own day, pretty much with an eye to business as tangible and permanent advertisements, when distributed gratuitously, by large shopkeepers and warehousemen, or when issued by extensive manufacturers, for the mutual convenience of themselves and their operatives. The earlier tokens of Belfast, however, are very numerous,—much more so than those of any other place in the kingdom, except Dublin, thus indicating that its superiority in trade and enterprise was relatively as great in past as in present times.

I have seen perhaps not less than thirty tokens of Belfast alone, issued by various individuals in the century from 1637 to 1737, and several also of a later date. The one to which especial attention is here drawn, is without a date; but, from collating it with others, I have little doubt that its era was about the year 1730. It is different, also, in a very important respect from any known to me, presenting not only the name of the individual by whom it was issued but also a representation of a public building, which at that time existed in the town, but which is now to be numbered with the things that have been. I think the representation on the coin may be taken for a sort of Chinese perspective, in a small space, of a portion of old High-Street, Belfast, and that the building is intended for the original market-house of the town. I am induced to fix on this building as that which is represented, from its appropriateness as devoted to the purposes for which this specimen of the circulating medium was called into existence,—from its general appearance,—the kind of market-house look that it has,—but more particularly from the objects in connexion with it. Many of the inhabitants will doubtless still recollect the old market-house, or at least the ruins of it. It stood in High-street at the corner of Corn Market, occupying considerable portions of both streets. Even after the building had become ruinous, or had been removed, the market long lingered about this locality; as it is not very many years since butter, eggs, fowl, and other articles of country produce, were exposed and sold in the open thoroughfare, in this very part of High street. There is no doubt, therefore, that if this edifice be not meant for the market-house, it must be intended for some other building in High-street; as the stream, which still runs through the centre of that street, now all covered over, is represented open, which we know it was at the time the coin was issued, and for many years after; and it is also shewn crossed by a bridge of two arches. No other part of the town could be so represented. High Street was then, and, I suppose, would still be considered, the principal street within our bounds. The Mr. Johnston who issued this token, was most probably one of its inhabitants, and in his shop near the market-house, well stored with leather or linen, or meal or flour, or cloth or hardware, or all these, and sundry other commodities as well, briskly circulated his Belfast Tickets. I speak conjecturally, of course, with regard to the employment and the exact whereabouts of our local master of the mint; but that he was a man of some note may be inferred from the circumstance of his styling his coinage of half-pence, by way of distinction, the Belfast Ticket; and that he was also a man who wished to give value (as indeed Belfast shopkeepers still do, and always have done, from time immemorial,) may be further inferred from the information conveyed to the public on the coin itself, and which I have never met with on that of any of his contemporaries, and which, though somewhat indistinct, is to be rendered, "1s. 2d. ℔ lb THIS COST." This was like the practice of a moneyer of more recent date, whose broad pieces many of us must have seen, and which



were impressed with the legend: "Pure Copper preferable to Paper."—But how different the aspect of the High-Street upon which Mr. Johnston, of the reign of Queen Anne, or George I. looked from his shop-window, or cast his eyes of a fine summer evening, when strolling along to have a gossip with one of his neighbours, from the active and crowded scene which it now presents. Then it had a picturesque, almost a sylvan appearance. Tall trees grew upon the banks of the stream, which rolled through its centre; boys were fishing in the river, which, at least beyond the influence of the tide, was probably as retired and as pure as many a little favourite haunt now miles away from the smoke:—for in those days steam engines were not, nor flax mills, nor population, nor any of the other causes which go to disfigure or pollute the limpid waters of an Irish brook. The Castle too, though burnt some years before, (if I am right in fixing the date of the token,) would still have preserved, it is to be supposed, so much of its castellated appearance, as to communicate, in conjunction with its extensive gardens, an antique and aristocratic air to a street, which even then, on some occasions, must have shewn marks of that great traffic by which it was to be distinguished in after days. I have thought it possible that some of the turrets represented in the token, or the objects which seem to be reflected in the river to the left, might indicate the gate-houses, or some part of the Castle buildings. At any rate the Castle and the Market House of Belfast were in close proximity. The river in front was crossed by several bridges,—probably five,—the principal of which was at Bridge-street, from which that street derives its name. It was at this central point labourers for hire collected; and afterwards, when the old Exchange was the more general place of meeting for such a purpose, the phrase still continued in use, of sending "to the Bridge" for a man,—the poor men the while being assembled together where no bridge was.

It would thus appear that local tokens, however insignificant they may appear in the eyes of the "dryasdust" antiquary, are not without their value, and should indeed be objects of special interest and importance to inquirers into local history, as they may be the means of corroborating or refuting doubtful or disputed circumstances, or rescuing from oblivion, by characters as durable as brass or copper can make them, both names and places worth preserving that might otherwise have been forgotten. On a future occasion I will, perhaps, furnish some more samples of Ulster Tokens; and, in the meantime, if any of the readers or supporters of this Journal should be aware of the existence of any such coins as are here described, they would, perhaps, take the trouble of bringing them to light that a description of them may be preserved."—G.B.

NOTE ON PRIMATE COLTON'S VISITATION, AND ON NOTARIES PUBLIC.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIR,—A trifling error has inadvertently crept into the translation of this highly interesting Record, as given in your last Number. I allude to the passage at the close of the "Certificate" wherein the word "seal" is introduced. The words of the original Instrument, "*signoque meo solito et assueto signavi*" imply that the notary had signed it with his usual and accustomed *sign*. Seals, however, are *not* impressed upon, nor appended to, Notarial Certificates.

I have examined three of these Notarial Certificates,—instruments analogous to the Record in question, which are deposited in the Exchequer Record Office, Four Courts, Dublin,—and send you fac-similes of the devices or "signs" which appear at the foot of each document. The notaries in these three instances, instead of the words "signoque meo solito et assueto," use the words "signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi."

No. 1 is the sign of Thomas Vale, clerk of the city of Waterford, and notary public by papal and imperial authorities. His Certificate commences with the words "In Dei nomine amen."—"In the name of God amen." His sign is placed at the foot of the instrument, and on the left hand side of the parchment, (in which situation the signs of notaries appear to have been always placed) and, upon one of the steps of the cross—if such it may be called—his name "T. Vale" is written. For the purpose of showing the character of the handwriting of this Record, fac-similes of the commencement beginning with the words "In Dei nomine amen;" and also of the words "Et ego Thomas Vale clericus Waterfordensis" are given upon the accompanying drawing. The date of this instrument is is of the year 1482.

No. 2 Is the sign of John Hiland, clerk of the diocese of Waterford, notary public by imperial authority. Within the circle of his monogram or sign are written the words "Qui vidit testimonium testium perhibuit veritatem." "He who has seen the testimony of the witnesses has affirmed the truth." This sign is accompanied by a fac-simile of the words "Et Ego Johannes Hiland clericus Waterfordensis" appearing upon the original record. The date of this instrument is 1485.

No. 3 Is the sign of William Fytz Ellyse, clerk of the diocese of Ossory, public notary by apostolic authority. His name "W. Fytz Ellyse" appears in the shaft and foot of the sign, which is accompanied by a fac simile of the words, "Et Ego Willielmus Fitz Ellyse clericus Ossoriensis." The date of this document is 1448.

No. 4.—The sign and signature of William Fludde, a notary public, are taken from the original Register of the Court of High Commission, which commenced its sittings at Kilmainham, near Dublin. On Thursday, the 19th day of October, 1570, and continued its duties until the year 1573, of which

court William Fludde was Register. The words which appear to the left of his name and sign are "Registratum die predicta et facta collatione concordat cum originali transumpto." "Registered on the day aforesaid, and upon collation being made it agrees with the original." This curious Book, from which extracts have been made, and published in the "Irish Quarterly Magazine," "Notes and Queries," and elsewhere, is also deposited in the Exchequer Record Office.

The error I have above alluded to is of little moment; but as everything which relates to this most curious document is worthy of remark, I trust you will excuse my calling your attention to it.

As little of the early history of Notaries Public is probably generally known, the following extracts, which have been taken from the Epistle Dedicatory to Prynne's fourth Institute, may not prove altogether uninteresting. "When the Pope's agents, with some of our Popish prelates, to advance their usurped authority and designs, had heretofore introduced ā multitude, not only of papal, but imperial notaries into the realm of England, who set up public offices to attest, register obligations, contracts, and some instruments in our kingdom belonging only to our Kings and their offices, as the Pope's and Emperor's notaries, to the prejudice of the rights and prerogatives of the imperial crown of this realm, King Edward the 2nd issued writs to prohibit any imperial notaries to exercise their offices."—"When Sir John de Bourne" (tempore Ed. III.) "presumed to bring a publike notary of the Pope's into the Court of Exchequer to make an instrument in a plea there depending, the Barons adjudged him to prison."—"After this when the Bishops of Rome by their notaries &c., continued to undermine the laws &c., King Richard II. made a severe statute of Præmunire against these papal usurpations."—As many notarial certificates still exist in this country, some of which appear to have been made in Henry the 8th's reign, it is probable that public notaries exercised their functions in Ireland as well as in England up to the time of the Reformation.

JAMES F. FERGUSON.

Dublin.

TENNEKILLE CASTLE,

PORTARLINGTON,

AND

GLIMPSES OF THE MacDONNELLS.

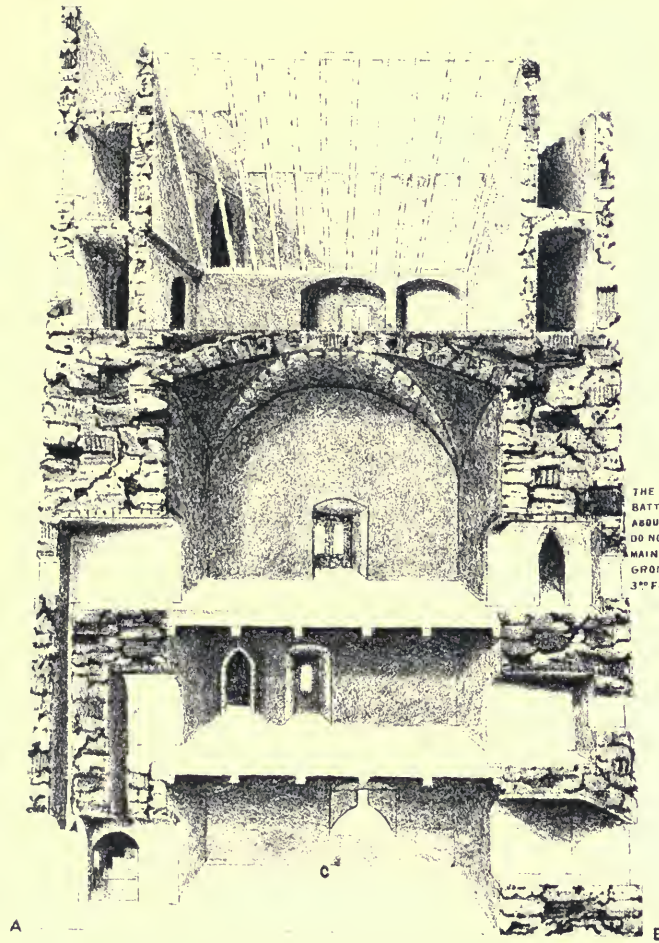
By SIR ERASMUS D. BORROWES, Bart.

"See'st thou yon grey gleaming hall,
Where the deep yew shadows fall;
Voices that have left the earth
Long ago,
Still are murm'ring round its hearth
Soft and low."

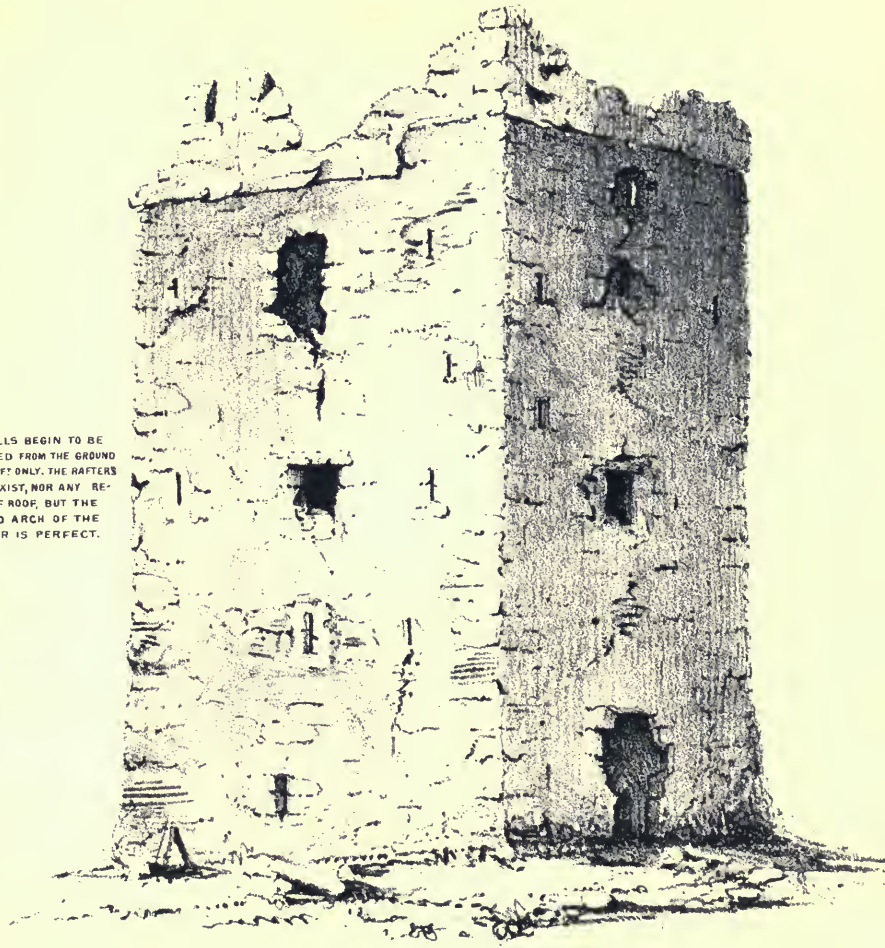
While the archæological societies of other countries are extending their useful operations, and the remains of antiquity in the rural districts of England are being zealously sought out, illustrated, and preserved, it is cheering to refer to the good taste arising in our own dear isle, which has decreed, that the choicest corner-stones and sculptured ornaments of the feudal Keep shall be no longer pulverised by the hammer of the road-contractor, or desecrated by the trowel of the country mason.

The castles of ancient Leix, and of other parts of Ireland, have been well described of late years by the journalists of the day; and the classic pen and graphic pencil of two accomplished gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Portarlington have recently bestowed an increased celebrity on the massive ruins of an adjacent feudal pile. The Keep of Tennekille, however, has not been generally described, though it possesses many attributes to command attention, and elicit inquiry: it is situated two miles south of the town of Portarlington, and is surrounded by the well-wooded demesnes of the nobility and gentry of that improved locality. Its Castellans of old derived from an illustrious and chivalrous race, whose gallies swept the wild shores of the stormy Hebrides, and the fame of whose Island Lord has been perpetuated in the silvery strains of his own sweet minstrel, Scotland's immortal bard.

From Ronald, Lord of the Isles, descended the MacDonnells, stout constables of the Galloglasses of Tennekille, in the fifteenth and two following centuries. The antique chivalry, and feudal splendour of their forefathers, Lords of the ocean and the Isles, were a favourite theme of the illustrious



THE WALLS BEGIN TO BE BATTERED FROM THE GROUND ABOUT 9 Ft ONLY. THE RAFTERS DO NOT EXIST, NOR ANY REMAINS OF ROOF, BUT THE GROINED ARCH OF THE 3rd FLOOR IS PERFECT.

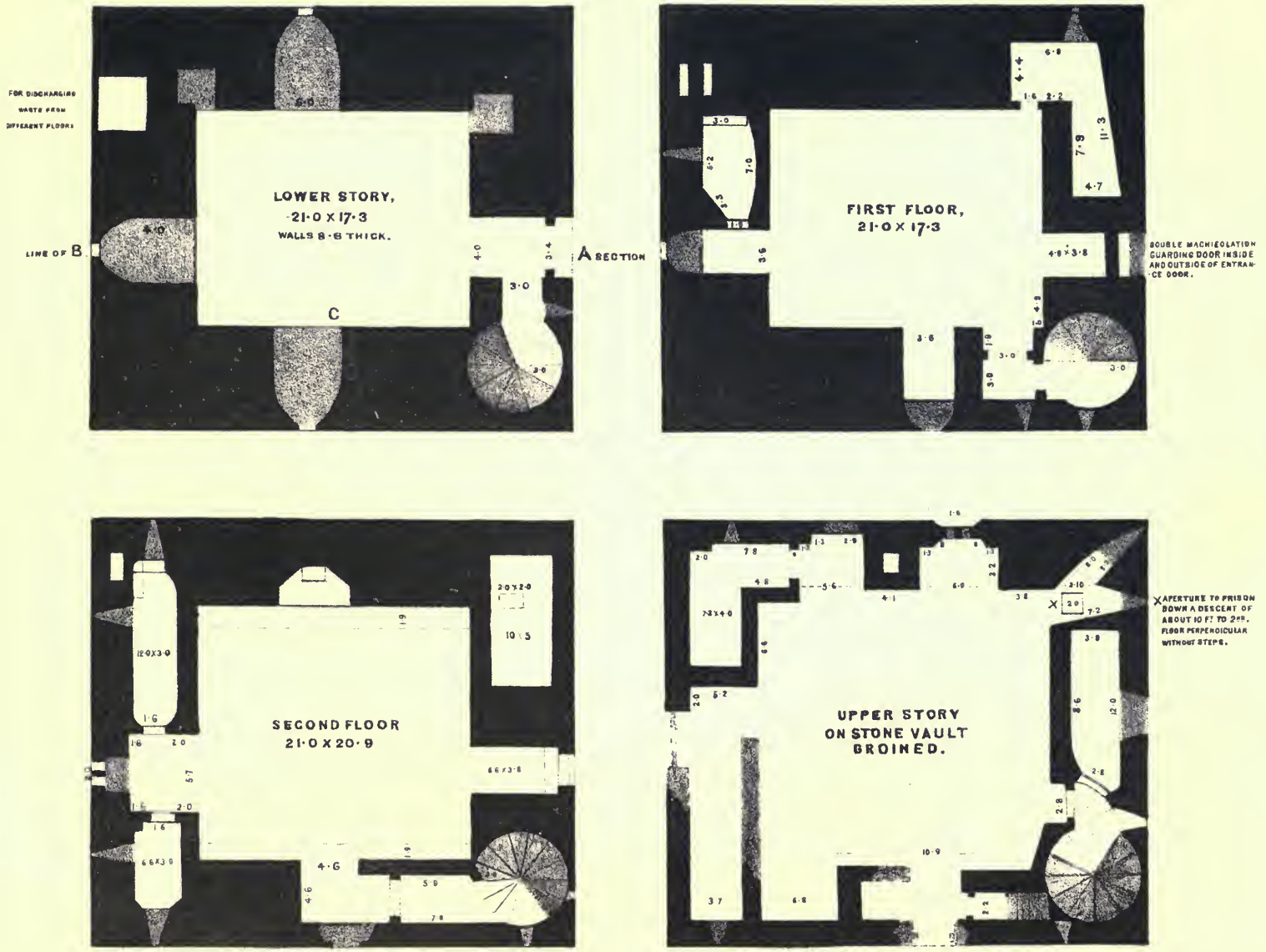


SCALE

INCHES 0 5 10 15 20 25 FEET

PLANS, SECTIONS and VIEW of TENNEKILLE CASTLE

QUEEN'S COUNTY.


FOR DISCHARGING WASTE FROM DIFFERENT FLOORS
LINE OF B
LOWER STORY, 21·0 X 17·3 WALLS 8·6 THICK.
A SECTION
C
FIRST FLOOR, 21·0 X 17·3
DOUBLE MACHICOLATION GUARDING DOOR INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF ENTRANCE DOOR.
SECOND FLOOR 21·0 X 20·9
UPPER STORY ON STONE VAULT GROINED.
APERTURE TO PRISON DOWN A DESCENT OF ABOUT 10 FT TO 2ND. FLOOR PERPENDICULAR WITHOUT STEPS.

Scott; and the bridal procession, and the glories of the romantic fleet of this ocean Prince, as it swept the waves of the Hebrides, are thus beautifully described:—

"Thus while they strove with wind and seas,
Borne onward by the willing breeze,
Lord Ronald's fleet swept by,
Streamed with silk and trick'd with gold,
Mann'd with the noble and the bold,
Of Island chivalry.

Around their prows the ocean roars,
And chafes beneath their thousand oars,
Yet bears them on their way.
So chafes the war-horse in his might,
That field-ward bears some valiant knight,
Chafes 'till both bit and boss are white,
But, foaming must obey.

On each gay deck they might behold,
Lances of steel and crests of gold,
And hauberks with their burnish'd fold,
That shimmer'd fair and free.
And each proud galley as she pass'd
To the wild cadence of the blast,
Gave wilder Minstrelsy."

These bold chieftains whose "Armada gay" thus glittered in feudal glory, and whose sons at Tennekille were the able Galloglass of Elizabeth, now sleep

"In Iona's piles
Where rest from mortal coil the mighty of the Isles."

From the 13th to the 17th century, this martial race is invariably described by ancient Irish annalists as commanders and constables of Galloglass, which office seems to have been hereditary in their family; thus Shakspeare in Macbeth—"The merciless MacDonnell from the Western Isles, with his kernes and galloglass." The Kerne was the lightly equipped foot-soldier of the Irish and Scotch, whose arms were the bow, spear, sword, and skein. It appears by a patent roll of Philip and Mary, that the "General of all the Kerne in Ireland" had the pay of 3s 8d a day, then a large sum; his immediate division comprised 32 kerne only, at 3d a day each man; the tiny brigade and general's pay having been formed by the combination of three corps, and the united pay of three disbanded "captaynes." This gallant soldier was the ancestor of one of our most distinguished families. The Galloglass were heavily armed, wore iron helmets, coats of mail studded with iron nails and rings; had long swords, and broad battle-axes with keen edges, by a single blow of which they often clove in twain both helmet and skull of their luckless foe. The ancient annalists as frequently refer to the battle-field death, and untimely fall in other ways, of these warriors. Thus in 1299, "Alexander MacDonnell (of Antrim) the most distinguished of his name either in Ireland or Scotland for hospi-

tality, or feats of arms, was slain," &c.—1365. "Bryan son of Hugh MacMahon, having assumed the Lordship of Orgiall, (Monaghan), proposed a marriage connection to Sorley MacDonnell, heir presumptive to the Lordship of the Hebrides, and high constable of the province of Ulster; and prevailed on him to put away the daughter of O'Reilly (of Cavan), and to take his own daughter: but, not long after, MacMahon giving him an invitation to his house, and having been drinking for some time, a dispute arose between them, Bryan folded his arms about MacDonnell, and had him firmly bound and cast into the adjacent lake, where he was immediately drowned." This outrage was subsequently avenged by the MacDonnells.—1492, "Colla, son of Donogh MacDonnell (of Antrim), was killed in his own house by a flash of lightning, which also burned the house, and three or four persons who were in it were nearly killed by the same lightning."—1397, Marcus, the second son of Scott's Lord of the Isles, the ancestor of the Leinster branch, was slain, according to the annals of Ulster; his grandson Turlough Oge, appears to have settled in Leinster. The annals of Dudley Firbisse state, that in 1466 "John, son of MacDonnell, 'the best captayne of the English,' was slain in Ofaly."—1503, "In a great battle in Connaught with the Burkes, the MacDonnells of Leinster were overtaken by a great and awful overthrow, in which the greater portion of the galloglass of the Clan Donnell and Clan Sweeny around their constables were slain."—The annals of Kilronan record that "a son of Turlough Oge MacDonnell was slain in Leix (Queen's Co.) in 1504." "MacDonnell, i.e. Colla, the son of Colla, O'Neill's constable of galloglasses, was killed at Armagh, by Gillespie, the son of Sorley Roe MacDonnell, in 1505."—As early as 1524 "Alexander[a] filius

[a] In the year 1522 a great war arose between O'Donnell and O'Neil, both of Tyrone —And a curious instance of clanship is here recordedby the Four Masters, as well as of the military power of the Earl of Kildare. There was with O'Neil "a very large body of the Albanachs (the Scottish tribes of Antrim) commanded by the son of McDonnell, i.e. Alexander; there also marched thither numerous forces of the English of Meath, and of the gallowglasses of the Province of Leinster, of the Clan Donnells and Clan Sheehys (the MacDonnell's of Tennekille, Rahin, and Wicklow,) on account of the alliance of the Earl of Kildare's daughter, who was O'Neil's mother." This was Gerald 8th Earl of Kildare, who married Alison, daughter and co-heir of Sir Roland Eustace of Harristown, County Kildare, Baron Portlester. The Four Masters continue to state that "the most noble leaders who fell in that battle were Donell Oge MacDonnell with an immense number of the gallowglasses of the MacDonnell's, &c., &c." "Among the chiefs from the West who fought for O'Neil, was MacWilliam of Clanricard, Ulick the son of *Ulick of the Wine*, and *the young Bishop O'Brien*, Turlogh O'Brien Bishop of Killaloe."

Again in 1526 we find the hereditary bravery of the MacDonnell's the favourite theme of the old monks; in a battle among the Butlers, "was slain Conor Oge, the son of Conor Caoch MacDonnell, a constable of Gallowglasses, whose feats of arms hitherto, on many occasions were famous, and particularly on that day; for his great bravery and execution of hand would not suffer him to accept of quarter, which was offered him; a great many commanders, and of the cavalry, and gallowglasses, were slain along with him.

The castle and town of Rahin and Derrie, Queen's County, and other lands estimated at 717 acres, were passed by patent 5th Eliz. [1563] to Malmory MacEdmond MacDonnell, "one of the three cheefe captaynes of the three septs of the Clan Donells [of Leinster] her Majesty's gallowglass," and his heirs male, to hold, by the 20th part of a knight's fee, of the fort of Maryborough, and to answer hostings, risings, and ploughday; to keep nine gallowglasses; the rent to be £8 19 3d. These last named lands, with other estates forfeited by MacEdmond MacDonnell, were passed by patent 43d Eliz. [1601] to Sir Richard Græme, a principal commander in the Irish wars of that period; he was also bound to keep the nine gallowglasses and five horses. This family of Græme, about the same date, purchased the castle and lands of Barretstown, County Dublin, from Sir George Carew, They resided at Ballynure, County Wicklow, and Tobinstown, County Carlow. Sir Richard Græme and George Græme were at the siege of Kinsale, 1601. After the accession of James to the crown of England, when the jurisdictions on both sides of the border acted more in unison, the most arbitrary measures were resorted to for the suppression of the border banditti; "the Græmes, a hardy and ferocious race, inhabiting chiefly the debateable land, were transported to Ireland, and their return prohibited under pain of death." Sir Richard Græme commanded 50 horse and 100 foot at Kinsale.

Terenti, filii Meilmore MacDonnell de Balliranan, generosus" granted five townlands in Wicklow to Gerald, Earl of Kildare, with an annual rent of three marks for ever.—In the latter part of the 15th century, the MacDonnells of Leinster formed three septs, of which two were seated in the now Queen's Co., and the third in the present barony of Talbotstown, County Wicklow, where their possessions at the foot of the mountain range, on the borders of the Pale, bore the name of "the Clann Donnell's countrie" as late at least, as 1641. On the 21st of June, 1570, Calvagh MacDonnell, constable of the galloglass of Tennekille, and his two sons, Hugh Boy and Alexander, with their forces,[b] were with the President of Connaught, at the siege of Shrule, in Mayo. He resided at the Castle of Tennekille, which appears to have been erected about 1450, by John Carragh, his grandfather, "best captayne of the English." The architecture harmonizes with the period, and the skilful design, groined ceiling, accuracy and finished execution of the more ornamented and elaborate portions, evince a remarkable contrast to the remains of ruder fortresses in its vicinity. It possesses, too, the concealed dungeon, recently discovered, which is approached by a perpendicular descent in the wall, called by the peasantry the "murtherin' hole:" here for "the loophole grates where captives weep," a flag had been securely substituted for closing the aperture, which only wants the instruments of suspension and torture to assimilate it to those still thus barbarously furnished in some of the castles on the Rhine. The MacDonnells of Tennekille were a wealthy family, hence the superior construction of their fortress. Alexander, second son of Calvagh, was killed in combat in the gate of Galway, in 1577, "and" (according to the Annals of the Four Masters) "there were not many sons of galloglasses in Ireland at that time who were more wealthy, or who were more bountiful or munificent than he." The name of their habitation was well chosen, Tennekille, or the House of the Wood; for the few aged patriarchs of the forest yet remaining, venerable companions of the ancient Keep, plainly tell you

"The glossy holly loved the park,
The yew tree lent its shadow dark,
And many an old oak worn and bare,
With all its shiver'd boughs was there."

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[b] "There were in that force along with the President, (Sir Edward Fitton) a selection of chiefs, powerful warriors, equestrian heroes, and champions of South Connaught, from Moy Aoi to Echtge, and from Galway to Athlone; there were also in the President's camp a great number of captains, and their soldiers along with them, and two or three companies of Irish mercenaries; and there were also there *Calvach the son of Torlogh son of John Carrach, son of MacDonnell* (of Tennekille,) with his two sons and his forces." * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"On the side of the English a great loss was sustained by the death of Patrick Cusack, and there was also slain on the same side Calvaeh, the son of Turlogh, son of John Carragh (McDonnell) and many others, whose names are not recorded."—Annals.

An ancient vol. of MS. in the library of the Royal Dublin Society, descriptive of the settlement of certain counties in Leinster, informs us that Tennekille, with other lands adjoining, were passed by patent 5th Eliz. to Charles McTurlough (the above-mentioned Calvagh) and his heirs male "to hold of Maryborough, by the 20th part of a knight's fee, and hostings, risings and ploughday, and to keep 12 Scottish gallowglasses, and the rent £12 9s 6d." The land is stated to have comprised 998 acres. Hugh McChullowe (McDonnell) held by patent of same date, and by same tenure, "the town of Acregar and other lands estimate at 320 acres," on which he was obliged to keep four gallowglasses, and to pay £3 18s. 0d. rent. He was the eldest son of Calvagh, and was at the siege of Shruel where his father was killed.

A curious Indenture of composition still exists, executed on the 7th May, 1573, between the Lord Deputy Sidney and the "three cheefe captaynes of the three septs of Clandonills (of Leinster,) her Majesty's galloglass," viz.—Turlough Oge MacAlexander of Wicklow, son of "Alexander filius Terentii," MacEdmond MacDonnell of Rahin, and Hugh Boy MacCallagh (or Calvagh) of Tennekille, in which it is conditioned that, in considcration of "thc auntient and contynuell fydelytie, loyaltie, and truc service of the captaynes, gent, and septs of the sayde Clandonnills, always borne and done towards her Majestie and her most worthy progenitors, the Bonaghts, Sovrens, dead payes, and blackmail, herctofore levyed, shall be commuted into a ycrely pencone of three hundreth pounds, to be payd out of her Majestie's Exchequer, unto th'ands of the sayde three cheefe captaynes. Provyded that henceforthe none of the sayde captaynes, gent, nor officers of the sayde three septs in any warlike jorney, or feat of warr, shall use armor or weapon in servinge of any other than the Queen's Majestie, her heirs or successors; provyded alsoc that henceforthe as heretofore of auntient use, and custome hath been due, the sayde captaynes, officers and galloglass shall supply, execute, and doe, as well in and for the marche of her Majestie's army, and approches and assaultes, and prepuracones of approaches and assaultes of castelles and ffortresses, all such officers and sapires, as by her Majestie's galloglass ought to be supplyed, executed, and done." The value commuted for the "pencone" was frec quarter at discretion on the neighbouring territories. The Inquisition post mortem of Calvagh MacDonnell finds him possessed of the town and Castle of Tennekille, &c., and bound among other services "to keepe and maintayne twelve able galloglass on sayde Castel and lands, sufficiently armed for the better inhabiting, and preserving of the premises;" upon sufficient warning to attend upon thc Governor of Ireland, or his deputy, and to "goe upon any Irishman bordering on the aforesaid countrie." (of Leix.) He died thc 18th Junc, 1570. On the 26th December, 1606, these chiefs had each a grant of sixteen shillings per diem for life.[c] Hugh Boy, the eldest son of Calvagh, who succeeded, died 31st August, 1618, Lord of the Manor of Tennekille, Ballycrossel, &c.; he was succeeded by his son and heir Fergus, born 1575; he died in 1637, Lord of the Manor of Tennekille,[d]

[c] The Inquisitio post mortem of this Hugh Bui McDonnell was held at Maryborough on the 6th March 1619. It finds that he had been seized of the Castle and lands of Tennekille, Ballycrossel, Carryne, Portnehinch, Ballycale, Colbanc, Ballicullane, Laragh, &c. &c., containing 998 acres, held of the King in capite by military service. He was also seized of Acregar &c., 312 acres, by like service. He bore the soubriquet Bui or Boy, which signifies yellow or fair, from his light complexion.

[d] A similar Inquisition taken at Maryborough, the 31st May 1637, finds that Fergus McDonnell, thc son of Hugh Boy, was seized as above, and by patent, 19th, James 1st, the rent of the 998 acres had been raised from £12 9s 6d to £13 19s 6d, the small increase being an extraordinary proof of the value of money at that period. He was also bound to keep "12 able gallowglasses at Tennekille, to keep for Acregar two horsemen and no gallowglasses. The same patent conveyed the privilege to hold at Tennekille a "Court Baron and Leet, as of the Manor of Tennekille, a weekly market, a fair for two days annually, viz., the 21st and 22nd of September." The Inquisition of Hugh McDonnell, his father, states that he (Fergus) was 44 years of age at the date of the Inquisition, viz., 1618, and married. On the 25th January, 1628, he granted a portion of the premises, viz., Acregar, &c., to Edward Jacob, late of Dullardstown for 41 years.

In the 5th Eliz. (1563) the lands of Castleno, containing by estimate 434 acres, were passed by patent to Terence McDonnell and his heirs. He was bound to keep ten gallowglass, and to pay £10 8s 6d annual rent. These lands, on his attainder, were granted to George Harpool.

The old Monkish Masters loved to celebrate in their annals, in quaint and picturesque imagery, the martial renown and domestic graces of the race, for example—"O'Neill, i.e John, the son of Con, son of Henry, gave the sons of McDonnell of Scotland, i.e. of Alexander, the son of John Cathanach, namely, James, Angus, and Sorley a great overthrow; in which Angus was slain, and James wounded, and taken prisoner, and he died in a year after of the mortification of his wounds; his death was very much lamented, and he was a man distinguished for hospitality, feats of arms, liberality, conviviality, ge-

and was succeeded by his son and heir James, born 1617, aged 20 years at the date of the Inquisition, and married. This James made a conspicuous figure in the Queen's County, in 1641, when, at the age of 24, he was a colonel of the confederate Catholics. On the 8th February in that year, the Lords Justices proclaimed a reward of £400 and a free pardon, for his head. His possessions were then confiscated, and the estate was never restored. The genealogy of the MacDonnell's of Leinster is fully recorded by McFirbisse, O'Farrel, and Sir Walter Scott; and their armorials were the same as those of their Hebridean sire, whose

"Banner bore
A galley driv'n by sail and oar."

The last of the martial race, whom I shall name, was a chivalrous heroine, whose courage, undaunted by watchful armed vessels, or vollies of musketry from the shore, successfully smuggled over the wilds and waters of her native Hebrides the Royal Scottish fugitive; for which offence, for a while, the "bonnie lassie" forfeited her liberty, and seriously perilled her person. Need I name Flora MacDonnell? The spirit-stirring scene comes fresh upon us in all its romantic incidents, as we recall to memory the well-known Scottish ballad—

"Come boat me o'er, come row me o'er, come boat me o'er
to Charlie,
I'll give John Ross another bawbee to boat me o'er to
Charlie."

And now I bid adieu to the noble galloglass and the fair heroine, descendants of Scott's own Ronald—

"Ronald from many a hero sprung,
The fair, the valiant, and the young,
Lord of the Isles, whose lofty name
A thousand bards have given to fame."

We have now no gallant neighbour at Tennekille, no "MacDonnell of the galloglasses," with whom to exchange the "compliments of the season," reciprocate a hearty benediction, or enjoy an interchange of Christmas convivialities:—

"The galloglass and kerne alike are gone,
They sleep beneath the monumental stone."

Nothing now remains but the lonely Keep and the solitary yew. Round the great fireplace, whose ample jaws once swelled with the goodly Christmas fare of Elizabeth's day, both massive and meet for "the entertaynement of her Majestic's sayde galloglass," no Christmas carol now is heard; but the peasant, who elsewhere beneath the crystal deep, "sees the round towers of other days," mysteriously whispers you, that in the midnight hour,

Voices which left the earth
Long ago,
Still are murm'ring round its hearth,
Soft and low."

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nerosity, and bestowing of gifts, and there was not his equal amongst the Clan Donnell of Ireland or of Scotland at that time: and his own people would not hesitate to give his weight in gold, could he be thereby ransomed: many others were also slain in that battle of Glen Taisi (probably Glentask, in the parish of Dunluce, County of Antrim) who are not recorded."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

CONSTABLES OF CASTLES.

These constables were the gaolers, and the castles were generally the gaols, for a long time before and after the enactment of the statute of Kilkenny. On the 29th of May, 1390, a writ issued, directed to Maurice Fitz Thomas, Earl of Kildare, reciting that the King having been informed that O'Conghic, son of Donogh O'Dymsy, his Irish enemy, had been lately taken and detained in the Earl's *prison of his Castle of Kildare*, and considering the danger of his escape or rescue, he gave the Earl leave to remove him to the *Castle of Dublin*, there to confine or remove him from thence as should seem most expedient to his Lordship for the benefit of himself, the King, and his faithful subjects. The *Constable* of the Castle of Dublin, or his deputy, was at the same time commanded to receive O'Dempsy, to keep him safe, and to deliver him to the Earl accordingly.—Patent Roll, 13, Rich II. Nos. 234, and 235.—1390.

The Castles of Ireland were of two descriptions; first those called the King's Castles, which were the most ancient and strongly built for purposes of defence. The principal of these were Dublin, Trim, Limerick, Athlone, Carlingford, Knock–, Crag–, or Carrick-fergus, &c. The other castles or "piles" for private residence or defence were gradually raised as the English settlers extended themselves.—See Cambrensis, Hanmer. p. 320, Dublin Edit. Cox, in his Appendix to volume I, and page 37 same volume.—It sometimes happened that the settlers expressed a dislike to castle-building. Thus Campion, p. 133, states that Savage of the Ardes, in Ulster, about A D. 1350, declared that he preferred "a castle of bones to a castle of stones." "and by the Grace of God would never cumber himself with dead walls." This is not to be wondered at, in an age when these adventurers considered themselves if not invulnerable, yet nearly invincible; and moreover, believed that the Heavenly Host itself was arrayed in their favour against the Irish Thus the same Campion gravely narrates, page 144, "In the red Moore of Athye, (the sun almost lodged in the west, and *miraculously standing still* in his Epicycle *the space of three hours,)* Sir James Butler (4th Earl of Ormonde) vanquished O'More, with his terrible army, with a few of his own." But Savage's objection to castles was only an exception; for the policy of building them became general, and continued long. In a document of the time of Elizabeth, preserved in the British Museum, (Titus, B. 12) showing how Ireland "was reduced, and by what continued under the English government," it appears that the principal means resorted to, were, "by restrayning and taking from the Irishry by little and little, all trust of government; *by building of castles and fenced houses*, and committing the captaineries to trustie and well-affected English." In the time of Richard II. it was ordered "that all who have castles and fortresses in Ireland should cause them to be repaired and hold them in proper condition, and place therein a good and sufficient, ward for their safe-keeping." (Harris's Hibernica, Part ii. p. 132. See also, Prynne on 4th institute, p. 307.) In a Statute Roll of the 7th year of Henry in A.D. 1429, I find the following Act, passed in the Parliament held in that year at Dublin, before Sir John Sutton, Knt. Lord Lieutenant.—9. "Likewise, forasmuch as the County of *Louth* and the subjects of our Lord the King dwelling therein, for the greater part are destroyed and desolated by Irish enemies, and English rebels of our Lord the King, *by the default of castles and towers* in said county, in resistance of said enemies and rebels, to the great decay of the said county: it is agreed and assented, that every subject of our Lord the King who, within said county, buildeth anew a castle or tower *upon the borders thereof* in five years from hence next to come, that is to say in length of XX feet, in breadth of XVI feet, in height of XL feet, that the Commons of said County shall pay to the same person who will so build such castle or tower, X pounds, in the name of subsidy, in the aid of the building [of the same to be] assessed and levied of the said Commons." Original Roll.—After this act numerous "piles" and castles gradually sprung up withiu the Pale and along its borders, the latter forming a continuous chain of defence against the surrounding Irish; and although those numerous fortresses were, in general, but of ordinary dimensions, yet the expenses of building and repairing them fell heavily on the people. By the foregoing Act it appears that these expenses were imposed as a subsidy. The following enactment of the Parliament held at Naas, A.D. 1472, will show with what strictness these subsidies had been levied. 22.—"Likewise at the prayer of William, Abbot of *Balkynglas*, whereas there is a rock very near the windgates, in the County of Kildare, which belongs to the house of Balkynglass, and parcel of the possessions of the Graunge, where if a castle or tower were raised and made it would be a great strength and defence to the said county and to all the towns hereunto adjoining, whereupon, the premises considered, it is ordained by authority of the said Parliament that he (the *Abbot)* may have, assess, and levie of the said county X pounds, to be assessed with the common *subsidy*, and that the assessors of the subsidy upon the pain of 100 shillings upon each of them do assess the said X pounds equally upon the said county, at such a time as they shall be required by the said Abbot; and that the said Abbot find sufficient surety in the King's Chancery of Ireland, that the said tower shall be of the height of XL feet under the entablature."—On other occasions temporary tolls were granted to forward those works of defence. Thus in the Parliament held at Drogheda, A.D. 1478, the following Act passed:—35. "Likewise at the prayer of Andrew Tuite, gentleman—Whereas there is a common and open road for the Irish enemies of the King, our Sovereign Lord, between *Rathconnyll* and *Queylan*, to come and enter into the County of *Meath* for the destruction thereof: and for which cause the said Andrew, in the most dangerous place of the said road hath made a tower, upon the vault whereof is a singular refuge for all the said county; and if a *trench* were made there a mile or less in length, the said enemies should have no entrance by that road in the said county. The which trench the said Andrew is not able to make, and the common people there inhabiting are so poor that they cannot attend to the making thereof. Whereupon consideration had, it is ordained, enacted, and established, and also granted by authority of the said Parliament, that it shall be lawful for the said Andrew to take and receive for every cow, and for every bullock, and for every horsepack of any manner of mer-

chandise or victualls that shall come or go by or near that road one penny to help to make the said trench, and to last for XV years, considering that none, or few, except Irish enemies, come or go by or very near the said road, with any manner of merchandize, except the freemen of the city of *Dublin*, and town of *Drogheda*, the *Holy Church*, and the freemen of the town of *Athboy*, and every of them; provided that he shall find sufficient surety to make the said trench within the said years, and the same completely made so to leave."—Id.—Again, by an act of the Parliament held at Naas, A.D. 1480, reciting that "Whereas it is very necessary, beneficial, and expedient, for the safeguard, peace, and tranquillity of the King's subjects of his County of *Meath*, that a tower or "pile" of the *new fashion* should be built at *Kesshbargu*, on the extreme frontier of the *old march*, not only in resistance of *O'Conchie* [*O'Connor*] but also for the chastisement of *the Birminghams*";* it was enacted that 40 pence should be assessed on every plowland within the County of Meath for that purpose"—Id.

Sometimes, though rarely, it happened, that the office of constable or sub-constable had been entrusted to a 'mere' Irishman. This appears by an act passed in the Parliament holden at Drogheda, 8 Ed. IV. A.D. 1468. "The Archbishop of Dublin being seized in right of his see of the Manor of *Ballymore*, lying between the Counties of Dublin and Kildare, among the *O'Birnes and O'Tooles, Irish enemies*, did, of ancient times,* make constables thereof for life, or at will, which constables kept their residence there continually, and especially in time of war, and Richard Talbot, brother of Lord Furnival, Archbishop of Dublin, predecessor to Michael [*Tregury*] by the assent of his Chapter, constituted Sir Richard Fitz Eustace constable thereof, to him and the heirs male of his body, and granted him to receive in the said office the profits of a mill of the annual sum of ten pounds, and £10 a year rent charge on said lands: that said Richard Fitz Eustace died, and Robert his son and heir, occupied said office but did not make his residence there; but made a sub-constable, one Lawrence O'Rogan, *an Irishman both by father and mother, who by nature would discover the secrets of the English;* also said Robert Fitz Eustace lodged his sheep in the vaults of the said castle, and wasted the same, and distrained the frank tenants and burgesses of the same, under colour of said rent harge; therefore at the petition of Michael, Archbishop f Dublin, it is enacted that the said Robert be compelled to keep a sufficient company of *Englishmen and no Irish to guard said castle;* and if said Robert put any Irishman, not having his charter of liberty, to ward the said castle, that then it should be lawful for the said Archbishop and his sucoessors to turn said Robert out of said constabulary, and to give the said office to any other for life, or years."—

A.D. 1537, J. Allen, Chancellor of Ireland, recommended that a general law to the foregoing effect should be enacted by Parliament, viz., "that *none of an Irysh nation* shall dwell and have the keeping of any Englyshe manne's castell on the borders."—State Papers, part iii. vol. ii. p. 482.

In the following century, Oliver Cromwell ended the contest, by dismantling the castles: and in Ireland to this day, the name of that extraordinary man is associated with their ruins.

Many traditional stories of murder and crime committed within these castles in former days, are told by the country people in their vicinity throughout the country. They tell of dark dungeons and chains, and particularly of trap-doors through which the unfortunate victims were thrown into the rolling waters beneath. That horrible crimes have been perpetrated within them there is abundant evidence; but with all the internal wars and dissensions of the Irish, I cannot find that they came near their neighbours, the English, or the old Castellans of Europe, in refined cruelty.—See on this subject Archæologia, vol. xxvii, p. 229, Lond. 1838, for the very curious communication of R. L. Pearsall, Esq., entitled "the Kiss of the Virgin." a narrative of researches made in Germany, during the years 1832, and 1834.

GALLOGLASSE AND KERNE.

"And as to ther footemen they have one sorte whiche be harnessed in mayle and bassencttes, having every of them his weapon callyd a sparre, moche like the axe of the Towre, and they be named Galloglasse; and for the more parte ther boyes have for them thre dartes a piece, which dartes they throwe or they come to the hande stripe; these sorte of men be those that doo not lightly abandon the fielde, but byde the brunte to the deathe. The other sorte, called Kerne, ar naked men, but onely ther shertes and small cotes: and many tymes, whan they come to the bycker, but bare nakyd, saving ther shurtes to hyde ther prevyties; and those have dartes and shorte bowes; which sorte of people be both hardy and delyver to serche woddes or maresses, in the whiche they be harde to be beaten. And, also these two sortes of people be of suche hardeness that ther ys no men that ever I sawe that will or can endure the paynes and evill fare that they will sustayne; for in the summer when corne ys nere rype they seek none other meate in tyme of neede but to storke or swyll the cares of wheate and eate the same; and water to ther drinke; and with this they passe ther lyves, and at all tymes thei eate suche meate as few other could lyve with." Vol. 3, p. 444, Sentleger to Hen. 8th.—1543.

Walker says (1788) "Truly sensible of the destructive powers of the Battle-Axe, the English put it into the hands of the Gallowglasses. Soon as this body of men, the bulwark of the English government in Ireland, was dissolved, their weapons were transferred to the Halberdiers, a harmless guard that attends on the chief Governor, and is now denominated the 'Battle-Axe Guard.' The axe, however, which is borne by this guard, varies in form from the antient 'Tuagh Catha' of the Gallowglass. The dexterity with which it appears the Irish used the battle-axe evinces their fondness for it. It was, probably, in order that they might deal the more deadly strokes with this weapon, that (as Campion relates) they left the right arm of their children unchristened."

Stanihurst says the Gallowglasses were "cloaked soldiers of huge stature, able-bodied beyond the generality of men, brave swordsmen, but blood-thirsty and strangers to mercy. They bear weapons of a foot in dimensions, not unlike hatchets, double, and sharp as the keenest knife; these they affix to halberds somewhat longer, and with these they wound desperately those whom they strike. Before any one is admitted into this order, he is obliged to swear a solemn oath that he will never turn his back on his enemy in the field of battle; although

* 4th Earl of Kildare, Lord Justice, 1360, died 1390.

time should have slackened the rigour of this usage: he must also swear that if in any fierce and sharp contest he should come to close conflict, he should either be killed himself or kill his adversary."

While the custom of "coyne and livery" prevailed the Gallowglass was allowed 1d a day in lieu thereof:—and, besides his ordinary, he was entitled to a "mether" of milk as a privilege. In an establishment of James I, in the Auditor-General's Office, is the following article:—"Walter McEdmond, Captain of Gallowglasses, at 12d per day, to cease upon death."

"These (the Gallowglasses) seem to have taken their name from the Irish words *gal-glee*, 'the courageous hand.'" Spenser thinks it comes from *gall-ogla*, "the English waiter;" but he did not consider that the Irish never would have given themselves, nor would their countrymen permit them a hated and degrading appellation. It was the opinion of Lionel Jenkins, M.D., who assisted Mr. Harris in his History of the County of Down, that the Gallowglasses were originally Scots, hired by the Irish Chiefs in their domestic wars; to whom they assigned portions of land: that they were selected for their size, strength, and courage, and had always a larger portion of victuals than others: that Martin in his Account of the Western Isles, informs us that every chief had an armour-bearer, bold and watchful, who attended him night and day, and was called Galloglaeh: that all the *McDonnells* are the descendants of these Gallowglasses: and, finally, that Moryson always distinguishes them from their countrymen who invaded and conquered the Route and Glins in Ulster:—the latter he calls "Scotts," the former "Galloglasses."—Thus far Dr. Jenkins. Shakspeare, in Macbeth, brings over soldiers from the Hebrides:

> "The merciless MacDonnell from the Western Isles
> Of Kernes and Gallowglasses is supplied.

Spencer describes the Gallowglass as dressed in a long shirt of mail down to the calf of the leg, with a broad axe in his hand; Stanihurst adds that the axe was double-edged and as sharp as a razor; and Ware informs us that he had a bacinet or iron helmet and long sword.

Camden says O'Neill's Gallowglasses in 1562 bore battle-axes; "their heads were bare, with locks curled and hanging down, their shirts stained with saffron, the sleeves of them large, their vests rather short and their clokes shagged."

John Dymmok in his "Treatice of Ireland," written about 1600, gives the following spirited account of the Gallowglass.—"The Gallowglass ar pyeked and seelected men, of great and mightie bodies, erewell without compassion. The greatest force of the battell consisteth in them, chosinge rather to dye then to yeelde; so that when yt cometh to handy blowes, they are quickly slayne or win the feilde. They are armed with a shert of mail, a skull, and a skeine. The weapon they most use is a battel-axe or halberd, six foote longe, the blade whereof is somewhat like a shomaker's knyfe, and without pyke; the stroeke whereof is deadly where yt lighteth. And being thus armed, reckoninge to him a man for his harnesse-bearer and a boy to carry his provision, he is named a spere, of his weapon so called, 80 of which speres make a battell of Gallowglass."

Stuart, in his History of Armagh, referring to the visit of Shane O'Neill to the Court of Queen Elizabeth in 1562, says:—"The citizens of the British capital beheld with lively emotion the Ulster Chieftain accompanied by a splendid train of Irishmen, arrayed in the costume of their country, on whom they gazed with surprise, as on the natives of another hemisphere. A body-guard of Gallowglasses, armed with battle-axes, marched with O'Neill: long curled hair descended from their uncovered heads; their linen vests were dyed with crocus; long sleeves, short tunics, and shaggy cloaks, rendered the whole dress more singularly conspicuous. Regardless of the law which prohibited the use of the national Hibernian costume, O'Neill appeared at the head of his Gallowglasses as if he came in the genuine spirit of conscious independence, to treat on equal terms with the Sovereign of the British Empire, in her own capital; where he was greatly distinguished by the Royal favour."

REFERENCES TO THE McDONNELLS.

The following are taken from the Inquisitions of Leinster:—The originals are in Latin.

Maryborough, 6th March, 1619.

Hugh McCallogh McDonnell, of Tennekille, was seized in fee-tail, to himself and heirs male, of the castle and land of Tennekille and Ballycrossel, the village of said Tenuekille, Carryne, Portnehineh, Ballyeale, Colbane, Ballieullane, Ferryne, Donoghfyne, Genterry, otherwise Clouterree, Laragh, (Lauragh) &c. &c. Which said premises contain 998 acres, and are held by the King in capite by military service,

The said Hugh was also seized in fee-tail to himself and heirs male, of the town and land of Agregar, Strahard, &c. &c., containing 312 acres, by like service. The said Hugh died the last day of August, 1619. Fergus McDonnell is his son and heir, and was aged 44 years at the time of his father's death, and married.

Maryborough, 31st May, 1637.

Fergus McDonnell was also seized as above, and of one court-leet and court-baron, held of the manor of Tennekille; also of one free market to be held weekly, and one fair in same place, to be held annually, for two days, commencing 21 Sept. The said Fergus, by indenture dated 25 January, 1628, granted a portion of these lands, viz., Agregar &c., to Edmund Jacob, late of Dullardstown, his executors and assigns for a term of 41 years. James McDonnell was his son and heir, aged 20 and three months, and married. The said manor of Tennekille is held by military service of the king in capite, and is liable to £27 10s 6d rent and other customs.

MARCHES.

See Verstegan's "Restitution of decaied Intelligence" pp. 19, 157. also Cowell's Interpreter, edit. 1727.—From the time of the Institution of the English pale in the 13th century, the defence and preservation of its *marches* or borders have been always considered objects of paramount importance by the English rulers in Ireland. In the parliament or conventiou held by Sir John Wogan, Lord Justice, A.D. 1295. (See Leland, book ii., ch. 2, and Cox, vol. 1, p. 85) the following act or ordinance passed:—"Item quia quidam magnates et alii qui quasdam terras habent in *marchiis* prope Hybernicos, et alias terras in terra pacis, manent et morantur in maneriis suis in terra pacis et alias terras in terra pacis,

manent et morantur in maneriis suis in terra pacis. terris suis in *marchiis* relictis vastis et incultis, et sine custodia: et felones Hybernici, per medium hujusmodi terrarum vastarum in marchiis suis transeuntes, libere pertranseant perpetrando roberias homicidia et alia mala super Anglicos; et per redeunt sine arrestacione clamore vel impedimento; per quod quamplures marchie, vel omnino destruuntur aut pro majori parte ruinose sunt; Anglici inhabitantes et felonibus obediunt vel quasi in exilium effugantur:—Concordatum est quod tenentes hujusmodi cujuscumque fuerint auctoritatis seu condicionis, apponant et habeant wardas in terris suis in marchia, juxta quantitatem terrarum illarum, ne malefactores pertranseant per terras illas impunes vel non persecuti." This and the other acts of that parliament will be found in the Black Book of Christ Church Dublin, where only they are preserved. Leland at the place above referred to observes.—"The acts of this assembly seem to deserve some notice."

In the reign of Henry 7th the influence of the English extended little further than four Counties; and so straightened were they, that it was found necessary to protect them from the incursions of the Irish, by a ditch raised along the borders of the Pale. For this purpose an act was passed in the celebrated parliament held at Drogheda, A.D. 1494 The following extract is taken from this curious act preserved in the Rolls Office, Dublin. "As the marches of four shires lie open and not fencible in fastness of ditches and castles, by which Irishmen do great hurt in preying the same; it is enacted that every inhabitant, earthtiller, and occupier in said marches, that is, in the County of Dublin, from the water of Anna Liffey to Trim, and so forth to Meath and Uriel, as said marches are made and limited by an act of parliament held by Wm. Bishop of Meath, do build and make a double ditch of six feet high above ground at one side or front, which mereth (meareth) next unto Irishmen, betwixt this and next Lammas, the said ditches to be kept up and repaired as long as they shall occupy said land under pain of forty shillings: the Lord of said lands to allow the old rent of said lands to the builder for one year under said penalty. The Archbishop of Dublin, and the Sheriff of the County of Dublin, the Bishop of Kildare, the Bishop of Meath, the Primato of Armagh, and the Sheriff of the County of Uriel, be commissioners with the respective shires, with full power to call the inhabitants of said four shires to make ditches in the waste or Fasagh lands without the said marches."

The term 'march' or 'border' is that invariably used in several acts of parliament which relate to the transactions of the Pale. This will appear from the following extracts from several unpublished acts of the reign of Edward 4th, viz.—an act passed in the parliament held at Naas, and prorogued to Dublin, an. 12, 1473. v. 16, recites that "The town of Callen, in the County of Uriell, stands on the frontiers of the March, and is the key of that part of the country."—An act passed in the parliament held at Dublin, an. 13th, 1474, s. 57, recites, "whereas Esmond Wellesly, son to Robert Wellesly, purposes to make a castle Lercorre, which is the frontier of the March of the County of Meath, and which would be great succour and relief to all Meath; enacted that he shall have £10 to be levied upon the whole county for that purpose."—In an act passed in the parliament held at Dublin, an. 15, 16, 1476, and 7, sec. 25, Newcastle, near Lyons, is called one of the keys of the County of Dublin.—Sect. 85, same parliament, states, "that the lands of Ballychire are held by grand service, which town was wasted, and was a common place to the Tooles and Byrnes to lodge in, and from thence they used to scour to Clondalkin and all the country round, and have laid waste one moiety of the manor of Tapogonel."—Sect 88, states that the "tenants of Frayne, in the parish of Athboy, parcel of the Lordship of Portlester, are greatly oppressed by the Birminghams and divers other Marchers near them, and also they are greatly oppressed by divers subsidies and other taxes, by reason whereof the inhabitants have proposed to quit the said town of Frayne."—An act passed at the parliament held at Dublin, 16-17, 1477, and 8, sec. 24, recites that "Rowland Eustace, Knt. Lord of Portlester, Chancellor of Ireland, has built a town anew, with a Castle of Galmonstown, in the County of Kildare, which lies in the frontier of the March of said county."—In an act passed in the parliament held at Naas, 19, 1480, vol. 2, it is recited that "Cokestown, in the Barony of Athirdee, is too open and exposed, and if it were ditched round and entrenched, it would be a great help to all the English country joining thereto; and enacted that one labourer shall go out of every house, on two days in every year, during three years, with barrows and spades, as they shall be warned by the Sheriff of Louth, or by Robert Taff, of Cokestown, gent. to sink trenches round Cokestown, aforesaid." Sect 10, it was enacted that, "£10 be assessed on the County of Kildare, to enable Rowland Eustace, Knt. Lord of Portlester, and Nicholas Prior of Conall, to build at Ballablaught, in the borders of the March of the County of Kildare." Section 12 recites that, "Richard Ballor, Esq., has built and furnished a tower in the castletown of Dundalk, on the border of the March of the County of Louth, and intends to build another tower anew in the said town, and enacts that he shall receive and take 12d. of every ploughland in the County of Louth, for building the same."—An act passed in the parliament held at Naas, 20, 1481, sec. 3, recites—"Whereas divers ways and entries are open towards Arst, by which the O'Coughonrs (O'Connors) and other Irish enemies daily do great injuries to the County of Kildare, and namely, to Arst, which is near to the said entries and ways, and are likely to be the destruction of the said County of Kildare, unless it be most speedily remedied, and enacts that the Sheriff of the county shall have full power and authority to direct his warrants in writing to the serjeants of every barony, except Kileolyn, Naas, and half the barony of Norragh, to summon a man out of every house, with a spade and a barrow, for two days as the said Sheriff shall think most necessary, to cut the said entries and ways."

IRISH ITINERARY OF FATHER EDMUND MACCANA.

To the Editor of the Ulster Journal of Archæology.

Sir,—The following article is a faithful translation of a Latin tract, which is preserved, among other treasures of Irish literature, in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. This interesting record appears in the Inventaire at No. 5307, and is intituled "Itinerarium in Hibernia ex relatione R. P. Fratris Edmundi MacCana." A copy, from which the present translation is made, was taken for me in May, 1851, by my accomplished and enthusiastic friend Charles P. MacDonnell, Esq., than whom there have been few more intelligent and devoted students in the field of Irish Archæology. The tract is without a date; but it appears from internal evidence to have been written shortly after 1643, and to have been intended as a topographical contribution to the antiquarian store which the Irish Franciscans of Louvain had, with such laudable zeal, been for years accumulating in the service of their beloved country. The author, Father Edmund McCann, a Franciscan Friar, was manifestly a diligent and single-minded inquirer, possessing withal a sufficient amount of superstition to guarantee his veneration of antiquity, and of credulity to constitute him a faithful vehicle of tradition. His family was descended from Rochaidh son of Colla Da-chrioch, and bore in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the tribe name of *Cinel-Aengusa*, being a subordinate branch of the great Oriellian race. In the sixteenth century they were found in the territory of Clanbrassil, sometimes called "Braskelough or McCan's Country," and now known as the barony of Oneilland East, in the county of Armagh, and their inheritance called Clanean, was reckoned the north-west boundary of the county of Down. Toole, son of Rory, son of Patrick McCanna, was possessor of the townland of Carricknegawny, in Seagoe, in 1627, and the name still abounds in the parish. The name properly is MacAnna, but by the attraction which is common in Irish nomenclature, which makes Mac Artan, McCartan, and then Cartan; Mac Aengus, Mac Gennis, and then Guinness; and Loch Orbison, Lough Corrib; this name, even with the Irish Annalists, came to be written MacCana, and thus has descended to us in the familiar shape of McCann.

As regards the matter of the following tract, it will be seen that it is marked by a few historical inaccuracies, and such as might be expected in a compilation made from local information, at a time when access could not easily be had to written documents. But in a topographical point of view it is remarkably trustworthy, and affords a gratifying confirmation to the identifications which, after a dormancy of two centuries, appeared in the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor and Dromore, of names such as *Loch Laogh*, *Cnan Snah-each*, *Glensechis*, *Nendrum*, *Ard-mic-Nasca*, and *Kill-ruaidh*, which, notwithstanding the geographical importance of their ancient abodes, were locally unknown, and in record unapplied.

WILLIAM REEVES, D.D.

IRISH ITINERARY OF FATHER EDMUND MACCANA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN AND ILLUSTRATED BY NOTES,

BY THE REV. W. REEVES, D.D.

ON the banks of the river of Lake Lir,[a] now known by the natives as Loch Carling,[b] opposite the territory called Iveagh,[c] stood the monastery of *Kill-Snabha*,[d] which was celebrated in former times for having three-hundred monks, who day and night,[e] uninterruptedly, employed themselves in the praises of God, but which was at last desolated by heathen pirates,[f] and all its three hundred inmates slain, with the exception of the abbot, who happened at the time to be absent in the region of *Ui-*

[a] *Lake Lir.*—This is the only instance in which I have found Carlingford Lough called by this name. *Lear*, genitive *Lir*, signifies 'the sea.' The river here alluded to is the Newry River, now converted, in chief part, into a canal.

[b] *Loch Carling.*—Its ancient Irish name was *Cuan Snamh Each* or *Snamh-Aignech*, under which forms it is found in the Annals of Ulster, at A.D. 851, 922, 925, 1149, and in the parallel places of Tighernach and the Four Masters. See the Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor, pp. 114, 207, 252, where this name was first identified in modern times.

Carlingford is first met with in Giraldus Cambrensis, and Anglo-Norman charters, being a relic of Danish nomenclature, and one of the five names in Ireland, which end in the Norse termination *Fiord*. The earliest instance in the Irish Annals where the old form is abandoned is in the Four Masters, at 1539, at which year it is called *Cuan Carlinne*. It was a favourite station of the Northern invaders; and to shew that the memory of their occupation has not yet died away, a party of the Sappers and Miners who landed and encamped on a small island off Mourne, when that part of the country was under survey, being seen early in the morning, created a great panic on the mainland, and produced the current rumour that the Danes had once more effected a landing on their old ground.

[c] *Iveagh.*—In Irish *Ui Eathach*, that is, the 'posterity of Eathach;' the territory, according to the Irish practice which was the reverse of the Saxon, taking its name from the inhabitants. Eathach, or Aughy, surnamed Cobha, the founder of the race, lived in the third century, and was in after ages represented by the powerful families of Magenis and Macartan. For the fullest particulars of the district, see Reeves' Eccles. Antiq. pp. 348-352. It is a great territory embracing the western half of the county of Down, containing 252,421 acres, and civilly divided into the baronies of Upper and Lower Iveagh. The baronies of Kinelarty and Mourne were formerly included in it.

[d] *Kill-Snabha.*—Near the junction of the three counties of Louth, Armagh, and Down, opposite Narrow Water Castle, in the townland Cornamucklagh, is a rising ground, covered with a larch plantation, belonging to the Marquis of Anglesey. In the middle of this is a small space partially enclosed by black-thorn bushes, where are some faint traces of a building, but more distinct evidence of graves. In this spot, locally called *Kill-an-Snaw* or 'Swimming Church,' it has been the custom to inter unbaptized infants, and the unidentified remains of persons who have occasionally perished in the neighbouring waters. The adjacent land was, until lately, held in "rundele," and one of the occupants pushed the tillage of his stripe close up to the burying-ground, but desisted from further encroachment when, one day, a human patella was turned out of the pot in company with the potatoes which had grown there. Lower down, the bank of the canal, is a bare spot called *Nun's Island*. It is reported that when the canal was a-deepening, some years ago, traces of building and sepulchral remains were discovered in this place.

[e] *Day and Night.*—The writer probably had in mind St Bernard's vivid description of the massacre of the monks at Bangor, and of St. Columbanus' fraternity at Luxieu: "Aiunt tam magnam fuisse, ut succedentibus sibi vicissim choris, continuarentur solemnia divinorum, ita ut ne momentum diei ac noctis vacaret a laudibus." [Vit. Malach. c. 5.] This system of perpetual offices had its origin in the East. About the beginning of the 5th century an order of monks sprang up at Constantinople, commonly called *Acœmœ*, that is 'Watchers,' who took their name from their not allowing sleep to interrupt the celebration of their divine offices, either by night or day. Their manner was to divide themselves into three classes, which relieved each other at regular intervals. [See Bingham, Orig. Eccles. viij. 2, § 10. Works, vol ii. p. 261. Lond. 1840.]

[f] *Pirates.*—The Northmen, who appeared on the east side of Ireland in 799, ravaged the coast of Louth, and carried off its chief in 829, and in the following year, plundered Armagh for the first time. Previously to 841, they had formed a station at this very place: for the Annals state that in this year, the *Strangers of 'Cael-uisc*,' or Narrow Water, wasted Castledermot in Kildare. In 851, a fleet of 160 ships of Norwegians arrived in the neighbouring lough of Snamh Eidhneach, and after a contest with the Dubhgaill or Danes, (who were there already), which lasted three days, they abandoned their

Meth.[g] It was founded by the munificence of the Lords of Oregellia.[h] At the present day it is barely in the recollection of man, so great, (with sorrow be it said), is the forgetfulness[i] of ancient works.

Right opposite to this once celebrated monastery has been erected a Castle,[k] which is commonly called the Castle of *Caol*[l] in Irish, or of the Euripus,[m] as you might term it, in Greek.

This territory, which once belonged to the very illustrious family of MacDuibhne,[n] was seized, almost in the memory of our grandfathers, by a chief of the house of Magenis, in violation of the laws of nature.

Three miles west of this castle is the monastery of *The Yew*,[o] (so I would interpret the Irish name;

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ships and fled. In 922, Dubhliter of Killevy, priest of Armagh, was put to death by the Danes of Snamh Aighneach. Three years after, Muircertach Mac Neill defeated the Danes of Snamh Aighneach with the loss of two hundred men.

[g] *Ui Meth.*—Commonly known as *Omeath.* There were two territories of this name, deriving their name from Muiredhach Meith, grandson of Colla Da-chrioch, who flourished in the fourth century. This was, for distinction's sake, called *Ui Meath Mara* or 'Omeath of the Sea,' the other *Ui Meith Macha* or *Tire*, that is, 'Omeith of Macha,' or 'of the land,' which is now represented by the barony of Monaghan, in the county of the same name. The present territory has, from time immemorial, consisted of the ten townlands along the Lough, commencing at the northern boundary of the county, and stretching south-eastwards towards the town of Carlingford. In 1612 it was found that Sir Arthur Bagnall (now represented by the Marquis of Anglesey,) was seised of a territory containing 1200 acres, formerly called the *Lordship of Omee*, parcel of the manor of Carlingford, containing the several towns and lands known by the names of Cornemucklogh [*now* the same,] Liskley [*now* Lislea,] Drommallat [*now* Drummullagh,] Ardaghie [*now* Ardaghy,] Bawne [*now* Bavan,] Tawlaght [*now* Tullaghomeath,] Knockgiurin [*now* Knocknagoran,] Corkitt [*now* Corrakit,] Tesky [*now* Ballinteskin,] and Ballywonan [*now* Ballyonan.] The stream called Owencoggery, was the boundary between it and Feddan, now Fathom, in the county of Armagh, on the north, and the Two-mile-River, between it and the Liberties of Carlingford on the south. [Leinst. Inq. Louth, No. 3, Jac. 1.] The inhabitants of this district, having but little arable land, eke out their subsistence by hawking fish through the country, and are greatly looked down upon by their neighbours on the south, the Cooley people, who say that the Omeath-men are no better than pedlars and cadgers.

It is to be observed that though Kill-Snabha was in Omeath, yet, being on the very verge, the abbot might be said, when absent from his monastery, to be away in Omeath. [See O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 365.]

[h] *Origellia.*—The ancient name of the extensive tract occupied by the descendants of the three Collas, embracing the modern counties of Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan. Under the English the name was softened to Oriel or Uriel, the latter of which was afterwards limited to the county of Louth. The name is now preserved in the peerage, as an inferior title of Viscount Ferrard, who sits in the House of Lords as Baron Oriel. The nobleman who enjoys the title is also Viscount Massereene by female descent, which is the senior creation: and thus his lordship's titles rise in the inverse ratio of their territorial importance. *Oriel*, a great tract, contains three counties; *Ferrard*, an ancient territory and barony in Oriel; and *Massareene*, a petty hamlet beside an inconsiderable town, giving a modern name to a double barony in Antrim.

[i] *Forgetfulness.*—The name does not occur in the Annals or any ancient Irish authority; possibly it has superseded some more ancient one, which is to be sought among the few *incognita* of our records. I had an idea that it was the famous *Lann Leire* of the Annals, which has been erroneously confounded with Lann-mhic Luachain or Lynn in Westmeath, and which is as yet unidentified; but it lay more to the south, possibly at Mullary, or Dunleer, in the barony of Ferrard. The Ordnance Survey marks the plantation here, but omits to notice the burial place or its name. [Louth, sheet 2.]

[k] *Castle.*—It was built, according to the Four Masters, by Maurice Fitzgerald in 1252. There is an indifferent sketch of it in the Dub. Pen. Journal, vol. iii p. 17. On the high ground above it is the modern castle, the seat of Roger Hall, Esq

[l] *Caol.*—This word in Irish conveys the idea of slenderness or narrowness, as applied to man or place. *Caol uisce*, the name in full, is literally rendered 'narrow water.' There was another so called at a narrow part of Lough Erne, near Castle Caldwell, in the County of Fermanagh. The term as applied to a strait is of common use in Scotland; thus we meet with the *Kyles* of of Bute, *Kyle* Rhea between Skye and Glenelg, *Kyle* Akin, between the same island and Lochalsh Thus also the narrowing of Strangford Lough at Inch is called *the Cuyle.*

[m] *Euripus.*—This Greek word, signifying 'a strait,' was *par excellence* applied to the channel between Eubœa and Bœotia. In Hiberno-Latin writings it is a favourite term to denote the part of a river where it is influenced by the tide; thus the river above Derry was styled the Euripus Feabhail, and the combination, *River Foyle*, was unknown.

[n] *MacDuibhne.*—Notwithstanding the honour done to the name in the text, the family was really an insignificant one, and does not appear in O'Dugan's Topographical poem, or other notices of these parts. The Four Masters furnish but two instances of the name, both belonging to Cavan. See the years 1343 and 1464.

[o] *The Yew.*—That is, Newry. A yew, said to have been planted by St. Patrick, gave to the monastery, which

or, if you like to express it in a Greco-Latin form, *Tuxo-polis*,) founded[p] by a chieftain of the same very ancient family, and endowed with considerable estates. For that monastery was possessed of forty-four townlands,[q] (to use, our ancient term), which were granted to it, of very fruitful land. At the commencement of our present disastrous war, this family, so pious, and once so celebrated among the Irish, was nearly exterminated by the misconduct of the English and Irish. However I was on intimate terms with the head of this ancient family, a man of integrity and withal of unbroken spirits, who told me that he had a Bull[r] from the Roman Pontiff, sanctioning the family right of that most ancient chieftain to present the Abbot of this monastery. Whether this Bull has been lost in the present disastrous wars I am unable to say.

Eastwards of this is the church called in Irish *Kill-Dallan*,[s] which was the burial-place of the chiefs of Magenis family,[t] and was of old in high repute; but it is fresh in my recollection how Arthur and his son, the chiefs of the Magenis family, Lords of Iveagh, living in a strange land by reason of the calamities of the times, and of the ancient religion of their forefathers being trampled upon, and, as it were, utterly extinguished, wished it to be pulled down. So great was the impiety which characterized the prevailing heresy. I believe that that church was dedicated to the famous panegyrist[u] of our great Columba.

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formed the nucleus of an after town, the name of *n-Iubhar*, afterwards called by the natives *the Newry*. (See Four Mast. A.D. 1162.) In ecclesiastical records the abbey after its adoption of the Cistercian rule, was designated De Viridi Ligno. (See Reeves' Eccles. Ant. p. 116.) The name in full among the Irish was *Iubhar-chinn tragha*, that is, the 'yew at the head of the strand.'

[p] *Founded.*—We have no exact record of the foundation of the church of Newry, nor of the donor of its site and lands. St. Patrick gets the credit of planting its yew, and of course, a church with it; but Keating describes its origin to Malachi O'Morgair in 1144. In 1157 Maurice MacLachlann, with the consent of the neighbouring prelates and chiefs granted to it a charter, which is still preserved, though erroneously cited as a *foundation* charter. The name of MacDuibhne does not occur in this record.—See Reeves' Eccles. Antiquities, p. 117.

[q] *Forty-four Townlands.*—"Villatæ." The names of 23 are recited in Maurice MacLachlann's charter, which may be seen with their modern identifications in the Eccles. Ant. of Down and Connor, p. 117. An Inquisition, 3 Ed. vi. finds this house to be possessed of 49 carucates, the names of which it recites, as does also Sir Nicholas Bagnall's patent. (See Archdall's Monast. p. 791: Ul. Inq. Down, No. 15, Jac. i.) At present there are 37 townlands of the parish in the County of Down; 10 in Upper Orior, and 2 in Oneilland West, in the County of Armagh; 49 in all. The 37 and 10 lie on either side of the Newry river, but the 2 in Oneilland West are many miles distant on the N. W. from the body of the parish.

[r] *Bull.*—Of this curious statement we have no confirmation in the meagre notices of the Abbey which are preserved.

[s] *Kill-Dallan.*—More properly *Cluain-Dallain*, now Clonallan, situate to the S. E. of Newry. (Ord. Sur. Down. S.S. 47, 51.) This was a very ancient church, and it is thus noticed in the Irish Calendar at the 2d of April; "Conall son of Aedh, of Cluain Dallain beside Snamheach, [Carlingford Bay] which is an inlet of the sea near Caol [Narrow Water] in Iveagh." The advowson of Clondollan, as well as the manor of Narrow-water, belonged to the branch of the Magenis family, which was ennobled under the title of Viscount Iveagh. (Ul. Inq. Down, Nos. 13, 85, Car. i.)

[t] *Magenis family.*—This name is in Irish *MacAongusa* 'son of Angus,' being derived from an ancestor, Aongus, son of Aidith, after whom the race was sometimes styled Clann-Aongusa. In the 12th century the family became the most powerful in Iveagh, and superseded the family of O'Haideth, which had antecedently enjoyed the lordship of that territory. [See Reeves' Ec. Ant. p. 351.]—Sir Hugh Magenis of Rathfriland, represented the county of Down in 1585, and is described as "the civilest of all the Irish in those parts." (Harris' Down, p. 79.) His son Art Roe, (called Arthur in the text), was created Viscount Iveagh by patent, 1623, and died in 1629. His wife was Sorcha or Sarah, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, who died in 1638. Their son Hugh died about 1639. His eldest son was Art, or Arthur, who died in 1641, and the third son Sir Con. Archbishop Ussher undertook the care of the young Viscount Iveagh, his father being dead, and kept a tutor for him in his own family. (See Elrington's Life of Ussher, p. 109.)

[u] *Panegyrist.*—Namely Dallan Forgaill, the famous poet, who flourished circ. 570. He composed a poem in praise of St. Columba, called the *Amhra Choluim-chille*. His festival was January 29, under which day Colgan has published his acts. (Acta. Sanct. p. 204.) That writer, agreeably with what is said above, observes:

To the east of this is the pleasing 'chersonese' called *Mugharna*,[w] in which there were formerly some hallowed spots, and no mean recollection of their occupants. It is now a parish of Down.

I should not omit to notice the remarkable cell of *St. Broncha*,[x] a most noble virgin, at whose statue God has performed many miracles in our day. This cell is situate to the north of Kill-Dallan, endowed with many possessions[y] and privileges by the principal chieftains of Ultonia.

The 'chersonese' which I mentioned above, namely *Mugharna*,[z] derived its name from Mugharna, in Orighillia: for when the family of MacMahon were driven by the English, through craft and force, from the lands of Bregia[a] into the fastnesses of Orighillia, and when the one small territory was not sufficient to accomodate the two families, namely, the MacMahons and the MacEochys,[c] the latter sought for themselves another settlement, namely, this Mugharna,[d] which they subdued by force of

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"There is in the eastern part of Ultonia, which is called Ivechia, a parish church named Cluain-Dallain; which Doctor Keating in his History of the Kings of Ireland, speaking of King Aidus, states took its name from this Saint Dallan." [Act. SS. p. 205, *b*.]—See Reeves, Eccl. Ant. p. 114.

[w] *Mugharna*.—Pronounced 'Mourne.' The largest parish in Ireland is Kilcommon, containing 203,396 acres, and embracing nearly the whole barony of Erris in the County of Mayo. Kilkeel, which is coincident with the barony of Mourne, is of no mean extent, and together with the parishes of Kilcoo and Kilmegan, to which it is at present united, contains 80,000 acres. This great benefice was formerly styled a Plebania.—See Eccles. Ant. Down and Conor, pp. 205-210.

[x] *Cell of St. Broncha*.—St. Bronach, whose name appears in the Calendar, at April 2, founded and gave name name to the church of *Kilbroney*. It is described as situate in *Glin-Scichis*, and the parish is called *Glentegys* in the ancient Taxation. [See Ec. Ant. Down and Con. pp. 115, 116, 315.] In the old Registries of Armagh she is called Bromana, and the "Officium baculi S. Bromana," or custody of her crozier, was accompanied by lucrative privileges. [Ec. Anti. ut supra.] The modern parish church is at the village of Rosstrevor, but the church-yard and ruins of the old church are situate about an English mile N. E of the village The staff and image of the Saint have perished, but her cross, which is more graceful than massive, is still standing.

[y] *Possessions*.—The lands of this church gradually merged in the see estates of Dromore and when that diocese was annexed to Down and Connor, the chief rents and fines passed with the remaining temporalities of the see into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. They were held by the late Mr. D. Ross until they were sold a short time since in the Encumbered Estates Court.

[z] *Mugharna*.—This account of the Ulidian Mourne is very interesting, and is an additional testimony in confutation of Harris and his followers' absurd etymology, of *Mor Rinn* 'the great Ridge.' It is, in truth, an emigration transfer. The earliest instance on record in which the name is applied to the south part of Iveagh is the old Taxation of circ. 1300. The general and only name by which it was known by the Irish before the middle of the 13th century was *Boirche* (Boreky), and the mountains of it *Beanna Boirche*, or 'Peaks of Boreky.' This latter form lingered till the seventeenth century, for in certain patents of James I, to John Magennis of Corrocks, Hugh Magennis of Milltown, Edward Trevor of Narrow-water, and Brian Magennis of Munteredy, common of pasture is granted "in and through the mountain or waste of Crotlewe [now] and *Beani-borphies*." (Patents Jac. i. pp. 190, 193.) The last traditional keeper of the old name was a man called McLindon, living in Clonduff, who told Mr. O'Donovan, then in the employment of the Ordnance Survey, that in the townland Ballymaghery, in Clonduff, near the source of the Bann, was a spot called the *Moat of Bennaboreky*.

[a] *MacMahon*.—The family of MacMathghamhain, as the name is written in Irish, were descended from Colla-Dachrioch, and derived their name from an ancestor Mathghamhan, who was killed at Clones in 1022. They established themselves as Lords of Oriel early in the thirteenth century. The first time the name occurs in the Four Masters is at 1239, and, in connection with Oriel, at 1273. For their pedigree see Shirley's Farney, p. 148.

[b] *Bregia*.—The great plain of Bregia embraced East Meath with some adjacent part of Louth.

[c] *MacEochys*.—Now called McGaughey, a common name in Down and Antrim. The family was never eminent, and is unnoticed in the Annals and O'Dugan.

[d] *This Mugharna*.—The case stands thus: Mughdhorn Dubh, son of Colla Meann, gave name to the territory in the County of Monaghan, which was called from his descendants *Crioch Mughdhorna*, subsequently softened to 'Cremourne,' and now a barony therein. Its mountainous part was called *Sliabh Mughdhorn*. (See Four Mast. 3591 3579, 1457.) Sometimes the district was styled *Mughdhorn Maighen*, and an offset from it spreading southwards, was called *Mughdhorn Bregh*. From this, the original Mourne, an emigration, (as stated in the text), took place in the middle of the thirteenth century, and the colonists carried with them, according to a common practice, the name of their former inheritance. This is confirmed by a pedigree of the MacMahons preserved in Trinity College, [MS. H. 4. 31.] "Hugh (ob. 1344), son of Roolbh (slain 1323) son of Eohaidh (slain 1273) son of Mathghamhain, son of Hugh. And another son of this Hugh was Niall the Proud, and it was from the weight of his rent and rule that the chiefs fled out of Mughdorna, in Oriel, into Trian Congaill, and it was from that colony the territory is named at this day, viz. Mugharna of Ui Eathach." This Niall

arms, and called after the name of their former inheritance. Of this they retained possession even unto the times of Henry VIII. So I learned from the mouths of many aged men.

This Chersonese is bounded on the north-east by that exceedingly high mountain, celebrated in the western world, which formerly bore the name of *Slanga*, but in the common use of modern times, that of *Domanghart*.[e] This huge mass of land towers over the sea, between which and its base, nevertheless, is a thicket which the Irish call *Bellach-a-neaghri*,[f] that is the 'Pass of the Wood'; and what a solemn feeling does the solitude of the defile, coupled with the pious recollection of its holy occupants inspire! For here there still exist the ruins of sacred buildings, once tenanted by some of our country's saints, strangers on the earth, of whom the world was unworthy.

But I cannot forbear to observe how our saints, scorning the earth, about which the miserable race of man so vehemently contends, sought a loftier range, for it is a fact for which I can vouch, that on the summit of that lofty pile, and in a different region of the world, as it were, they sought an abode of holy retirement; of which heavenly seclusion the traces still remain, for in that elevated region of the sky there exists a hermitage[g] sacred to Saint Domanghart.

From the foot of this mountain on the east there stretches an agreeable plain, where is a fortress of the chiefs of the Magenis family, called *New-Castle*,[h] which was burned by the hostile Scots in 1643. In this plain, not far from the aforesaid castle, is situate the parish church of *Maghare-rath*;[i] the name of the saint, to whom it is sacred, my memory does not at this moment supply. One thing I can state, that it, as well as many other sacred places, was endowed with no inconsiderable estates, by the chiefs of the MacCartan family,[k] who formerly enjoyed an extensive rule in these parts; and,

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the Proud was 7th in descent from Cucaisil, who died in 1123, and 9th from Mathghamhain, the founder of the name, who was slain in 1022.—See Reeves' Ec. Ant. pp. 206, 207, 359, 369, 378; Shirley's Farney pp. 148-152.

[e] *Domhangart.* Pronounced *Donard* Giraldus Cambrensis speaking of Salanus, an early colonist of Ireland, says—"That exceeding high mountain which overhangs the sea that flows between Ireland and Britain is called Salanga. And, because, at the foot of it, after the lapse of many ages, St. Dominicus had erected a distinguished monastery, it more commonly bears the name of Dominicus' Mountain." (Topog, Hib. Dist. iii. c. 2, p. 735.) By Dominicus Giraldus means Domhangart, and the monastery to which he alludes is that of Maghera, mentioned a little further on. See Four Mast. A. M 2533, with O'Donovan's note; Keating, Hist. vol. i, p. 168; Ogygia, p. 167: Reeves' Ec. Ant. pp. 27, 154.

[f] *Bellach-a-neaghri*—Now the townland of Ballachanery, in the parish of Kilkeel. Here is a churchyard containing the ruins of a very old church, the circular chancel arch of which is the most conspicuous part remaining. (Ord. Surv. s. 49.) A drawing and description of the ruin, by the Archdeacon of Down, are to be seen in the Transact. of the Down and C. Church Arch. Soc. p. 17. (Belfast, 1845.) See Eccles. Ant. p. 207; Harris' Down, p. 81.

[g] *Hermitage.*—"On the summit of this mountain are two rude edifices, (if they may be so termed) one being a huge heap of stones piled up in a pyramidical figure, in which are formed several cavities, wherein the Devotees shelter themselves in bad weather while they hear Mass; and in the centre of this heap is a cave formed by broad flat stones, so disposed as to support each other without the help of cement. The other edifice is composed of many stones, so disposed in rude walls and partitions, called *chappels*, and perhaps was the Oratory and Cell erected by St. Domangard,"—Harris' Down, p. 121.

[h] *New-Castle.*—It was built probably in the 13th or 14th century. The Annals of the Four Mast. at 1453, notice the *fearsat* or pass of the river here, at *Caislean-nua*. Felix Magennis re-edified the castle in 1588.—Har. Down, p. 80.

[i] *Maghare-rath.*—Now Maghera. Ord. Surv. s. 43. The original name was *Rath-murbhuilg*; afterwards, as in the old Taxation, simply *Rath*: and subsequently, with a prefix, *Machaire-ratha*. St. Donard was the founder and patron saint of this church. Its early importance is indicated by the existence of a Round Tower, the base of which still remains. [Ec. Ant. D. and C pp. 27, 154. 377; Harris' Down, p. 82.]

[k] *MacCartan Family.*—Properly Mac Artan, derived from Artan a descendant of Roory Mor, who flourished in the middle of the fifth century. The MacCartans and Magennises were the chief representatives of the race of Ir, though the former were less powerful, and only on one or two occasions attained to the lordship of Iveagh.

I may add, that I know not of any other nobles who were more generous to the church of God than the lords of that most antient family, for it is an acknowledged fact, that they both built all the churches in the territories of Ivechia and Kinnalfagartay,[l] and endowed them with the choicest lands.

Not far from this is a very ancient castle, built upon the top of a very pleasant hill, called *Dun-droma*;[m] at the base of which the sea forms a bay, where the tide on going out leaves a remarkable strand,[n] called *Traig-na-then-fhior*, that is, 'the shore of the champions,' for here it was that the youth of the ancient Ultonians used to exercise themselves in the race and wrestling.

From Dun-droma the city of Down is distant, if my memory serves me right, about five Irish miles. This city is built upon a beautiful hill, that rises gently from the innermost verge of Lake Cuan,[o] which, at high water, forms a narrow bay at the foot of this slope. The bay is most noted for its salmon fishery; the adjacent lands are most fertile; the climate most salubrious; and almost the whole of the surrounding district is the property of the church.

There was formerly in this place a monastery of the order of St. John of Jerusalem,[p] which even still is called by the inhabitants *Killin Seon*, that is, 'the church of St. John.' This celebrated monastery enjoyed a large extent of lands, not second in fertility to those of any country,

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The name is still very common in the County of Down, but the family has, with the forfeiture of its property, lost all its importance. Mr. Forde of Seaforde is their predial representative, one of whose ancestors is said to have married a female of the old race. According to the late Sir W. Betham the lineal representative of the chiefs of the family is Felix MacCartan, of Lisle, in Flanders, son of Dr. Andronicus MacCartan.

[l] *Kinnalfagartay.*—The barony of Kinalarty, being an eastern portion of ancient Iveagh, lies between the baronies of Iveagh and Lecale. The name, when correctly written, is *Cinel-Fhaghartaigh*, denoting the 'Race of Fagharty,' and so termed from Faghartach, grandfather of Artan the head of the MacArtans, who lived in the early part of the fifth century. The letters *f* and *g* in the compound become almost mute, and thus a name so formidable in print becomes less intractable in sound. "The principal seat of the MacCartanes was in the barony of Kinelearty, at a place called Annadorn, on an eminence, near which, now called Castle Hill, it stood."—(Harris' Down, p. 74.)—Their burial place was on an island in a small lake, from which the parish is called Loughanisland. Here is the parish cemetery, and within the space of an acre the ruins of three churches. [See Reeves' Ec. Ant. pp. 214, 216.]

[m] *Dun-Droma.*—"The fort of the ridge," now Dundrum. On an eminence over the village are the ruins of the castle, part of which is very ancient, probably of De Courcy's date. The current account that it was a seat of the Templars, and that it passed from them to the Hospitallers, is very unlikely. [See Harris' Down, pp. 14, 267; Dublin Pen. Journal, vol. i. p. 281.]

[n] *Strand.*—When the tide is out the inner bay of Dundrum is left nearly dry, and affords a communication for travellers on the road from Dundrum to Tyrella. This strand is alluded to by the Four Masters at 1147. This *Tragh Duin-droma*, or 'Strand of Dundrum' is mentioned in a still earlier authority, namely a tract of Aengus the Culdee, which describes the church of Achadh-cail as situate upon it in Lecale. But the most ancient name of the outer bay was *Loch Rudhraighe*, Loch Roory, so called from Rudhraighe son of Partholan who was fabled to have been drowned here. (See Four Mast. A.M. 2545.) This appears from an note on the Feilire of Aengus, at August 29, where St. Riaghail, of Tyrella, is represented as saying:—"Three days and three nights over a year shall the plague be in Erin, when a vessel shall be visible upon *Loch Rudhraighe from the door of the refectory*; it is then the Besom (of pestilence) shall come out of Fanait.', The *Tonn Rudhraighe*, or 'Wave of Rury,' was one of the three famous "surges" of Erin, and belonged to this bay. The other two were—the *Tonn Cliodhna*, or 'Tonn-cleena' at Glandore Harbour, in the south of Cork, and *Tonn Tuaithe*, on 'Tun-Tooah, at the bar of the river Bann.

[o] *Lake Cuan.*—An inlet of Strangford Lough formerly came up to Downpatrick, but it has been restrained by an embankment on the Coyle; and a large extent of low meadow which was formerly submerged is now dry and profitable land. The appearance of the neighbouring ground in Harris's Map is very different from that which now presents itself.

[p] *John of Jerusalem.*—Not a military order, but of Cross-bearers of St. John the Baptist, following the rule of St. Augustin. A confirmation charter of Edward iii., which was unknown to Dugdale and Archdall, is preserved in the Tower of London on a Pat. Roll (10 Ed. iii. p. 2, m. 35.) In it the house is variously designated as the "Hospital of St. John the Baptist," "the Hospital of St John of the English, outside the city of Down." It consists of a series of *inspeximus* followed by a ratification.

No. 1, is from John de Courcy granting certain customs in Down.

No. 2, from Richard de Burgo, granting six marks annually out of Balydovenald in Leth-Kathel, and two carucates held by Sir William de Maunde.

In the middle of the city stands the Church of St. Patrick, to which were translated his sacred remains.[q] With this edifice was connected a monastery of the order of St. Benedict, whose abbot, as they say, was ex officio Bishop of Down; and hence the monks formed the Bishop's chapter,[r] to whom also the election of the Bishop pertained. These particulars about the monks of Down I recollect reading in an old fragment of the annals belonging to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul of Armagh, which came to my hands some years ago.

The little hill called *Dun-da-leth-ghlas*,[s] from which Down takes its name, is situate outside the city on the north-east.

In the valley which lies beneath, on the south-east, is a monastery of the order of St. Francis,[t] badly and inconveniently situated, for the ground is overgrown with rushes, and swampy. It is said to have been built by that most illustrious heroine, Lady Affrica[u] ny Donella, daughter of the Lord of Man and of the Hebrides, wife and relict of John Cursey, Lord of Ulidia.

The impiety of an Englishman whose name was Cromwell[w] deserves to be mentioned in this place with abhorrence. This son of earth, and foul spot on the human race, having being sent to Ireland by Queen Elizabeth in command, came with an army to the city of Down, and set fire to the noble church and monastery of St. Patrick, where even the reliques of Saints Patrick, Columba, and

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No. 3, from Stephen de Petraponte of the town of Clochortan in the Ards, and 4 marks per an.

No. 4, from Nicholas de Trym to John Walle, prior, of one mark from Villa Jordani in the Ards.

No. 5, from William Fitz-Alan, of 4 marks a year from Cubynhillis in Ynchemkargy.

No. 6, from William de Maundeville, of an acre in the Garthe along the highway from Villa Haye to Cumber, and the advowson of the church of St Mary of Haytown.

At the dissolution it was found to be seized of the site, church, and an acre of land within the precincts: of a ballyboe in Ballynagarike: one in the two towns of Wodanystown or Ballywoodan: one in Carrickyna: together with the rectories of Ballywodan, Kilcubin, Killard, and Ballyrichard. Its site is now occupied by Ebenezer chapel on the south side of Mary Street. In a map of Downpatrick, dated 1729, the site is marked by a horse-shoe shaped mound, and near it on the south-east a place called St. John's Close. Harris also refers to this mound. (Down, p. 2 67.) He states that about the year 1728, Mr. Trotter, when making a new garden on Chapel Hill, found vast quantities of human bones, evidently where the cemetery of the Hospital had been. (Ib. p. 29.) See Reeves' Ec. Ant. p. 230; Archdall Monast p. 117.

[q] *Remains.*—See the Eccles. Antiq. of Down and C. where the matter is detailed, p. 227.

[r] *Bishop's Chapter.*—The cathedral of Down retained its old conventual form till the year 1609 when it was remodelled, with a Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Prebendaries, officers previously unknown therein. In the ancient constitution the Bishop was Abbot, and subject to him was the Prior,—who held the place of Dean—and the Monks, in whom was vested the election of the Bishops as well as the performance of other capitular acts. See Reeves' Eccles Ant. p. 174; Archdall, Mon, p. 114; Colton's Fasti vol. iii. p. 222.

[s] *Dun-da-leth-glas.*—It is hardly fair of the friar to call it "exiguus," for though it is but as a mole-hill compared with the mountains on the south, it is yet a very remarkable object, and is one of the finest earthen forts remaining. It is the more interesting because something of its history is known, and it was the nucleus of the ancient city. Its ancient name was *Rath Keltair*, having been the Dun or fortified habitation of Keltar, one of the old Ultonian heroes, who was lord of this district about the time of the Christian era. This entrenchment is situate a little to the north of the Cathedral. *Dun-leth-glas* was another ancient name of the place, and is that by which it is noticed in all early ecclesiastical records.—See the Eccles. Ant, p. 142.

[t] *St. Francis.*—In the map of 1729, there is a place marked *Fryer's Bog*, and Bridge-Street was called *Fryer's Lane*. There are no traces of it now remaining.

[u] *Affrica.*—Of her the Chronicle of Man says:—"John de Courcy married Godred's daughter Afreka. She endowed the Abbey of St. Mary de Jugo Dei, and there she was buried." [A.D. 1204, p 24, Ed. Johnstone.] Ny Donnella or 'daughter of Donnell', is an error; Godred her father was the Norwegian King of Man and the Isles from 1154 to 1187. Ware says this house was founded in 1240 by Hugh de Lacy. [See Archdall, p. 118.] At the dissolution it was seized of several carucates in Magheralegan, Ballylarge, and Ballentlewe, called Russell's Lands. These were first leased to the Earl of Kildare, and afterwards passed to Lord Cromwell.

[w] *Cromwell.*—"This gentleman came over into Ireland in the reign of King James I. and was captain of an independent troop at Down. He was descended from Lord Cromwell, Earl of Essex, in the reign of King Henry VIII.

Bridgid, were exposed to the fury of the flames.[x] And there cannot be a doubt that many other sacred monuments, and very ancient writings, as I was told by old men who were alive at that time, perished in that conflagration.

And not content with this wickedness, the impious infidel burned all the other churches of Ultonia, especially in the regions of Down and Antrim, very few of which have been since then restored.

I have been told by my grandfather that he was an eye-witness of that sacrilegious incendiarism; and further, that all the churches, previous to that consumption, were lightly roofed, and highly adorned with sacred statues and images. Our natives gave him the name of *Maol-na-teampull*,[y] from his impiety. I have heard many old men say that they were born in that year; for so notorious was the sacrilege of this impious man, that numbers of old men reckoned their age from it as if from an national visitation.

In that bay of Lake Cuan which washes Down is an island[z] of considerable beauty, containing some acres, and joined to the main land by a bridge, whereon is a monastery, called, from its situation, *Insulense* or *Insulanum*, in Irish *Mainistir Innsi*, the outer and inner walls of which still remain. This house, previously to the outbreak of heresy, was occupied by monks of the order of St. Bernard.

At a mile's distance from this city there presents itself that remarkable and unfailing stream, which is called *Sruthshil*,[a] brought into existence by the prayers of our holy Apostle. This spring the piety of our forefathers enclosed by a building, upon the floor of which, the sanative water, the remedy

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and enjoyed from him an estate in Devonshire, which he exchanged with Blount, Lord Viscount Mountjoy, for the Abbey Lands of Down, Inis, and Saul, granted to that nobleman for his great services to the Crown. He died here, and was buried in the middle of the old Cathedral, near the East end." (*Harris' Down*, p. 35.) This was Edward Crumwell, Lord Crumwell, Baron Okeham. In 1605 he obtained a third part of Kinelarty, and Wattertirry. In the same year, Sept. 30, he was granted the office of Governor of Lecale, McCartan's country, Dundrum, and the borders thereof, and of all towns, garrisons, and wards, within the aforesaid limits, with power to "possess or dispose of any castle or hold therein, for the advantage of the King's service; to command all forces, soldiers, lords, knights, gentlemen, and inhabitants, within said territories: *to prosecute by fire and sword* any traitors, or rebellious persons, therein, their aiders and maintainers," &c. (Pat. Rolls Jac. i.) In October following, he and Phelimy MacCartan made a surrender of Kinelarty, and it was re-granted to them in equal shares. He died, 24th Sept. 1607. He was succeeded by Thomas, created, in 1624, Viscount Lecale, and subsequently Earl of Ardglass. He died in 1650. His sons were Wingfield, Vere Essex, and Oliver; the former two successively Earls of Ardglass.

[x] *Flames.*—What the Friar here says of Lord Crumwell was previously laid to the charge of Lord Leonard Grey, Lord Deputy in 1538, and was one of the articles of his impeachment, on which he lost his head three years afterwards. (Harris' Down, p. 29.)

[y] *Maol-na-teampull.*

[z] *Island.*—Anciently called *Inis Cumscraidh*, or 'Iniscouscry,' and now simply Innis or 'Inch.' (Eccles. Antiq pp. 44, 93, 232.) It was the site of an early Irish monastery before the Cistercian abbey was founded here by De Courcy, in 1180, according to the Registry of Furness, its parent, or 1187 according to Grace and Pembridge. Under the new constitution it became thoroughly anti-Irish; so much so that it was one of the two monasteries which were noticed in the Querimonia of Donald O'Neill and the Irish chiefs in 1318. His words are: "For they heretically maintain, not their laymen and seculars merely, but even some of their ecclesiastics, that it is no greater sin to kill an Irishman than a dog, or any other brute beast. And to carry out this monstrous assertion, some of their monks coolly declare, that if it should be their lot, as it does often happen, to kill an Irishman, they would not, on this account refrain from the celebration of Mass, even for a single day. And thus the monks of the Cistercian order of *Granard*, in the diocese of Ardagh, as also the monks of *Inch*, belonging to the same order, in the diocese of Down, unhesitatingly put into shameless practice what they profess in words; for in the open day they attack the Irish in armed bodies, and massacre them, and notwithstanding celebrate their Masses." (Fordun, Scotichron. lib. xii. cap. 30.) For a description of the Ruins see Harris's Down, p. 37; Dub. Pen. Journal, vol. i pp. 396, 397.

[a] *Sruthshil.*—The proper form of the name is *Struthaor*, or *Struher*, which signifies 'a stream,' and is now commonly prouounced where the name occurs, *Struel* or *Shrule*. The essence of the word appears simply in the

for various maladies of the human frame descends in a rapid and unceasing stream. Here are to be seen also the ruins of another chapel, between which and this ever-flowing stream, is another fountain of the sweetest water artificially enclosed with stone, which is commonly called *the Tub*, on account of the resemblance of its shape. In this tub the holy man, our Patrick, as an untiring athlete used to spend a great part of the night, stark naked, singing psalms and spiritual songs.

Near at hand within view, towards the south is the bed [b] of Saint Patrick, on the hill opposite the above-mentioned stream, consisting of two large rocks, as it were the sides of the couch, and another large rock for the bolster. Upon this, that most holy man used, towards the close of the night, in the open air, and under the cold sky, to seek a little rest for his wearied body.

Not far from this, on the south-east, is the monastery of *Sabhall*,[c] beside which is a diminutive little chapel, [d] in which St. Patrick is reported to have often passed the night in watching and prayer. This monastery is so well known that I need not enter upon its description.

Between Sabhall and the mouth of Lake Cuan is the church of *Cill-chliath*,[e] about which I have nothing particular to say, except that it is reported to have been celebrated in former times.

Lake Cuan itself, or the narrow strait [f] at its mouth, separates Lesser Ards [g] from the region of Leth Cailia. [h] In this very delightful lake [i] there are most lovely islands [k] scattered over its surface,

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Greek '*reo*,' to 'flow.' For an account of the famous wells of Struell, near Downpatrick, see Harris' Down, p. 25; Reeves' Eccles. Ant. pp. 42.222.

[b] *Bed.*—"St. Patrick's Chair," is marked in the Ordnance Survey, sheet 38.

[c] *Sabhall.*—Saul is to the north of Struell. On the origin of the name, and the early history of its church, see Eccl. Antiq. of Down and Con. pp. 220-223.

[d] *Little Chapel.*—He refers to the little vaulted tomb which stands in the cemetery, and resembles in size and pattern those of St. Mur. O'Heney, at Bannagher, St. Ringan, or Ninian, at Bovevagh, and St. Cadan at Tamlaghtard, (See Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 448-450.) Harris thus described it in 1744. "There are here two small vaulted rooms of stone, yet entire, about seven feet high, six feet long, and two feet and a half broad, with a small window placed in one side Perhaps these small chambers were confessionals, or places for private devotion. One of them is now closed up, and used by some families for a tomb." (Down, p. 40.)

[e] *Cill-Chliath.*—This is the correct orthography of the component parts of the name *Kilclief*, which signifies the "Hurdle Church." The name occurs twice in the Annals of the Four Masters; at 935, where it is related that *Cill-Cleithe* was plundered by the son of Barith, and stone church was burned, and a great prey carried out of it; and at 1001, when it was plundered by Sitric the Dane. St Kelanus, or Caylan, was the patron saint. (See Ecc. Antiq. pp. 39, 217.)

[f] *Narrow Strait.*—There is a ferry over this strait, which is locally called 'the river,' between Strangford and Portaferry. South of the ferry, about midway across, is *Angus Rock*, which Harris calls *Anguish Rocks*, but which the vulgar usage of the neighbourhood has converted into the ludicrous combination of the *Rocking-Goose!* (Rock Angus.)

[g] *Lesser Ards.*—For an account of this territory see the note lower down.

[h] *Lethcailia.*—The present barony of Lecale, containing Downpatrick, and the places already mentioned. *Leth-Cathail*, softened to *Lecale*, signifies the 'Portion of Cahal,' and was derived from Cathal, a prince of Ulidia, who flourished about the year 700. It was previously called *Mah-Inis*, or 'Insular Plain,' from its being surrounded more than three-fourths by the sea. It exchanged that name for Lecale in the early part of the 9th century; and the territory which is always styled *Magh-Inis* by the Annalists down to 825, is, from 850 forwards, invariably called Leth-Cathail. The Book of Armagh, and other early authorities, employ no other name but the early one; and any record which mentions Leth-Cathail, or speaks of Magh-Inis as the ancient name, may reasonably be pronounced to date no higher than the 9th century.

[i] *Lake Cuan.*—*Loch Cuan* is the only name by which the Irish knew this lake, and, accordingly, it is often found mentioned as *Lough Cone*. The tradition is, that an inundation of the sea broke over the land called *Brena*, and that it was called Loch Cuan. (See Four Mast. A.M. 2546; Keating, vol. i. p. 168.) In the ninth and tenth centuries it was a Danish station, and with them originated the name *Strang-fiord*, which was afterwards adopted by the English.

[k] *Islands.*—Harris wondered at Dr. Boate for affirming that they were 260 in number; but vulgar report, along its shores, as at Clew Bay in Mayo, asserts that there is an island for every day in the year. Harris gives the names of 54. The late census of the county of Down, gives the names, extent, and valuation, of 65. By an anomalous arrangement, several islands which are close upon Killinchy, in the Barony of Dufferin, of which one called Sketrich is even united to it by a causeway, are

among which is one sacred to St. Mochay.[l] By the way I should mention that there is an island in this lake which rises like a mound, called *Dun-na-n-giull*,[m] that is, the "Fort of the Hostages;" for there, as tradition says, were kept the Hostages which Niall the Great exacted of foreign nations.

North of this, Lake Cuan makes a turn at a place called *Commor*.[n] Previous to the outbreak of heresy, there were two monasteries[o] here, commonly called *the Black* and *the White*, from the colour of the garments worn by the inmates of these houses. I saw a monk of the White Abbey, that is, of the order of St. Bernard, who commonly went by the name of the White Monk. When weighed down with years, and an exile from his abode, he was murdered in Clan Cania,[p] a territory of Tyrone, by the ruthless enemies the Scots, in the year of our Salvation 1643.

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civilly in the parish of Ardkeen, and barony of Upper Ards. This distribution had its origin in the grouping of the Ardkeen Estate.

[l] *Mochay*.—The largest island in the Lough is *Mahee*, containing 176 acres. It was one of the earliest Christian settlements in Ireland, and, though a place of great celebrity in former days, has, since the good Friar's time, been overlooked, and no notice taken either of its name, which indicated its patron, or of its Round Tower which was an antiquarian beacon. We may judge of its importance from the following notice of it in the Annals:

A.D. 497.—Mochaoi of Aondruim rested, on the 23d of June.
A.D. 639.—The rest of Critan in Aondruim, May 17.
A.D. 643.—The rest of Cronan, bishop of Aondruim, Jan. 7.
A.D. 644.—Moehua of Aondruim rested in Christ.
A.D. 659.—Cumine, bishop of Aondruim, died July 1.
A.D. 684.—Death of Maine, abbot of Aondruim.
A.D. 735.—Aedhethehair, bishop of Aondruim, died.
A.D. 755.—Snethchest abbot of Aondruim, died.
A.D. 873.—Colman, bishop, scribe, and abbot of Aondruim, rested.
A.D. 917,—Maeleoe, abbot of Aondruim, died.
A.D. 976.—Setera O'Dernan, abbot of Aondruim, was burned in his own house.

The name Aondruim, which signifies 'one ridge,' is easily identifiable with this island, for the Calendar of Aengus, at the 23rd of June, has the following gloss on the name *Aondruim*—"That is, Mochoe of Oendruim in Delvin-Ahra, or nine hills that are in the place where is his church; or Oendruim, that is, 'One hill' is the entire island, and in Loch Cuan it is." The former Oendruim is now a townland called *Endrim*, and contains an obsolete cemetery in the parish of Wherry, or Ferbane, in the barony of Garrycastle, in King's County, (Ord. Sur. s 14.); the latter is the place in question. The letter *n* for euphony's sake was generally prefixed to the name, and hence it came into common use to be pronounced and written *Nendrum*. In 1178, John de Courey, with the consent of bishop Malachi, granted this island of Nendrum to the monks of St Beeves in Cumberland, and his donation was followed by many others of his retainers. The roll containing these grants written about the year 1230, is preserved among the Cotton Charters, (No. 40.) in the British Museum. In the ancient taxation the church is called *Nedrum*. The legend of St. Mochaoi is preserved in a note to the Calendar of Aengus, and is very remarkable for its poetical wildness, but it is too long for insertion here. For a further account of this church and a drawing of the Round Tower, see Transactions of Down and Connor, Ch. Archit. Soc. 1845, pp. 23-39; Eccles. Antiq. pp. 10, 187, 197; and this Journal, vol. i. p. 259.

[m] *Dun-na-ngiull*.—This is the only etymological notice that I have ever met of the little island of *Dunnyneill*, in Strangford Lough. It belongs to the parish of Killyleagh, and is situate to the N. E. of the village. (Ord. Surv. i. 24.) Harris, in his list of the islands, mentions *Donencal-isle* as "a round island like a Danish Fort." The two islands included under the name measure 2a. 1r. 15p., and the one which is referred to in the text, has just the appearance which Harris mentions, and is probably in part artificial. Whether it was the St. Helena of Niall Naoi-ghiallach's 'nine Hostages' is very doubtful, but that it was a place of confinement at a remote period is almost certain.

[n] *Commor*.—Now Comber, a parish and town in the barony of Lower Castlereagh. *Comair* is the Irish for 'confluence,' and it is applied in this instance with reference to the entry of the river Euler into the Strangford Lough.

[o] *Two Monasteries*.—The Monasticon and Inquisitions recognize the existence of but one, namely the White or Cistercian house. Archdall cites Pembridge as his authority for the "foundation of this house by Brian Catha-Duin, and the introduction of monks from Albalanda in Caermarthenshire. (Monast. p. 113.) But he antedates Brian's death by 59 years. The foundation is attributed to the Whites by Allemand; and about 1199 assigned as its date in Ware. The year 1198 is the date assigned in an old Cistercian catalogue. (Graee's Annals, p. 170.) The earliest mention of the church of Comber is in the Life of St. Patrick, where it is called *Domhnach-Combuir*. (Colgan, Trias Thaum. p. 147.) The Annals of Ulster relate, at the year 1031, that an army was led by MacEochay in Ui-Eathach, which burned *Kill-Cummar*, with the Oratory; killed 4 of the clergy; and carried away 30 captives." This was probably a community of Regular Canons, and their church may have had some remains in MacCana's time; and have been the Black Abbey which he speaks of.

[p] *Clann Cania*.—The territory of Clancan, so called from the MacCanns, was situated on the west side of the Bann where it enters Lough Neagh The Ulster Inquisitions place Taghterraghan, now Tartaraghan parish, in

Of these monasteries not even the ruins[q] remain, for a colony of Scots who settled there employed the stones of them for building houses for themselves: so great is the passion of heretics for demolishing sacred objects.

To the east of this the same lake makes another angle, at the town called *Newtown*,[r] where there was, even in my day, a monastery of St. Dominic,[s] which some years ago, Mogumrius[t] the Scotchman converted into a secular dwelling; such is the propensity of impious heretics to obliterate all memory of what has been deemed sacred.

South-east of this stood the monastery of Benchor,[u] once the most celebrated in the whole world, of which even the ruins do not now exist.[w] All that is to be seen there is a church;[x] and whether it belonged to the monastery or not, I am unable to say.

Nearly to the south of this some ruins of the monastery of *Magh-bile*[y] present themselves to view.

South of it again, you meet with the Monastery called Grey Abbey,[z] in Irish *Mainistir-liath*, from the colour of the garments which its monks wore. To what order these monks belonged I have not been able exactly to ascertain; I can only say that Patrick Barnewell,[a] abbot of Mellifont, a man

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Clancan, (Armagh No. 5, Jac. 1.] and Speed's Map of Ulster marks *Mc Cane* in this position. Donnsleibhe (Dunlevy) MacCana the chief of the name fell in the battle of Down in 1260. (Miscell. Celt. Soc. p 169)

[q] *Not even the ruins*—The old church of Comber, which made way a few years ago for the present one, was considered to have been in part the original conventual church. An ancient corbel head which was built into the wall, was commonly called St. Columb's head. The Scotch settlers here under the Montgomerys very probably found the old conventual buildings a desirable and convenient quarry; nay as some of the abbey lands were included in the demesne, so some of the abbey materials may have gone to help out the mansion of Mount Alexander

[r] *Newtown.*—Now Newtownards, in Latin *Villa Nova*, and in Irish *Baile-nua* or Ballynue.

[s] *St. Dominic.* This Dominican house is styled by De Burgo "Coenobium Sancti Columbæ," and its foundation ascribed to Walter de Burgo, A.D. 1244. (Hibernia Domin. p. 241; Reeves' Ec. Antiq. p. 13, Archdall, Mon. Hib. p. 127.)

[t] *Magumrius.* This was the first Lord Montgomery. His proceedings in this case are thus related in the Montgomery manuscripts: "Here is also a fair long church, part whereof were the walls of a priory, but new walls were erected and a new church (which hath a square tower five storeys high, and a great bell in it, joined without any partition, but large freestone pillars and arches) all which now roofed, sclated, and made by the said first Lord Montgomery, (in his life time and by his order and legacys after his death) and Sir Robert Colvil hath made a beautiful large chappell at the eastmost end of the said church, which formerly was not used for divine service; but there ly the bones of the three first Lords Montgomerys, the two first Ladys, and many of their familys. Contiguous to the said old church walls (where stood the Lords house, accidentally burned Ao. Dmi. 1664) the said Sir Robert hath built up one double roofed house." [P. 317.] What would the good old Friar say were he to witness the present condition of the premises, and find a bench of magistrates sitting where formerly stood a choir of monks? The church is now a *Court-house!*

[u] *Benchor.*—On the name Bangor see the Eccles. Ant. p. 169. For its history see Archdall, Mon. p. 106.

[w] *Ruins do not now exist.*—So early had the settlers begun to obliterate objects of antiquity; and hence it is that Down and antrim are so barren in architectural remains. See this Journal vol. 1, p. 168. A seal of Bangor of the fifteenth century preserved at Westminster, and published in Proceedings of R. Irish Academy, (Vol. v. p, 134), gives some idea of the abbey front.

[x] *Church.* The Montgomery manuscripts say "Here is a large church and a bell-tower, which were part of the monkish buildings, but raised out of its rubbish, much re-edified and wholely roofed and slated, by James, first Viscount Claneboye." [P. 313.] Harris, on the other hand, says "the Church of Bangor was built within the precincts of the old abbey about the year 1617, and was not finished till the year 1623. The steeple of it through which the entrance is into the church: and an inscription thereon declares it was raised in 1693, at which time the church was well repaired by James Hamilton, and afterwards beautified by his widow, Sophia Mordaunt, sister of the late Earl of Peterobrough." [Down, p. 61.]

[y] *Magh-bile.* Now *Movilla*, the parish burial-ground of Newtownards. Here are some of the ruins of the abbey, and one ancient tombstone bearing the simple inscription OR. DO DERTRAND 'A Prayer for Dertrann,' See Eccles Antiq. pp. 14, 78, 151.

[z] *Grey Abbey.* Called also *Hore-abbey.* The Irish name *Mainister-liath*, signifying the same thing, was commonly pronounced *Monasterlea*, its conventual title was *De Jugo Dei.* The ruins of this house are the only interesting monastic remains in the county, and their preservation is mainly owing to the good feeling of the honourable proprietors.

[a] *Abbot of Mellifont.* He was only titular. Richard

well versed in the ancient regulations of the religious orders, assured me that those grey monks were of the order of St. Martin, otherwise called Turonensian monks. [b]

Between Comor and the estuary Loch Laodh, [c] which flows by the towns of Karriek-Fergus and Belfast, is a church dedicated to St. Columba, [d] which Niall O'Neill, [e] Chief of Tren-Congall, [f] endowed with valuable lands and many privileges. I saw the Letters Patent which the said Niall granted to his chief poet, [g] wherein he styles himself Lord of Tren-Congall; the King of England also consenting to the same. These letters patent were read before the Council in Dublin, on which occasion the members present expressed their admiration of the liberality and high feeling of the great man who settled possessions of such worth upon his chief poet, and his descendants who should succeed him in the same calling.

At no great distance from this, on the east, is a monastery of the Third Order of Saint Francis, founded by the munificence of the same chief, and adequately endowed with lands. This called in Irish *Aird-mic-nissi*, in Latin *Collis Sancti Mac Nissi*. [h] It is on the bank of Loch Laodh, and stands opposite Karriekfergus on the south.

Conter, the last abbot reigned in 1540

[b] *Turonensian Monks.*—No: they were Cistercian, as appears from various records. The abbey was a cell of Holm Cultram in Cumberland, and was founded in 1193 by Affreca daughter of Godred King of Man, and wife of John de Courcy, who was buried here. [Chron. Man, An. 1204; Grace, Annals, 1193; Reeves' Ec. Ant. p. 92.]

[c] *Loch Laodh.* Belfast Lough. See note below.

[d] *St. Columba.* This is the spot marked *Collumkill*, though not very correctly placed, in Speed's Map of Ulster. The *Knock* Church, now included in, and contributing to the name of, Knock-Breda, was in the seventeenth century a distinct parish church called *Knock-Collumkill*. See. Eccles. Antiq. p 12.

[e] *Niall O'Neill.*—It is not easy among the many individuals of this name, to pronounce who was the exact one; but it is most probable that it was he of whom the Four Masters have the following entry at 1512; "Niall son of Con, son of Hugh Boy, son of Brian Ballagh O'Neill, Lord of Trian Congaill, a man of general hospitality, exalter of the religious orders and of the churches, a successful and triumphant man, who had not paid tribute to the Clann Neill, [the O'Neills of Tyrone,] or Clan Daly, [the MacDonnells,] or to the Deputy of the King of England, a man of very long prosperity and life, a man well skilled in the sciences, both of history, poetry and music, died on the 11th of April." At his instance the Franciscan friary of Carrickfergus was re-formed in 1497.

[f] *Trian Congall.*—This term, signifying 'Congall's Third,' or 'Portion,' came unto use about the middle of the fourteenth century, to denote the territory of Clanneboy, or very nearly the same portion of Down and Antrim. It was derived, either from Congall Claen, who was king of Uladh, in 637, or, what is more likely, from Congall Claroineach, who, from king of Ulster, became monarch of Ireland in 5017-5031. (See O'Flagherty. Ogygia, p. 265; Reeves' Ecc. Ant. p. 344.) It is stated in a very curious tract preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, called *Cathreimh Conghail Clairingnigh*, that his fortress was Dun-da-bheann, now Mount Sandal, a very fine earthen fort over the Bann, near the Cutts of Coleraine.

[g] *Chief Poet.*—The family of O'Gneeve, anglicized *Agnew*, were the hereditary bards of the Clandeboy O'Neills, as that of MacConmidhe, or MacNamee, was of the Tyrone O'Neills.

[h] *Aird Mac Nissi.*—This is a very valuable identification, and gives us the old Irish name of the well-known Holywood, in the county of Down. The original of the name is given in the Calendar of Aengus the Culdee, at the 25th of October, where, on the name *Laisren, mor mac Nascai*, that is 'Laisren the Great, son of Nasca, it is added in the gloss: "Laisren, son of Lasca of Ard Mac Nasca, on the shore of Lough Laigh." This Laisren, the founder of the church of Holywood, was a distinguished ecclesiastic in the middle of the seventh century, and was probably *Laistranus*, the presbyter who is mentioned in the superscription of the letter from the clergy of Rome to the Irish church, preserved by Venerable Bede. [Bede, Hist. Ecc. ii. 19; Colgan, Act. SS. p. 17, *b*.] Previously to the thirteenth century the village had acquired the name of *Sanctus Boscus*, or *Holy Wood*, which presently became the received name of the place in civil usage, although the ecclesiastical name was not wholly forgotten; for it was under the appellation of *Ard-ic-Nise* that the Franciscan abbey of Holywood was founded, although Ware and Archdall were unable to discover in what part of the country. [Harris' Ware, ii. p. 278; Archdall's Monasticon, p. 106.] A Pedigree also of the Clanneboy O'Neills, cited by Stuart, states that they granted the lands of Ard McCriosq, [*recte* Ard McNiosq,] or Holywood, to the Gilmores. [Armagh, p. 630.] The friary of Holywood is mentioned by Ware and Archdall as a distinct foundation of the Third Order of Saint Francis, while the monastery of Ardmacnasca is placed by the latter in the county of Antrim. [Works, vol. 2, p. 281; Monast. p. 121.] See Eccles. Antiq. Down and Connor, pp. 12, 272.] At the dissolution it was endowed with the five townlands of Ballekeyll, Ballymanack, Ballycaltragh, (Cultra,) Ballyderry, and Knocknagoney, of the annual value of 23 shillings and 4 pence.

All these sacred places which I have mentioned, from Commor to this monastery of the Third Order[i] are in Upper Clanboia,[k] or Greater Ards.

For there are two Ards[l] in that quarter the Greater or Upper Clanaboy, that is, part of the patrimony of the Yellow O'Neills,[m] and the Less, the patrimony of the Savage family.[n] The Less extends about five miles in length; the Greater is many miles in extent, and is a very spacious and charming district.

We now pass into Lower Clanaboy. The 'Lake of the Calf,' or *Loch Laodh*[o] in Irish, flows between, and bounds, either Clanaboy, the head of which when the tide is out, may be crossed on foot a ford which is called *Beall-fearst.*[p] Beside it formerly stood the castle[q] of the lords of these territories, in the navel, as it were, and central point, of the two regions. Previously to the present war that old castle of the O'Neills was repaired by Lord Chichester,[r] an Englishman, who made it his own residence. The town which is built there is no mean one, accessible to the inhabitants of either district, as well as of Scotland. From the ford of which I have just spoken it takes the name

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[i] *Third Order.*—This was the strictest section of the Franciscan community. They were commonly called Tertian. The houses of this order in Ireland range in their date through the 15th and 16th centuries.

[k] *Clanneboy.*—The *Clann Aoidh Buidhe*, or 'Children of Aodh the Yellow,' became a distinct branch of the house of O'Neill, about the year 1300 They are mentioned under this name in the Annals, at the years 1319, 1320, 1345: at the last of which dates they appear on the border of Lough Neagh, and at war with their kinsmen of Tyrone. The founder of the clan. Aodh Buidhe, was an enterprising chief, and in 1275, in conjunction with Cooy O'Cahan, Lord of Kennaght, invaded the English territory of Down and Antrim, but was repulsed by Hugh Bisset, the seneschal of Ulster. He died in 1283, and was succeeded by his son Brian, on whose death, in 1295, his brother Henry succeeded to the lordship; and it was under him that the family, on the decline of the English interest, through the invasion of Bruce in 1315, and the assassination of the Earl of Ulster in 1333, acquired a footing in Antrim which his father had been unable to make good. The territory of Clanneboy, in its largest dimensions, consisted of Lower and Upper, the former bounded by the Ravel on the north, and the Lagan on the south: the latter commensurate with the modern baronies of Upper and Lower Castlereagh, and Lower or Great Ards. [See Ecc. Ant. pp, 348-348.] It is a mistake in the text to confine Upper Clanneboy to the Great Ards.

[l] *There are two Ards.*—The whole of the territory of the Ards was divided into two portions, the *Greater* or *Northern*, and the *Less* or Southern: the boundary between which was the stream called the Blackstaff, and a line drawn from its source eastward to the sea. The modern division of Upper and Lower adds three parishes to the former or southern portion.

[m] *O'Neills.*—Hugh Boy O'Neill, the second Lord of Clanneboy, was slain in 1444. His eldest son Con was the father of the Niall, mentioned above, and ancestor of the Shane's-castle family, who occupied Lower Clanneboy. A younger son, Hugh Boy, was ancestor of the branch which subsequently occupied Upper Clanneboy, and of which Con of Belfast was the chief, and resident in his castle of Castlereagh, at the end of Elizabeth's and beginning of James I's reign. Out of his confiscations grew the great Hamilton and Montgomery grants,

[n] *Savage Family.*—Of the Little Ards the Savages were of old the proprietors; but, of the two leading families into which they ultimately resolved themselves, namely those of Ardkeen and Portaferry, the former has parted with its estates, while the latter, retaining a great portion of its former importance, still occupies the old position, and holds the old castle, which they obtained six centuries ago, though now somewhat disguised under the equally noble name of *Nugent*. The reader will find a rambling, though amusing account of this family and territory in the Montgomery Manuscripts, pp. 271-307.

[o] *Loch Laodh.*—The old Irish name of Belfast Lough, signifying 'Calf Lough,' as has been shewn in the Eccles. Antiq, pp, 272-274. The Editor was enabled to establish this by the glosses on the Feilire of Aengus, at October 16, and 25. which place Cill-Ruaidh, or Killroot, and Ard-mac-Nasca, or Holywood, on its banks. The earliest notice of it is in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, a work of the seventh century, where it is called the *Stagnum Vituli*, and some of St. Comgall's fraternity at Bangor are represented as perishing in it.

[p] *Beall-fearst.*—Belfast. It is mentioned under this name of *Bel-feirste*, or 'mouth of the ford,' in the Four Masters at the years 1476, 1489, 1503, 1512, 1537. 1552; and before it assumed its present form underwent the transition one of *Belfarst*. There is a townland in the island of Achil, in the county of Mayo, called, in like manner, *Belfarsad*. *Vadum* and *Le Forde*, are the names by which it is generally noticed in early records.

[q] *Castle.*—The earliest mention of this castle is in the Inquisition post mortem of William de Burgo, A.D. 1333: "Apud le Ford manium in quo est unum castrum postratum per guerram Johannis de Logan."—(Tur. Lond.) It was the subject of frequent capture and demolition. See the places of the Four Masters mentioned in the last note.

of *Beall-ferst*, where the river empties itself which is called the River of the Laggan, [s] or of the valley, yielding a plentiful supply of salmon, [t] and dividing in its course the two regions of Clanaboy on the north and south. The lands on either side of the river are pleasant and fertile. In the town of Beall-ferst there is no recollection of any sacred place. [v] But at a short distance from it is the parish church rendered important by having five or six chapelries [w] (as the expression is) which were under the control of the rector of the aforesaid parish church, called *Sean-chill.* [x] It is in the diocese of Connor; to which I have nothing more to add.

At three or four miles distance from Beall-ferst, on the north, is an ancient monastery of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, commonly called *White Abbey*, [y] in Irish *Mainister fhionn;* of which some portion of the walls and the rubbish are all that is now to be seen. What were its possessions is now forgotten [z] through the troubles of the times.

Not far from this is a chapel which was occupied by some monks, but to what religious house or order it belonged I could not tell unless I were to conjecture. In Irish it is called *Kill-na-manach*, [a] that is, 'Church of the monks.' A portion of the walls of the chapel remains. I may however venture the guess that it belonged to the monastery of Goodburn, which is about two miles distant to the east, near the town of Karriek-fergus, on the bank of the River Good-burn, and only one mile outside Karrick-fergus on the west.

Of this monastery of Good-burn, [b] not a particle now remains, not even the rubbish; [c] for at the

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[r] *Lord Chichester.*—Sir Arthur Chichester, a native of Raleigh in Devon, was created, in Feb. 1612, Baron Chichester of Belfast. He built a residence in Carrickfergus called Joymount. Sir Edward, his next brother, succeeded him in 1625, by the new creation of Viscount, and was occupant of the Castle of Belfast at the date of this tract. An elevation of the castle is given in a map of Belfast, A.D. 1685. (See this Journal, pp. 129, 130.)

[s] *Laggan.*—*Lag* is the Irish for a 'hollow,' and its diminutive is *Lagan*. There is another river so called on the west of Louth and south of Monaghan; but the name is not confined to rivers: there is a territory of the name, comprehending the parishes of Taughboyne, Raymochy, and Allsaints, in the barony of Raphoe, county of Donegall, which gave name to the "Lagan Forces"; and another in the barony of Tirawley, in the county of Mayo, which comprehended the parishes of Kilbride and Doonfeeny. The river of Belfast rises in Slieve Croob, in the county of Down. (Eccl Ant. p. 273.)

[t] *Salmon.*—The formation of the Ulster Canal and the resort of the port have long since destroyed the fishery.

[v] *Sacred Place.*—The oldest church there was that which stood on the site now occupied by St. George's. See the drawing in the map of 1685. Supra after p 129.

[w] *Chaplaincies.*—Their names were, 1. *Crookinock* or *Cranoge*, at Callender's Fort, where the Collon road branches from the Falls. This was a very large building. 2 *Kilpatrick*, near Stranmillis, in Upper Malone. 3. *Clochmestale*, near Greencastle on the Carrickfergus shore. 4. *Balliston*, or *Ballyvaston*, near the Hightown road, on the confines of the townlands Ballyaghagan and Ballyvaston, at a place called Whurr's Pound. The traces of the chapel are observable in the nearly obliterated circle of a rath. 5. *Killonyuna*, at the extremity of the parish next Derryaghy. 6. *Tullyrush*, in some records improperly called a chapel of Shankill, for it was a parish. [Eccles. Antiq. pp. 6, 7, 184.]

[x] *Sean-chill.*—That is, 'Old Church.' This is the ecclesiastical name of Belfast, and the parish burial ground retains the name of Shankill. In the ancient Taxation it is called *Ecclesia Alba de Vado*, and sometimes *Ecclesia Sancti Patricii*. See Eccl. Antiq. pp. 6. 184. The present is the earliest record which places this parish in Connor.

[y] *White Abbey.*—The ruins of the chapel which gave name to the townland so called, in the parish of Carnmoney, are to be seen a little above the railway station, in the farm of Abbeylands. This is the only record, within the Editor's knowledge, in which the order to which the Abbey belongs is mentioned, though the accuracy of the above statement is very questionable. [Ecc. Ant. p. 277.]

[z] *Forgotten.*—None of the Inquisitions notice this Abbey and it is likely it had been deserted even before the suppresion of religious houses. In the Chichester grants the only reference to it is a townland called 'the White-Abbeye.'

[a] *Kill-na-manach.*—Now *Monkstown*, in the parish of Carnmoney It was formerly a separate benefice lying between Coole and Carrickfergus, but has been for ages united to Coole. It consisted of the three townlands of Monkstown, Jordanstown, and another, and was appropriate to Grey Abbey. In the Inquisition it is sometimes called Ballynamanach. The west gable is all that now remains standing. (Eccles. Ant. p. 69.)

[b] *Goodburn.*—Goodburn, or Woodburn is the name of a

very beginning the reign of Elizabeth, when all things divine and human were confounded, all the stores of that holy monastery were removed by a citizen of Karrick-fergus into the city to build a dwelling-house beside the walls of the castle, which went by the name of the *New Works*, or in Irish *Obair-nath ;* but, under the just judgment of God, he was deprived by the governor of the town, of both the house and othrer pemises that were attached to it. Of this sacrilegious act, and of the merited punishment which was inflicted by heaven, I have met many eye-witnesses. I have met many persons who, when boys, saw the aged abbot of that monastery, Macura[d] by name ; but they were not old enough to think of asking to what order it belonged.

In the town of Karrick-fergus is a parish church sacred to St. Nicholas.[e] I have nothing to tell about it, except that it has been the abode of false doctrine ever since the commencement of the Anglican heresy.[f]

Not far distant, on the east, is the church of *Kill-Ruaith*[g] which the English call *Kill-read*. In old times it was celebrated,[h] and even in my time and that of my forefathers it was always one of the residences of the Bishops of Connor. This church was endowed in former ages with very ample possessions, and even in my day was provided with no mean appurtenances.[i] Of this place mention is made in the life of St. Albens.[k]

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stream, about half a-mile west of Carrickfergus, beside which this abbey stood. and from which it was called. It may be observed here that *burn* is a very old Saxon word for stream : of this we have the interesting testimony of Bede, where he says " in loco qui lingua Anglorum Denises-*burna*, id est *Rivus* Denisi." (Hist. Ec. iii. 1.) The ecclesiastical name of this house was *Dieulacres*, and it was founded by John De Courcy for Præmonstratensian Canons, and dedicated to Blessed Mary. Sometimes it was called *St Mary's of Cragfergus*. Le Paige, in the ' Circaria Hibernie' gives *Duix-Lacroisse* in the diocese of Connor as a ' filia de Driebourc,' (Bibliotheca Præmonstrat. Ord. p. 334.) There can be no doubt that this was the abbey of Dculacresse, which is rated in the old Taxation at £41. 5. 5 a-year, and which in the Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor is identified with St. Patrick's of Down, (p. 91 :) and the Editor takes the present opportunity of correcting that mistake [See Keith's Scottish Bishops ; Archdall's Monast. p. 7.]

[c] *Rubbish.*—McSkimin says : " From vestiges that remained within memory, the priory appeared to have been extensive, and of a square form ; some traces of mills, that were attached, are still to be seen." [Hist. of Carrickfergus, p. 127.] All traces are now obliterated.

[d] *Macura.*—It appears by Inquisitions that this last prior whom they call Gillerath McCowragh surrendered in 1542, and retired with his fraternity to Island Magee, were he and they ended their days. [Archdall, p. 7 ; McSkimin, p. 126.] The site and precincts of the Priory continued after the dissolution in the possession of the Crown, and were used as grazing ground for the horses of the garrison, during which time it probably was that the demolition mentioned in the text took place. In 1604, April 5, a grant of the monastery and its possessions was made to Sir Oliver Lambert, by whom, on the 3d of May in the same year, they were made over to Sir Arthur Chichester. [Ul. Inq. Ant. No. 7, Jac. i]

[e] *St. Nicholas.*—The parish church of Carrickfergus. See its description in McSkimmin, p. 137. St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra in Lycia, died about the middle of the fourth century. He was the patron saint of sailors, and it is very common to find churches under his name in seaport towns : for instance, Carrickfergus, Portaferry, Dundalk, Dublin, Galway, Limerick, Cork, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Liverpool, &c.

[f] *Anglican Heresy.*—In October, 1575, Sir Henry Sidney arrived in Carrickfergus, and gave £34. 9s. 6d. towards its repairs.

[g] *Kill-ruaith.*—Now Killroot. The Irish name is *Cill-ruaidh*. See Eccles. Ant. pp 60, 245.

[h] *Celebrated.*—It was one of the earliest Christian settlements in Ireland, having been founded by Colman a disciple of St. Ailbe, in the fifth century. St. Colman is commemorated in the Calendar at the 16th of October, at which day the Feilire of Aengus has the following gloss on his name: " Colman, bishop, son of Cathbadh, of Cill-Ruaidh on the shore of Loch-Laigh in Ulster." The cemetery and some fragments of a large church remain in the townland Killroot.

[i] *Appurtenances.*—The Bishop of Connor had an ancient manor here, which is valued in the King's Books at 6s. but in the Ulster Valuation at £50 The townland of Kilroot containing an old mansion house, probably built on the site of the episcopal one, is held under the See of Connor, and changed its occupant some short time since in the Encumbered Estates Court.

[k] *St. Albens.*—The passage is printed from the Book of Kilkenny, in the Eccles Ant p. 245, and is to the following effect : " After this St. Albe, like an industrious bee with its load of honey, returned, under the Divine guidance, to his native Ireland. And when he arrived at the sea he blessed it, and with a breathless calm, he and his whole company crossed its waters in a frail ship uninjured, and lauded on the north coast of Ireland. And there, at Albe's order, one of his disciples called Colman, founded a church called *Cill-Ruaidh*. And whereas the spot was unprovided with fresh water, St. Albe blessed a stone in the name of God Omnipotent, and forthwith there gushed from it a stream of water. Then said St. Colman to Albe—" The water is scanty," to whom Albe replied, " Though the water is scanty it will never fail, and will be a running stream as long as the world lasts." Whence the name of the stream is called *Buanan Cylle Ruayd*, that is, the ' Unfailing Stream of Cillruaidh ' "

ON THE IRISH OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS.

By D. W. NASH, F.L.S.

Member of the Ethnological Society, and Royal Society of Literature,

A very interesting paper by Mr. Windele, in the first number of the Ulster Journal of Archæology, has called attention to the pillar-stones in Ireland bearing inscriptions in the Ogham character. It appears from that communication that these remains are much more numerous than had been generally supposed; nearly seventy inscribed monuments of this kind being mentioned by Mr. Windele, while Mr. Hitchcock speaks of one hundred and thirty such having been collected by himself and Dr. Graves.

So large an amount of materials for investigation may well lead to a reasonable hope that the time has arrived for deciphering these ancient legends, and rendering their contents available for the purposes of history and archæology. Such, however, is not the opinion of the learned author of the paper referred to, who points out obstacles in the way of their translation, of the most formidable character. Of these the difficulties arising from the condition and execution of the inscriptions themselves, and the partial obliteration of the characters by time or accident, are no doubt very serious, and can only be overcome by long and patient investigations; but that which is represented as the cardinal difficulty, the language in which they are written, has been, it is hoped there is reason to believe, over-estimated.

It is certainly not impossible that some of these inscriptions may reach to a very remote era, and they carry with them, no doubt, the outward appearance of great antiquity; but if we set out with the idea that the Ogham inscriptions in general belong to a period of "almost unfathomable antiquity," and that we are to find in them the lost speech of Ollamh Fodhla, and Tuathal Teachtmar, we may be creating for ourselves difficulties which have no present substantial existence. In many of them we must, on the contrary, expect to find the language of a much later date, certainly of the period posterior to the introduction of Christianity. On this point the authority of Dr. Petrie is direct and conclusive. In answer to a supposed discovery of an Ogham inscription at the Round Tower of Ardmore, Dr. Petrie observes: "The Druidical origin of the Ogham writing remains to be proved; but even granting that it is Druidical, the finding of an inscription in this character at Ardmore would prove nothing, as it is *perfectly certain* that the character was used by Christian ecclesiastics, both in manuscripts and inscriptions on stone.[a]" Even supposing then, for the moment, that the Ogham character was in use in Ireland before the introduction of Christianity and the Roman alphabet, it is reasonable to infer that the majority of these monumental inscriptions which have survived the accidents of time and weather are of a post-Christian era; as the chances of preservation for exposed monuments,

[a] Inquiry into the origin and uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, p. 83. 2nd Edit. 1845.

such as those under consideration, must be in an inverse ratio to their age, more especially in the case of these particular inscriptions, which are for the most part cut on the edge or angle of the stone, and thus peculiarly exposed to injury from accident and the action of the weather. To this we may add the notorious destruction of Pagan monuments by the early Christians in every country. The remarkable story contained in the Life of St. Patrick, given by Dr. Petrie, (Round Towers, p. 135) is, no doubt, evidence of the fact that Pagan monuments in Ireland were sometimes spared, and consecrated to the service of Christianity by the addition of the symbol of that faith; but the general rule was undoubtedly the other way. It is, moreover, extremely improbable that the early Christian saints and bishops in Ireland should have made use of pillar-stones bearing Pagan inscriptions, and so stamped with the sign manual of the evil one, as monuments over the graves of their fellow-Christians. Yet Dr. Petrie has observed that the graves of the founders or occupiers of the earliest specimens of church architecture in Ireland are frequently marked by upright pillar-stones, "sometimes bearing inscriptions in the Ogham character, as found on monuments presumed to be pagan." The example given by Dr. Petrie, of the pillar-stone which marks the grave of St. Monachan, and which is placed at the south-west end of the Oratory of the Saint, is a striking instance; and we must conclude, until the contrary is shewn, that the inscription upon this stone bears relation to the person to whom tradition assigns it, or to some other Christian personages buried in the neighbourhood of the monument. *Prima facie*, the Cross upon the front, and the Ogham inscription on the edge of the stone, are cotemporaneous. As it is clear that the language of these inscriptions may be the Irish, or even possibly in some cases Latin of the 5th, 6th, and probably later centuries, we may inquire what ought we to expect to find in them? The known early Christian inscriptions are very brief and simple, containing a name and an epithet, or a short formula. Such are the inscription on the stone of Lugnaedon, supposed by Dr. Petrie to be the oldest known inscription in the Roman character in Ireland, which runs:—LIE LUGNAEDON MACC LMENUEH

The stone of Lugnaedon son of Limenueh

Those of the "VII ROMANII"—CI BRECANI.' and

LIE COLUM MEC MEL,

'The Stone of Colum, the son of * * * mel.'

Also those beginning with the formula OR DO, or OROIT as

OROIT AR BRECAN NAILITHER

'A Prayer for Brecan the Pilgrim;'

and those published by Mr. J. Huband Smith, (Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. 1, pp. 57, 86—as

OR DO RUARCAN

OR AR ANMAINN AEDAIN

Or the more explicit one,————————'A Prayer for Muiredach, who made this cross.'

The inscriptions of Lugnaedon and Colum also shew that the formula OR DO or OROIT is not a necessary mark of a Christian epitaph, and that its absence is not even presumptive evidence of the pagan character of the inscription, though its presence would be conclusive on that point. The inscriptions from Lismore, (Ulster Journal of Archœology, vol. 1, p. 86.)

bendacht for anmain coizen

bendacht for an̄ martan

further shew that the formula OR DO, or OROIT is sometimes replaced by that of BENDACHT; and probably other similar instances will occur to Irish antiquaries.

Neither should the absence of the Cross be deemed conclusive of the non-Christian date of the monuments, since all Ogham inscriptions, even of Christian times, may not be sepulchral in their nature.

For Pagan times—if these Ogham characters should ultimately prove to reach, as to their employment, to an era beyond that of the introduction of Christianity—we have an example in the Ogham, said to have been inscribed upon the pillar-stone of Eochaid Airgthech, (in the story translated by Dr. Petrie, from the Leabhar na h'Uidhre,) which is of the same simple character as the Christian inscriptions above-mentioned, merely containing the name of the chieftain whose last resting-place it was intended to designate;

EOCHAID AIRGTHECH INSO,

'Eochaid Airgthech here.'

Of the character in which the inscriptions are framed it is unnecessary to make any remark, as I presume there is no difference of opinion on the fact of its being the "Ogham Craobh," of which an account was published by Vallancey, as long ago as 1784, if not earlier, with in 1790 the explanations of its origin and mode of use taken from the Book of Ballymote. O'Brien's Irish Grammar (1809) gives the same table, with a clerical error in the name of the fourth character of the third division which the explanatory verses shew should be *sd*, and not *cr*. The example given by O'Brien, of the name of *Cairbre* compared with the name of *Som*, the supposed inventor of the character, as given by Vallancey from the Book of Ballymote, show that in both instances the same kind of Ogham is in question. In

this last example the character for *m* is perpendicular, instead of oblique, a circumstance of some importance for the Ballycrovane inscription. These examples shew that the inscriptions are to be read from left to right; and a comparison of the inscriptions themselves with the directions for forming the characters contained in the verses before alluded to, published by Vallancey and O'Brien,

Beith na haonar dom laimh dheis
Luis dis gan eisleis, &c.

lead to the conclusion that those inscriptions which are cut on the angles of the stone were made while the stone was in a horizontal position, and before it was set up as a monument. This opinion is derived from the circumstance that the proper direction of the oblique stroke is from right to left as seen in the name of Cairbre, and proved to be so from other inscriptions. These strokes must, therefore, have been cut, (on the angles,) while the stone was in a horizontal position; as, when it is raised and set up on end, they appear as though drawn from left to right. This also strongly supports the inference that this character was used in manuscript, or in books or on tablets, before it was employed for inscriptions on stone, a fact which, if true, would evidently materially affect their supposed antiquity.

On the rounded stones, on the contrary, where the inscription is not cut on the angle, and where there is no *fleasg*, or central line, engraved or raised in relief, as described by Mr. Windele, the inscription may very probably have been cut on the surface of the stone itself, after this had been set up. In such cases the monument is probably older than the inscription,; and we may expect, as is so frequently the case in analogous instances, that the inscription will frequently have no relation to the original purpose and function of the monument on which it is found, and that such inscriptions are of a more modern date than the angle inscriptions.

The rounded stone from Kinnard, published by Mr. Windele, is very instructive, as it furnishes a key to certain difficulties which arise from the dilapidations suffered by inscriptions cut on the angle of these monuments. In the first place it removes all doubt as to the true position and direction of the oblique characters; and in the second it points out very clearly the distinction between vowel and consonantal characters. It will be found difficult in many instances to decide whether, in the angular inscriptions, a stroke acutely crosses the line, or only touches upon, and is bounded by it; which is equivalent to the question, for perpendicular strokes, whether the character represents a vowel or consonant. An examination of the Kinnard stone shews, (what was extremely probable from the angle inscriptions,) that the vowel characters are much smaller than those representing consonants, and that the absence of the *fleasg*, or central line, is no impediment to the deciphering an inscription; as the small or vowel marks must be considered as crossing an imaginary line, and they thus point out the right or left position, with regard to such a line, of the characters denoting consonants.

Mr. Hitchcock informs us that there is upon the Kinnard stone a cross, which is not represented in Mr. Windele's drawing. This is a very important piece of information; because, though its absence could not affect the result if the system of reading employed be correct, it nevertheless by its

presence strengthens that result, when, as in the present instance, the inscription turns out to contain a name of a clearly Christian origin.

That this is so will be apparent on applying to the inscription on the Kinnard stone the common method of reading the Ogham Craobh, guided by the observations above made; for we thus obtain

M A R I A N I

We certainly need not look higher than the 5th century of the Christian era for the date of this inscription, or for any reference in it to Druidic or Phœnician mythology. It is impossible to doubt that it is the name of a Christian, probably an ecclesiastic, as the name *Marianus* is a celebrated one in Irish Ecclesiology. The reading is so plain and consistent that I should have imagined it must have been heretofore published; but no mention of any such translation is made in Mr. Windele's communication. On the meaning of the curious symbol engraved on the same stone, which looks like a ground plan of some building, it would be idle to offer any conjecture.

If this translation stood alone it might be open to the objection that it is a mere coincidence without real connexion with the subject of the inscription; an opinion which will not, however, be entertained when we proceed to the second inscription,—that of the Dereenderagh stone,—which may or may not be, as far as any coincidence is afforded by the inscription itself, of Christian origin.

It reads by the same method:

A N M C R U N A N M A C L U C I S M A

An mac Runan mac Luc is ma,

Here we have, without any doubt, names abundantly common in Ireland, in all periods. The "*h-i Ronan do fuair aiream*," "the O'Ronans who received respect," of O'Donovan's "Hy Fiachrach," *Caoilte*, the warrior, *Mac Ronain*, and the saint of the same name, are classical instances. *Lugh*, or *Luc*, extends from the Tuatha De Danann to the present day. Whatever may be the meaning of the entire inscription no one can doubt that "Mac Ronain mhic Lugh" is the person for or concerning whom the inscription was engraved. The legend may perhaps be read

"Of Mac Ronain the son of Lugh this is (the field)"

the last word, *ma*, representing *magh* or *macha*, from which its pronounciation will not be very different.

In this case we must look upon this pillar-stone not as sepulchral, but as a land-mark, or boundary stone, such as are mentioned in the Brehon laws, and its inscription as recording the right of

property in the locality to belong to Mac Ronain. I would remark, however, that we may not in this instance be in possession of the commencement of the inscription, as the stone is evidently broken at its base, in which case there is a strong resemblance to well known Christian inscriptions in Roman letters, such as those cited above; and we may compare (OR DO) AN MAC RUNAN, with (OR DO) AN MARTIN, a reading which would at once decide the relative date of the inscription.

The third inscription, that of the Ballycrovane stone, is in a less favourable condition for investigation, and is one of those which requires collation with other inscriptions for arriving at a perfectly satisfactory result. The first character, which from its length must be a consonant, can represent no other letter than M, though it appears perpendicular (looking at the stone in a horizontal position) in Mr. Windele's drawing, instead of being oblique;—but, as I have already observed, this circumstance need create no doubt as to its value. The seventh character is obliterated, and it is doubtful whether the 20th belongs to the letters of the first division or to the oblique class. From the drawing the latter is the most probable, and the inscription, as I propose to restore it, reads thus:

M A C I H E(A) C A C A S A F A T O R A S D I A

that is, --*Machi h'Eacac as a fath o rasdia*

The field of O'Eacac and his country, (or district) from the * * * * * *

The name evolved from this inscription, is a genuine Irish name of nobly descended tribes in Ireland, especially in Connaught.

"*Clanna Neill meic Eachach uill,*"
The race of Niall son of great Eochaidh—
"*Ag sin h-i Eachach na n-each,*"
These are the Hy-Eachach of the Steeds—

are examples from the "Hy-Fiachrach," by Mr. O'Donovan.

This also appears to be a land-mark or boundary-stone; and probably better Irish scholars than myself will give the meaning of the last word. If "*fat*" be for "*feadh*" the inscription would more clearly still be descriptive of a boundary.—"The field of Eocach and its length is from the——"

The inscription on the pillar-stone which marks the grave of St. Monachan, at Temple Geal, near Dingle, is too doubtful in the only form in which I have seen it—the engraving in Dr. Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 136—to permit of an attempt at translation. The latter part of the line appears to read

M O C I A I N I A M E C

This inscription ought, in all probability (the stone bearing a large cross on the face) to contain the name of Monachan, or, we might be tempted to think, of St. Mochua, and read *Mochiai neamhach*, "Mochua the Holy;" but the second and last characters are doubtful, and the top of the stone with a portion of the inscription has been broken off. If the tradition is well founded that this stone marks the grave of Saint Monachan, it may be looked upon as a test-inscription, and deserves particular attention.

In offering these translations of the Ogham inscriptions to the readers of the Ulster Journal of Archæology, I have no intention of undervaluing the difficulties attending the full explanation of similar legends; but when a proper name can be made out, bearing a legitimate relation to known proper names of the age and country to which the inscription belongs, the translation,—though of little value, perhaps, *per se*,—stands aloof from the philological difficulties which attend the translation of phrases and grammatical expressions, and forms a basis for ulterior progress. I am not willing to believe that any difficulties can arise from the nature of the dialect in which the Ogham inscriptions may be written, too great to be overcome by the accomplished Irish scholars who have already presented to the world so many treasures from the storehouse of the ancient Irish language.

If the readings here submitted be correct, many Ogham inscriptions are of comparatively modern date, and I shall endeavour to show that there are substantial reasons founded on the internal evidence presented by the character itself, and the system of representation of sounds adopted by the inventors of the Ogham writing, for believing that this invention is altogether of a date posterior to the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

[Since the foregoing was in type the author has written to the Editors that he is informed that Dr. Graves of Trinity College, Dublin, (in a communication to the Royal Irish Academy) has suggested readings of a number of the Ogham Inscriptions, and among others that of MARIANI, as proposed by the writer of the present article.—Ed.]

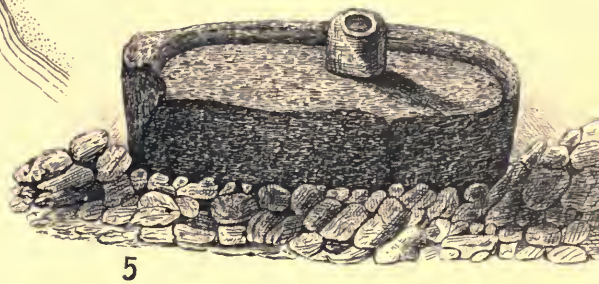
THE FRENCH SETTLERS IN IRELAND.

[Editors' Note.]

The Editors of the Ulster Journal of Archæology find that the subject of the Huguenot Refugees has excited considerable interest. They have received offers of literary assistance from many quarters, and have already had placed in their hands a number of curious and interesting documents belonging to private individuals, affording matter well worthy of publication. Others are promised, relating not only to the history of the French colonies established in Ireland, but to the previous history of the refugees before quitting their own country. Several private Journals kept by distinguished individuals, have also been placed at the disposal of the Editors; and they have opened a correspondence with gentlemen in various parts of Ireland, who are themselves descendants of French settlers.

Standing Stone.
Finan's Cataract
Stone Cross
Rath Finain
West Town
Ruins of
St Columbkill's Chapel
St John's Altar.
Round Tower
The West Port where
St Columba landed.
The Church of the Seven.
The Nuns grave

1



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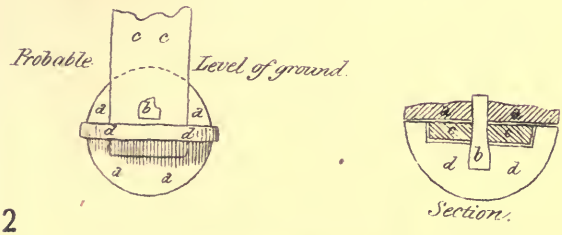
Probable
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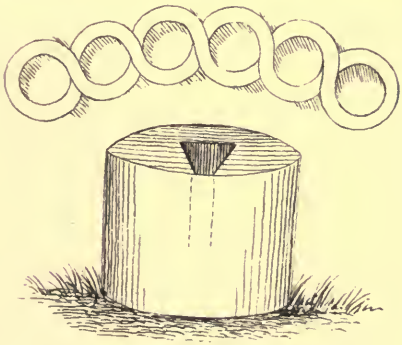

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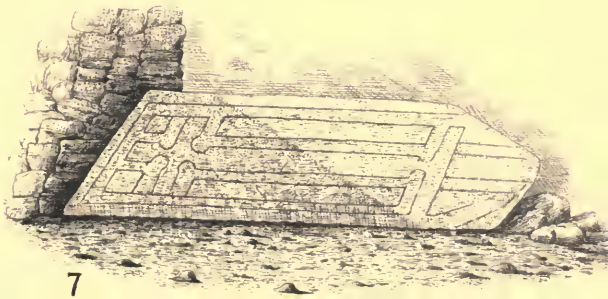

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They therefore hope to be able to collect a good deal of curious information with regard to this portion of Irish Ethnology. But they already find that the traces of many of the original families can now with difficulty be discovered. A great number of names have totally disappeared, and others have become singularly metamorphosed; while, even in the districts occupied by French families a couple of centuries ago, the traditions are fast dying away. In several cases it has been found that information respecting a family can only be obtained in England, Holland, or Geneva; and at this moment several gentlemen are at work making inquires in those countries. The Editors have, therefore, decided on postponing the continuation of the articles on the Huguenot settlers in Ireland, until next Number, in order to accumulate as many particulars as possible relating to each colony. Gentlemen residing in Dublin, Cork, Youghal, Innishannon, Kilkenny, Waterford, Portarlington, Dundalk and Lisburn, may materially assist the undertaking, by communicating any information they possess regarding the French families settled at these different places.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE CURSE OF COLUMBKILLE.—"I have the following legend from the peasantry in the lands called Columbkille, situated on the shore of Lough Neagh, to the west of the Bann Foot. St. Columbkille being at one time on his way to Downpatrick, was pursued by some of the Irish, and, in his haste to escape, put on one stocking and shoe, but had not time to put on the other. He was traced by this means, having one foot bare. Hereupon he solemnly cursed every one who should put on one stocking and one shoe first. As he went along he was greatly annoyed by the cocks crowing, and he therefore left them orders never again to crow in the lands of Columbkille. He arrived safe in Downpatrick." F. D.

SEAL OF O'NEILL.—"At p. 258 of the 4th Number of the Ulster Journal of Archæology, it is stated that the silver Seal of Hugh O'Neill was knocked down at the Strawberry Hill sale for £73. There must be some mistake in this statement. It certainly was sold on the fifteenth day (11th May, 1842) lot 10, to Mr. Farrer, a well-known dealer in curiosities, of Wardour Street, London, for £29. 8s. 0d." T. CROFTON CROKER.

London, 4th November, 1853

THE ROUND TOWERS OF IRELAND, AND A NATIONAL STYLE OF CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.—"From your last Number I find that my Notes on a National style of Church Architecture, have called forth two assailants, Mr. McSweeny, and Mr. Brash The former heads his article with the title—"The Question of the Round Towers Properly Stated:"—for *properly* I would read *improperly*, and I believe it will not require much ingenuity to prove that I am right. In my notes in p. 288 of your Journal, it was said that the Round Towers embraced the three periods of Saxon, Norman, and the 13th century. This Mr. McSweeny premptorily contradicts, and yet brings forward not even one solitary proof to support his assertion. In another place he uses these words—"Though we should be able to show that *every* Round Tower now standing in Ireland was of post-Christian date,—and only *one* or *two* can be so shown," &c. Now let us try the correctness of this assertion by the touch-stone of history. In the first place I find a passage in the M.S. "Chronicon Scotorum," in Trinity College, Dublin, which says.—"A D. 964. Cormac O'Killen, of the Hy Fiacha Aine, Coarb of SS. Kiaran, Cummin, and Cronan, who built the great church and *Cloictheach* of Tuam Graine, a man wise, aged, and a bishop, slept in Christ." We have then an account of no less than *thirty-two* Round Towers built by our great Christian King, Brian Boru, taken from MacLiag's life of that monarch, also in Trinity College, Dublin.—"It was Brian who gave out seven monasteries, both furniture and cattle, and land; and *thirty-two cloigtheachs*, &c. And again we have the Four Masters recording,—"A.D. 1238. The cloightheach of Eanach Duin was erected." Here is rather a substantial history, not of two only, but of thirty-four Round Towers in Christian *times*, and *by* Christians, in a period embracing the three I have mentioned, namely, Saxon, Norman, and the 13th century: and this irrespective of their architectural details, which may be also brought forward as conclusive evidence on this point. Mr. McSweeny further says,—"Ireland is the only country in Europe in which these Asiatic structures are to be found." To refute this assertion it is only necessary to mention that there are two of them in Scotland (at Abernethy and Brechin), that we have them in France, and a number of them in Greece. This perhaps may satisfy Mr. McS. that Round Towers are not so rare a commodity in Europe as he imagines. The other points which he dwells on shall be alluded to in my reply to Mr. Brash's strictures.—This gentleman considers my opinions on a National style of Church Architecture "of so erroneous a character" and so "calculated to injure the taste and mislead the judgment of the uninstructed reader" that he "cannot allow them to pass without question." I believe I would only have to quote passage against passage, of his own remarks, to prove that he has totally misunderstood his subject. In the first place he objects to adopting the Round Tower

"as a feature of our present Christian Architecture, from its having with it neither sympathy of symbolism nor constructural connection." Now let us see as to "sympathy of symbolism." If we take ancient usage as a precedent, we find that the primitive Apostles had such a deep-rooted sympathy for the Round Towers, that they invariably built their churches close under their shadow, or otherwise the Towers close up to their churches.—Few there are, I imagine, so devoid of feeling as to see no sympathy of symbolism in that "silent finger" raised above the sacred pile, which carries up the eye and mind, "and points to heaven!" Nay more, I have no hesitation in saying that the idea of that most beautiful object in English Ecclesiastical Architecture, the church *spire*. was borrowed from our slender Irish Tower: for we preceded the Anglo-Saxons both in Literature and Architure. Is there no "sympathy of symbolism" in the fact that every single architectural detail of the Towers must be pronounced ecclesiastical? Or in the fact that Christian *crosses* have been found on several of the Round Towers sculptured in *alto-relievo?* Now as to their having no "constructural connection with our *present* Christian Architecture,"—I did not assert that they had: there was, of course, no use in my proposing to give them again their primitive position in our modern works if they had it already. Mr. Brash proceeds to say, —"the primitive Apostles of Ireland left these Towers (as they may have found them) standing in solitary grandeur; the walls of their humble but enduring temples touched them not: for, to this day, wherever one of their early churches exists on the same site with a Round Tower, the latter is invariably found standing alone, the intervening space varying considerably." To disprove this assertion, and to show that such is not invariably the case, one example from the County of Wicklow will suffice; for the west end of the ancient church of St. Kevin is surmounted by a *Round Tower*. Neither can it be said, I imagine, that any building which forms part of a group, is "standing in solitary grandeur." For instance who can say so of the Round Tower on the Rock of Cashel? And the same is the case with numbers of others throughout the country. And if "the primitive Apostles of Ireland left them as *they found them*," I should be glad to see how Mr. Brash would prove that any of the primitive Apostles before the 9th century saw all or any of the *thirty-four* Towers mentioned above in my reply to Mr. McSweeny. But he elucidates this point by saying a little further down, that the "mediæval church builders who, up to the 12th century *made use of them as belfries or as keeps*, &c." Now who were the mediæval church builders? I believe it is generally allowed by all who are conversant with the subject that the Ecclesiastics or primitive Apostles themselves were their own architects; and, above all other subjects, our Irish traditions are most clear and unanimous on this head; for they invariably attribute the erection of the Round Tower to the saint of the district, wherever found. He proceeds to say,—"But, in the second place, the Round Tower is entirely unsuited for the purposes or requirements of a modern church; and it has no congruity with any style of our Ecclesiastical Architecture, except with those simple and unpretending "Kils" whose general features harmonize with its own." Now here again we are completely at issue: for I contend that the Round Tower *is* suited for our modern churches, and *has* a congruity with our Ecclesiastical Architecture; and this a moment's consideration will plainly shew: premising, that, in its restoration to its original purpose, while retaining its general appearance, all improvements in details to suit our present wants should be perfectly admissible. I maintain then, that, for lightness of appearance, simplicity, and strength, the Round Tower is superior to the Square. It may be made to combine the beauty and utility of the Keep, Bell-tower, and Spire, and an important advantage gained, as the bells may be elevated to the highest point in the Tower, which cannot be effected in the Spire. If the Round Tower was not suited for the requirements of ecclesiastical structures, why is it that the most beautiful feature in many of the ancient continental churches is the Round Tower?—for instance the Cathedral at Worms on the Rhine: strip this gorgeous specimen of Norman church-work of its elegant Round Towers, and you take away the very objects of most spirit and splendour in the whole pile. Nor can it be said that these have "no congruity with any style of our Ecclesiastical Architecture," when the details of the Round Towers class with the architectural details of the English periods of Saxon, Norman, and the 13th century. They present the tapering opes, and angular and arched heads of the Saxon period;—the square trefoil, and circular beaded heads, with the chevron, or zig-zag moulding, the concentric arches, and grotesque corbel heads, of the Norman period;—and lastly, they afford us examples, in their details, of the Gothic and 13th century, or early pointed style."—[E.F. then enters into a critical examination of Mr. Brash's ideas of what constitutes a *national* style of architecture, shewing what he conceives to be contradictions in his argument. We regret that our space will not permit us to follow him into this part of his subject.—EDIT.] "It will be found on examining the details of a few of our extensive Irish Ecclesiastical structures, that what I proposed was merely carrying out (with a trifling re-arrangement of parts,) the views generally adopted by the mediæval architects themselves. To illustrate this, let any one visit the beautiful ruins on the Rock of Cashel, and he will there find my plan *all but* carried out; and I hope there is not an individual to be found at the present day, with the slightest pretensions to Archæological feeling, who would condemn that glorious pile to mutilation, by pulling down the buildings of the Saxon, Norman, and 13th century periods, on the pretence of their being a violation of "architectural propriety," from having the styles of "at least ten centuries mingled together in a perfect *olla podrida*."

E.F.—YOUGHAL.

QUEEN ANNE'S FARTHING.—In the Belfast News-Letter, Dec. 1795, is the following advertisement:—

"A FARTHING.—A gentleman from Armagh has now in his possession a Piece of Coin, for which a great Reward has been offered in England and Scotland; it is a *Queen Anne's* farthing, which has its equal only in the Edinburgh Society. Any person who shall wish to purchase it, by addressing a few lines to Mr. F. D. Post-Office, Armagh, shall be carefully attended

STONE-PILLAR WORSHIP.—"Allow me to correct a mistake. It is stated in your last Journal, p. 303, on the authority of a correspondent of Lord Roden, that there are still in the "far west" traces of stone-pillar worship; the object of worship being a stone bearing some resemblance to a human figure.

I remember that, a few years ago, this same correspondence was used by a portion of the public press to prove that the people of Connaught yet worshipped the

idols of their Pagan ancestors. In my opinion, the stone in question (which is called "Neevougi") is a mutilated statue, or part of a statue of some "holy virgin" (as the name implies) which would then be called figuratively "the Holy Virgin." To such a statue the reverence of the people would naturally cling.

JOHANNES DUNS SCOTUS.

We transcribe the following anticipatory notice of the Electric Telegraph, from an address delivered before the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, 25th October, 1848:

An amusing and interesting notice is found in one of the Spectators, No. 241, dated 6th Dec., 1711, the subject of the paper being "The distress occasioned to virtuous love by absence." The writer says: "Strada, in one of his Prolusions, gives an account of a chemical correspondence between two friends by the help of a certain loadstone, which had such virtue in it that if it touched two several needles, when one of the needles so touched began to move, the other, though at never so great a distance, moved at the same time, and in the same manner. He tells us that the two friends, being each of them possessed of one of these needles, made a kind of dial-plate, inscribing it with the four and twenty letters in the same manner as the hours of the day are marked upon the ordinary dial-plate. They then fixed one of the needles on each of these plates, in such a manner, that it could move round without impediment, so as to touch one of the four and twenty letters. Upon their separating into distant countries, they agreed to withdraw themselves punctually into their closets at a certain hour of the day, and to converse with one another by means of this their invention. Accordingly, when they were some hundred miles assunder, each of them shut himself up in his closet at the time appointed, and immediately cast his eyes upon his dial-plate. If he had a-mind to write anything to his friend, he directed the needle to every letter of the words that he had occasion for, making a little pause at the end of every word or sentence, to avoid confusion. The friend in the mean while saw his own sympathetical needle moving of itself to every letter which that of his correspondent pointed at. By this means they talked together across a whole continent, and conveyed their thoughts in an instant over cities or mountains, seas or deserts."

Strada was professor of Belles-Lettres at Rome, where he died in 1649. The entire Essay which is found in his *Prolusiones Academicæ*, is singular. It is a letter addressed by the learned Jesuit to the College of Cardinals, on the comparative merits of the principal poets. He alludes to the practice of Pomponius, mentioned by Pliny, who, in cases of doubt, submitted his dramatic pieces to the multitude, rather than to the select few, and proceeds to describe a meeting held under the auspices of Leo X. to discuss the merits of the great poets. Sadoletus, the Pope's secretary, suggested that modern poets should represent the ancient, and recite verses of their own, written in the style of the several ancients whom they preferred.

The description of a fete given on the occasion is very interesting. Mount Parnassus, bearing Apollo and the Muses, floated down the Tiber, impelled by concealed paddle-wheels. A poem in the manner of Lucan was succeeded by one in the style of Lucretius, recited by Peter Bembo, afterwards the Pope's secretary, and a cardinal Bishop. It undertakes to shew the absent a very expeditious method of communication without sending letters or employing a postman.

The following is a close translation of the poem:

The magnet is a wondrous kind of stone, to which if bodies of iron or needles are presented, they acquire from it not only power, but a tendency to move towards the Bear that shines contiguous to the Pole; and also by a remarkable condition and rule of their nature, whatever needles have touched that stone, are observed to revolve in the same direction by a steady motion. So that if one of these be moved by any chance at Rome, another, although it be placed afar off, partakes of the motion, being impelled by some concealed law of nature. Suppose then you wished to know the condition of a friend at a distance, whither a letter cannot reach; take a dial, and on its outer circumference inscribe the elementary characters in the order they are taught to schoolboys, and place in the centre a needle touched by the magnet, so that as it moves it freely touches any letter you wish. Frame a dial similarly inscribed on the margin, and furnished with an index hand of iron,—of iron which has received its motive power from the same magnet. This your departing friend carries with him, having previously agreed on what days, and at what hour, he shall observe if the needle tremble or give any indication. If, afterwards you wish to hold a private communication with your distant friend, approach your hand to the index, draw the suspended needle—the letters are disposed around the margin—direct the iron to those constituting the words; touching them alternately with the point, as the iron thus turns, and turns again, you indicate the intentions of your mind. Strange connexion!! The distant friend looks—he sees the suspended needle trembling without visible impulse.—vibrating now here, now there—conscious of its effect he watches the course of the needle, reading its indications, letter by letter, which, formed into words, communicate a meaning which he thus learns from the iron interpreter. When he observes the hand at rest, he takes his turn, replying to his friend by touching the different letters in the same manner.

Oh that this kind of writing would come into use! A letter thus would hasten on its course, secured by its very celerity. Neither the stratagems of robbers nor rivers would delay the progress of the truth. The Prince with his own hand would transact his own business: and, we, children of the Scribes, emerging from the inky flood, would on its shore make a votive offering of our pen to the magnet.

KING WILLIAM'S PILOT.—The following is extracted from the Belfast News-Letter, October, 1799.

About 60 years ago, in this town, a female child was born in a family at that time pretty numerous; and amongst many other relatives to welcome her into life, she had one great-great grandmother, two great grandfathers, and two great grandmothers; two grandfathers and two grandmothers; besides her father and mother; in all eleven persons, in a regular descent from two families:—about this time (it might be at her christening) there were together at church, her great-grandfather, grandfather, father and mother, all of the name of Richard. The second of these, in the year 1685, was master of the "Resolution," a vessel of 94 tons burthen, and at that time the largest belonging to this port: the whole number of vessels being then 46, and the amount of their tonnage only 1781. The same person (the grandfather) was afterwards, in the year 1690, pressed with his vessel, into the service of King William III.,

and piloted the royal fleet to Carrickfergus, where the landing was effected on the 4th of June.

I have heard persons say they considered Sir Walter Scott exceeded probability when drawing the character of Lady Margaret Bellenden, in "Old Mortality," whose attached loyalty to the house of Stuart is described as inducing her to set out the King's dining-table as used by him, and preventing any of her guests occupying his sacred Majesty's chair. The site of her castle is familiar to me, as also Drumclog; but not as a moor: for the last time I passed that way, an Autumn sun was shedding his rays on a waving ocean of wheat, covering the ground on which the Covenanters assembled.—But to return to the illustration of Scott. Not far from Blackburn in Lancashire is Clayton Hall, the manor-house of an estate that has passed down, at least since the Conquest, in the same family; of course a good many old customs are to be found in such places. Charles I. on one occasion, honoured the family with a visit, and the day of his martyrology, in after years, was observed as a strict fast by all the household; the royal table being set out and furnished as when used by that monarch, just as described by Scott in his novel. I cannot mention the very year when this custom was disused, but it was only on the death of the present proprietor's father, which occurred, I think, shortly before 1845. The articles of plate, &c., used by the King, are of course still preserved as curious relics. E.G.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

Earliest Irish Missionaries.—"In the Notes and Queries of your 4th Number, Senex refers H. W. M. to some notes on the early Christian missionaries in Wales, which, in my humble opinion, are calculated to lead him astray in his inquiry as to whether the early Christian missionaries to Ireland belonged to the Eastern or Western church.

To explain the many similarities in rites and ceremonies that existed between the Irish and Oriental churches we need not go beyond the accounts handed down by our own Poets and Annalists. Tradition, to some extent, seems to point to an Oriental mission at a very early period. Thus, O'Sullivan says that "there are some who say that James, the son of Zebedee, came to this island:" and Trithemius, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, affirms that Palladius was by birth a Greek; and I have somewhere seen an account of seven Greek monks in Ireland. It is not necessary, however, to suppose, that this circumstance had the least effect on the after formation of the Irish church:—that the church established by St. Patrick should have an Asiatic appearance is but natural, from considering his own history—by birth a Gaul—at least educated in Gaul, which at that time, in rites and ceremonies, more resembled the Oriental than the Western churches. Gaul had been converted by Oriental missionaries. St. Paul is said to have sent Trophimus and Crescentius to that country; at all events, about the middle of the 2d century, a fresh supply of missionaries came from Asia, at the head of whom was St. Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, who had been a disciple of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. The names of his assistants testify their Asiatic origin: their letters to the Christians of Asia, and their anxiety that Pope Eleutherius should pacify the church of Asia, place it beyond a doubt:—even on the death of Pothinus, another Asiatic, St. Ireneus, succeeds to the See of Lyons. Another proof, if such is required, of the Oriental origin of the Gallican church may be drawn from its Liturgy, which more resembled the Eastern than the Western Liturgies; for Gaul, like the Copts, Armenians, and United Greeks, though in the strictest communion with Rome, had a Liturgy of its own up to the year 758.

Must we not then suppose that St. Patrick—himself a Gaul, and educated in Gaul—would form the Irish church after the Gallic model, and would teach the Irish to observe whatever the Orientals had taught the Ganls? It is not necessary with "the Quarterly Journal of Prophecy," to suppose that the preaching of converted Jews had established Asiatic customs in the British Isles; all can be sufficiently explained by adhering to the theory I have laid down: for the Oriental church-practices, being once received in Ireland, must have been carried by her missionaries through the neighbouring kingdoms. Moreover, the custom of abstaining from blood and things strangled, on which the "Quarterly Journal of Prophecy" seems to rely so much, was not a local custom, but continued in force, out of respect of a decree of the Apostles, in many countries of the West until the 12th century; as we learn from the Canons of Pope Gregory the 3rd, and the Penitential of Theodorus. And the second argument of the" Journal of Prophecy," drawn from the observance of Easter, is extremely weak; as at no time were the Irish or British churches "*Quartadecimans*" in the strict sense of the word: nor did they imitate the Jews in their Easter, which they invariably celebrated on a Sunday.———

In the "Annals of Ulster" (now being published in the Ulster Journal of Archæology) it is stated at A.D. 451, that Easter was celebrated on the 8th of the Kalends of May, which day according to the Note on the passage, fell on that year on *Tuesday*. From this the writer of the Note deduces that the Irish were then "*Quartadecimans*" On examining the matter I find that the 8th of the Kalends of May in 451 fell on *Sunday*. For, since, after a cycle of 28 years, the 1st of January falls on the same day of the week, it follows that, after the lapse of 1400 years, or 50 such cycles, the years 451 and 1851 had the 8th of the Kalends of May (or 24th of April) on the same day of the week: and this, in 1851, was Thursday. If we add to the 24th of April the 10 days taken by Gregory XIII from 1582, we shall have the 4th of May. Or in other words, what the Annalist calls the 24th of April, we would call the 4th of May, which being a Sunday in 1851, must have been the same in 451. It may be said that at A.D. 451, the year had not been 10 days astray. To this I answer that the vulgar Christian Æra was not in use A.D. 451, was only settled by Dionysius Exiguus A D, 532, and did not come into general use till the beginning of the 8th, and in Ireland, till the 10th century. Cathal Maguire and Roderick O'Cassidy, in compiling the Annals, had, then, to make a retrospective computation; and in doing so would take the year

in which they wrote as correct: whereas it really was 10 days astray; and therefore we would call their 24th of April the 4th of May. In the same Note the writer adduces the authority of Venerable Bede, to prove that the Irish celebrated Easter on any day of the week. To refute this I give Bede's own words:—"which (Easter) they (the Irish) nevertheless did not always keep on the 14th Moon with the Jews, as some have imagined, but on Sunday, although not in the proper week. [Bede. Hist. Ecc. lib. 3.] JOHANNES DUNS SCOTUS.

QUERIES.

Historians relate most carefully and minutely the particulars of all the battles which have ever been fought; seeming as if anxious not to omit even a single flourish of trumpets. But they think it quite beneath their dignity to inform us how our forefathers lived during the periods when they were not occupied in slaughtering each other. The simplest questions respecting their domestic life become perfect riddles, so far as historians afford us any means of answering them. Some accidental allusion in the works of a poet, is often, perhaps, the only clue we can discover to a knowledge of the state of society (as regards domestic matters,) in any period of ancient history. There are, for example, various simple articles of daily use, which must at all times have been as necessary in Ireland as at present; and yet, so far as I know, we have no direct means of ascertaining how they were procured. One in particular is *Salt*. This valuable article of diet, essential to all nations, no matter how uncivilized, was, until last year, unknown to exist in Ireland. The vast deposit of salt-rock, now discovered near the shore of Belfast Lough, was as hidden from man, since the beginning of the world, as the golden treasures of Australia. Yet it is unquestionable that the Irish, like every other people, made regular use of salt. The word to express it in their language (*salan*,) corresponds with the term found in almost all European languages, and appears frequently in old MSS. But from whence did the salt itself come? Are we to suppose that cargoes of it were brought from England, in which country we know that salt-mines were worked so early as the time of the Saxon Heptarchy; or from Portugal, where the substance may have been manufactured by the Phœnicians still earlier? Or did the Irish themselves manufacture it by evaporation from sea-water? I propose these questions to your correspondents, in the hope that some one, better versed than I am in the ancient lore of the country, may be able to adduce some passages from our old writers to elucidate the subject. It is not unlikely that allusions to it may be found in the Brehon Laws. SENEX.

There are in the British Islands *three* castles, (in England, Scotland and Ireland, respectively,) which, in time of war, were defended successfully under the command of *females*. Can any of your correspondents state the names of these Amazons, and give any further particulars of their sieges?

A Scottish family claims descent from Galgacus, the Caledonian chief who fought Agricola at the Mons Grampius. What is the family? and where probably was the battle fought? HERR VON PUZZLEM.

"Can you give or obtain any information respecting a coin found at Donaghadee, about the size of a farthing, very thin, and with a cross and the word "Donaghadee" round it? It was in the possession of the late Charles McAlister, steward to the late D. Delacherois, Esq, and, I was told, was turned up somewhere about the Danish (?) rath there, probably about 35 years ago.—Is there not also some tradition that there existed formerly a college at the same town, so celebrated that the sons of the Scottish kings were sent there to be educated? P.N.

"In some of the old legendary tales still preserved in the Irish language, and repeated at the winter's fire-side in various districts, I have been often struck with the mention of a famous architect of the olden time, called *Goban Saor*, (Anglicè, Goban the Mason.) Strange stories of his doings can be heard from many an old "Shanachie," who will assure you that he heard them from his grandfather; and not a few of the largest Abbeys and Cathedrals in Ireland, (and some in England,) are believed to have been built by him. The name is well known in all parts of Ireland, and the traditions are too uniform to be of local invention. Can any of your readers inform me who he was, and what is known of his real history? OLLAMH FODHLA.

"As it is a pleasing occupation to collect every kind of information about a celebrated character, could you inform me if there exists any record of Dean Swift's induction into Kilroot? Or can any of your readers afford the requisite information? STELLA.

BODLEY'S VISIT TO LECALE, COUNTY OF DOWN, A.D. 1602-3.

Descriptio itineris Capitanei Josiæ Bodley in Lecaliam apud Ultoniensis, Ann. 1602.

Deus bone, quid ego in me suscepi? Sane ego sum asinus, aliter nunquam suscepissem tam grave onus; sed nihil refert, faciam quod potero, ut illa canis Coppingeri, quæ semper fecit suam bonam voluntatem.

Ego cepi in manu declarare quid accidit in Itinere quod fecimus ad Lecaliam, Capitanus Caulfieldus, Capitanus Jephsonus[c] et ego, euntes ad visitandum Sirrum Richardum Morrisonum, amicum nostrum, et ad recreandum nos ibi. Et ego narrabo omnia in ordine; quia ordo est pulchra res, et omnes amant illam, præter milites Irelandicos, qui sunt pessimum genus hominum; si saltem illos homines licet appellare, qui vescuntur gramine, et sunt animo vulpes, et factis lupi.—Sed at rem.—

An Account of a Journey of Captain Josias Bodley into Lecale in Ulster, in the year 1602, *(properly* 1603.*)*[a]

Good God! what have I taken on me to do? Truly I am an ass, otherwise I would never have undertaken so heavy a burthen; but no matter, I shall do what I can, like Coppinger's—female dog[b]—who always took her own way.

I have taken in hand to recount what happened in a journey which Captain Caulfield, Captain Jephson, and I, made to Lecale, to visit our friend Sir Richard Morrison, and divert ourselves there. And I shall narrate everything in due order; for order is a fair thing, and all love it; except the Irish men-at-arms, who are a most vile race of men if it be at all allowable to call them "men" who live upon grass, and are foxes in their disposition, and wolves in their actions:—But to our business:

[a] *Journey of Captain Josias Bodley.*—For an account of the author of "the Journey" and of his manuscript, the reader is referred to the remarks at the end of this Article, where will also be found a notice of his fellow-travellers, Captains Toby Caulfield, John Jephson, and Henry Adderton; and of their hosts, Sir Richard Morryson, and Captain Ralph Constable; as well as a short review of the state of Ulster at the time "the journey" was written.

[b] *Coppinger's female dog.*—Who Coppinger was, or what were the merits or demerits of his canine companion, beyond her wilfulness, must ever remain a mystery. The allusion is evidently to some garrison joke. It probably refers to a very extraordinary character of his day, Edmund Coppinger, a person of good family and education who, in 1591, was along with many others, persuaded by a fanatic named Hackett, that he (Hackett,) in the words of Camden, "was that very Angel who should come before the approach of the last day with his fan and with his crook, to separate the sheep from the goats." Coppinger was for anointing Hackett to be their king, but Hackett ordered him and his other followers to go through London and declare that Christ was come to judge the world. They did so; and also declared Hackett "to be Supreme Monarch of the Universe, and that the Queen (Elizabeth) was to be deposed." They were arrested, and Hackett being brought to trial, confessed himself guilty, and (as Camden says) "was executed at Tyburn, making his hearers tremble at the blasphemies uttered by him." Coppinger voluntarily and resolutely starved himself to death in prison. The whole proceedings form a curious episode in the Annals of Elizabeth's reign, to which, if necessary,—save that Tyburn would be superseded by Bedlam,—a parallel might be found in the reign of Victoria. Such an event as that wherein Coppinger was so conspicuous would form a standing joke for years, as it would in our own day; and he may have had a canine familiar associated with him in his fantastic tricks.

[c] *Jephsonus.*—The MS. of Bodley's Journey, as preserved in the British Museum, is so bad a specimen of Calligraphy, that this word would appear rather to be

The aforesaid Master Morrison sent very kind letters to us, inviting us to keep the Nativity, (which the English call "Christmas,") with him; but, as Sir Arthur Chichester,[d] the Serjeant-Major of the whole army, had convoked us with all our companies at that very moment to fight with Tyrone, who was then in the woods of Glenconkein[e] with much cattle and few fighting-men; we could not go at that time to Lecale, but joined the said Sir Arthur, and remained with him for sixteen or seventeen days in the field, without doing much harm to Tyrone: for that Tyrone is the worst rascal, and very wary and subtle, and won't be beaten, except on good terms. However we fought him twice in the very woods, and made him run to his strongholds. So, after leaving about that place a well-provided garrison, we each departed, with full permission and goodwill.

Prædictus Dominus Morrisonus mittebat litteras ad nos valde humanas, quibus invitabat nos ad custodiendum natalitias, (quas Angli *Christmas* vocant,) apud se; sed quia Sirrus Arthurus Chichesterus, Sergentus Major totius exercitûs, convocârat nos cum nostris cohortibus in illo ipso instante, ad pugnandum cum Tyrone, qui fuit tunc in sylvis Glenconensibus, cum multis vaccis et paucis militibus, nos non potuimus ire pro illo tempore in Lecaliam, sed ivimus ad dictum Dominum Arthurum, et cum illo mansimus per sedecem vel septendecem dies in campis, sine facere aliquid magnum malum ad Tironnm; quia ille Tironus est pessimus nebulo, et valde cautus, et subtilis, et non vult esse verberatus, nisi super bonos terminos. Tamen nos pugnavimus bis cum illo in ipsis sylvis, et fecimus currere ad fortitudines suas. Sed postea linquentes circa illum locum unum garrisonum bene munitum discessimus singuli cum bona veniâ et bonâ voluntate.

Jonsonus. But as no Captain named Johnson or Jonson appears in the lists of Essex's or Mountjoy's armies, —whilst Jephson was not only of that rank in the Horse, but attached to Sir Arthur Chichester's district during the whole of Tyrone's rebellion, and frequently associated with Bodley,—it is impossible it could be any other. The mistake confirms the translator's impression that the MS. in the Brit. Mus. is a wretched copy from Bodley's original, taken by some person ignorant of the Latin language, and unacquainted with the names of the parties referred to by Bodley. See further remarks on the MS. at the end of this article.

[d] *Sir Arthur Chichester.*—The founder of the fortunes and acquirer of the immense estates (though not the direct ancestor) of the Donegall family, is too well known in Irish History to need much notice here. He was, at that time, Governor of Carrickfergus; and as Sergeant-Major of the army, (somewhat similar to the rank of General,) had command over the whole of the troops in Ulster; and had, accordingly, concentrated at Dungannon the troops under his own immediate command, as well as those of the Western parts of Ulster under the command of Sir Henry Dockwra, (whose head quarters were at Derry, and under whose superintendance the walls and fortifications of that town were shortly afterwards erected,) to drive Tyrone out of his fastnesses. Choosing such a season of the year, to perform such a duty in such a locality, Sir Arthur proved himself as ignorant in strategy as he was subsequently pre-eminent in statesmanship; and it is amusing to read the growlings of the rough old soldier, Dockwra, as given in his narrative (published by the Celtic Society,) at being dragged across the country on such a fruitless expedition, and his despair on climbing a hill to view the woods of Glenconkeine, spread far and wide before him, without a road to penetrate or a guide to trust; besides having to ford a river which, if swoln by rain, would effectually cut off his retreat. It reminds us of some of the difficulties we read of as attendant on the late Caffre war.—Sir Arthur Chichester was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, 3 Feb. 1604-5, and held that office for the long period of 10 years, during which time he was created a Peer: he was then appointed Lord High Treasurer, and held that office till his death in Feb. 1624-5. His monument is to be seen in Carrickfergus Church. He died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother.

[e] *Glenconkeine.*—or, as O'Donovan in his Annals of the Four Masters (Note at A.D. 1192, which see.) writes it Gleanconcadhain in Irish, comprised the parishes of Desertmartin, Ballynascreen and Kilcronnaght, in the county of Derry, and must also have included part of the adjoining county of Tyrone, as it extended nearly from Dungannon to Dungiven. Dockwra says it was a wilderness of woods, ravines, and mountains, extending 20 miles in length and 10 in breadth; and all the writers of that day agree that as a fastness it was almost impenetrable. Traditions still exist amongst the mountains of Derry and Tyrone of the immense forests that filled their vallies, and of their being inaccessible from the total absence of roads.

Jam venit nobis in mentem dicta invitatio Sirri Richardi, et post deliberationem, (quia rebus inchoantibus deliberatione, periclitantibus audacia, utendum est, ut ait Seneca) nos putavimus bonum ire illuc, quamvis natalitiæ jam essent octo dies præteritæ; quia non dubitavimus esse bene venti etiamsi fuit in Quadragesima. Fuit hoc determinatum in urbe Armaecnse, ubi est gubernator unus, valde honestus homo, cum barbâ nigrâ, qui tractat omnes bene, secundum parvam habilitatem suam, et tractaret multo melius, si haberet plus illius rei quam Angli vocant "meanes."

Ab illa urbe proficiscimur ad oppidum vulgo Newrii dictum, quod fuit iter unius diei. Ibi, ad dicere veritatem, non fuimus valde bene excepti, nec secundum qualitates nostras; nam illud oppidum nihil producit nisi carnem bovinam macram, et ovinum rarissimé; pessimum vero vinum; nec alius erat panis nisi biseocti, etiam in ipsis ædibus Gubernatoris. Tamen nos fecimus nostrum

We now remembered the said invitation of Sir Richard; and after deliberation, (for, in the commencement of affairs, deliberation should be used by those adventuring bold attempts, as Seneca says,) we thought it good to go thither, although it was now eight days after the Nativity: because we did not doubt our being welcome though it had been Lent. This was resolved on in the city of Armagh, where there is a Governor, [f] a very honest fellow with a black beard, who uses every one well according to his poor ability, and would use them much better if he had more of the thing the English call "means."

We set out from that city for the town commonly called Newry, which was one day's journey. There, to speak the truth, we were not very well entertained, nor according to our qualities; for that town produces nothing but lean beef, and very rarely mutton; the very worst wine; nor was there any bread, except biscuits, even in the Governor's house. [g] However, we did our best to

[f] *Governor*,—viz., at Armagh. It is evident that this is a periphrastic allusion by Bodley to himself. He was, as will be subsequently noticed, at this time commissioned to superintend the erection of small fortifications or entrenchments, whereby the detachments of the army would be secure from sudden attack; and had erected one at Armagh, where he must have been "commanding officer," which he renders in Latin by "Gubernator." The real governor was Sir Henry Danvers.

[g] *Biscuits, &c., &c.*—If the wretched state of Newry as to the "vivers," (after which Bodley had as keen an eye as the other "old soldier" Dalgetty,) be not an exaggeration, it must be accounted for by the fact that, during the whole of the previous year, Sir Arthur Chichester's and Sir Richard Moryson's troops had been employed in completely devastating the Counties of Armagh and Tyrone; so that O'Neill (or Tyrone as he was usually called) might not get provision for his men or horses: as for cows, it is stated that he drove them all away into his fastnesses, where, at one time, it is said he had 30,000 head. Biscuit appears to have formed the staple rations of the soldiers of those days. Fynes Moryson relates, that before the very brisk engagement with Tyrone at Carlingford, on 13th Nov. 1600, Mountjoy's army took their dinner heartily of biscuits with butter; and in the sea-stores given to the Spaniards, sent home after the capture of Kinsale in 1602, biscuit forms a large item in comparison with flesh, fish, or butter. Although not exactly connected with the subject at present before us, it may be interesting to the reader to give the price per lb. at which these stores were furnished and charged by the government commissary, as set forth in the Paeata Hibernia:—

Biscuit, 2¾d per lb.	Fish, 4d.
Butter, 6d.	Rice, 6d.
Flesh, 4d.	

all of them rather (and rice considerably so), above our usual contract prices of the present day. Now let us see what was the pay of the army out of which they had to pay for provisions at the above prices:—

Colonel 10s 0d per day,	having an *English* horse,
Captain, 4s 0d do.	1s 6d per day,
Lieutenant, 2s 6d, do.	Sergeant, } do.
Cornet, 2s 0d, do.	Drummer, } 1s 0d.
Ensign, 1s 6d, do.	Surgeon!! }
Horseman, 1s 3d, do.; or	Soldier, 8d.
if an *Englishman*, and	

(Fynes Moryson's History, Book 1st, cap. 1, p. 66, edition of 1735.) The curious classification, where the private Dragoon has nearly the same pay as the Ensign, and the Surgeon (query Barber-Surgeon?) is on a par with the Sergeant, and Drummer, affords curious

be merry and jocund with the bad wine, putting sugar in it, (as the senior lawyers are used to do, with Canary wine,)—with toasted bread, which in English is called "a lawyer's nightcap." There we found Captain Adderton, an honest fellow and a friend of ours, who, having nothing to do, was easily persuaded to accompany us to Lecale.

So the next morning we four take horse and set out. We had no guide except Captain Caulfield, who promised he would lead us very well. But before we had ridden three miles we lost our way and were compelled to go on foot, leading our horses through bogs and marshes, which was very troublesome; and some of us were not wanting who swore silently between our teeth, and wished our guide at a thousand devils. At length we came to some village of obscure name, where, for two brass shillings, we brought with us a countryman who might lead us to the Island of Magennis,[h] ten miles distant from the town of Newry: for Master Morrison had promised he would meet us there.

The weather was very cold, and it began to roar dreadfully with a strong wind in our faces, when we were on the mountains, where there was neither tree nor house; but there was no remedy save patience. Captain Bodley alone had a long cloak, with a hood, into which he prudently thrust his head, and laughed somewhat into himself to see the others so badly armed against the storm.

We now came to the island of Magennis, where,

melius esse hilares et jocundi cum illo malo vino, ponentes saccharum intus, ut solent seniores Jurisconsulti in vino Canarico, cum tosto pane, quod Anglicé "a lawyer's nightcap" dicitur. Ibi nos invenimus Capitanum Addertonum, probum virum et amicum nostrum, qui nihil habens ad agendum, facile persuasus comitare nos ad Lecaliam.

Ita sequente mane nos quatuor capimus equos nostros et progredimur. Guidam non habuimus nisi Capitanum Caulfieldum qui promisit se velle nos optimé ducere. Sed antequam tria millia equitavissemus nos fuimus extra viam, et fuimus compulsi ire pedites, ducentes equos nostros supper boggos et paludes, quod erat valde molestum, et non deerant ex nobis aliqui qui jurabant tacité inter dentes nostros, et optabant guidam nostrum ad mille diabolos. Tandem venimus ad oppidulum quoddam obscuro nomine, ubi, pro duobus solidis æneis, conduximus rusticum quendam qui portaret nos ad insulam Magnesii, decem millibus distantem ab oppido Newrii, quia illic Dominus Morrisonus promiserat se nobis obviam daturum.

Cœlum erat frigidissimum, et cepit mugire terribilissimè cum magno vento in faciebus nostris, quando fuimus supra montes, ubi non erat arbor nec domus aliqua; sed non erat remedium nisi patentia. Solus Capitanus Bodleus habuit togam oblongam cum Capuchio, in quo trusit caput suum prudenter, et risit aliquando apud se videre reliquos tam malè armatos contra illam tempestatem.

Jam venimus ad Insulam Magnesii ubi descen-

fool for comparison and reflection to the statistician or economist of the present day.

[h] *Island of Magennis.*—This was at Castlewellan, where was one of the strongholds of the Magennises, the others being at Newcastle and Scarva. This family, one of the most ancient and noble in Ulster, had at this time for its chief, Arthur Magennis, who, having made his submission to the Queen, was secured in the possession of his lands, and was shortly afterwards created a peer, by the title of Lord Magennis of Iveagh. For further particulars concerning him, and his wife Lady Sara, the reader is referred to a preceding article in the present volume of this Journal p. 47. Note.

dentes equos occurrimus Domino Morrisono et Capitano Conestabulo, cum multis aliis, quos brevitatis causâ prætermitto. Illi ibi manserant ad minimum tres horas expectantes adventum nostrum; et interea biberunt cerevisiam et usquebathum cum Dominâ Sarâ, filiâ Tironi, et uxore prædicti Magnetii; pulcherrimâ sane fœminâ; ita ut ego credam quod illæ tres horæ non videbantur illis plus quam unum minutum; præsertim Domino Connestabulo qui est naturâ suâ valde amorosus, non mulierum modo, sed canum etiam et equorum. Nos etiam bibimus bis vel ter; et postquam ordine illi oscula dedissemus, ad iter nostrum nos singuli accingimus.

Erant ab illâ insulâ decem vel duodecem milliaria ad Dounum Patricii, ubi Dominus Morrisonus habitabat; et videbatur iter multo longius propter desiderium quod habuimus esse ibi. Tandem, ut omnia habent finem, (et fartum duos, sicut est in proverbio,) nos venimus per parvum et parvum, ad dictum domum. Et jam incipit illa tractatio plusquam Lucullana, quam neque Cicero, cujus phrasmi in scribendo ego potissimúm imito, (quamvis "O imitatores, servum pecus!" dicit Horatius) neque alius quispiam Latinorum vel Grecorum, verbis satis aptis exprimere queat.

Cum jam propinquarâmus intra jactum lapidis ad ædes vel potiús palatium dicti Domini Morrisoni, ecce! statim innumeri servi! alii cum facibus et tædis quia tenebrosum erat; alii simul ut descendimus capiunt nobis nostros equos et ducunt illos in pulchrum et spatiosum stabulum, ubi nec fœnum nec avenæ deerant. Ipse Dominus Morrisonus

alighting from our horses, we met Master Morrison and Captain Constable; with many others, whom, for the sake of brevity, I pass by. They had tarried there at least three hours, expecting our arrival; and, in the mean time, drank ale and usquebaugh with the Lady Sara, the daughter of Tyrone, and wife of the aforesaid Magennis; a truly beautiful woman: so that I can well believe these three hours did not appear to them more than a minute, especially to Master Constable, who is by his nature very fond, not of women only, but likewise of dogs and horses. We also drank twice or thrice, and after we had duly kissed her, we each prepared for our journey.

It was ten or twelve miles from that island to Downpatrick, where Master Morrison dwelt; and the way seemed much longer on account of our wish to be there. At length, as all things have an end, and a black pudding two (as the proverb hath it) we came by little and little to the said house. And now began that more than Lucullan entertainment, which neither Cicero, whose style in composition, I chiefly imitate, (although Horace says, "O imitators! a slavish herd), nor any other of the Latin or Greek authors, could express in suitable terms.

When we had approached within a stone's throw of the house,—or rather palace[1]—of the said Master Morrison—behold! forthwith innumerable servants! some light us with pinewood lights and torches because it is dark; others, as soon as we alight, take our horses, and lead them into a handsome and spacious stable, where neith-

[1] *Palace.*—This is rather an hyperbolical term to apply to an edifice which plainly contained only three apartments, viz., kitchen, dining-hall, and sleeping apartment; yet, in the state of barrack accommodation in those days it may have appeared imposing enough, in the eyes of an old campaigner. It may have been a portion of the old castle which stood at the foot of the hill of Downpatrick, where, we may suppose, access was given to the mainland, and the last remains of which,—the tall square tower,—were removed only some four or five years ago.

er hay nor oats are wanting. Master Morrison himself leads us by wide stairs into a large hall where a fire is burning the height of our chins, as the saying is; and afterwards into a bed-chamber, prepared in the Irish fashion.

Here having taken off our boots, we all sit down and converse on various matters; Captain Caulfield about supper and food, for he was very hungry; Captain Constable about hounds, of which he had there some excellent ones, as he himself asserted; and the rest about other things. Master Morrison ordered a cup of Spanish wine to be brought, with burnt sugar, nutmeg, and ginger; and made us all drink a good draught of it, which was very grateful to the palate, and also good for procuring an appetite for supper, if any one needed such.

In an hour we heard some one down in the kitchen calling with a loud voice "To the Dresser." Forthwith we see a long row of servants, decently dressed, each with dishes of the most select meats, which they place on the table in the very best style. One presents to us a silver basin with the most limpid water; another hands us a very white towel; others arrange chairs and seats in their proper places.—"What need of words, let us be seen in action,"—(as Ajax says in Ovid.) Grace having been said we begin to fix our eyes intently on the dishes, whilst handling our knives: and here you might have plainly seen those Belgian feasts, where, at the beginning is silence, in the middle the cranching of teeth, and at the end the chattering of the people." For at first we sat as if rapt and astounded by the variety of meats and dainties,—like a German I once saw depicted

per largos gradus nos ducit in magnam aulam, ubi fuit jam accensus ignis ad mentum usque, ut aiunt; et postea in cubiculum *Iricè paratum.*[1]

Hic omnes, exutis ocreis, consedimus, et de variis rebus confabulamur. Capitanus Caulfieldus de et cænâ (et) cibis; quia valde esuriebat; Capitanus Connestabulus de canibus venaticis quos illic habebat optimos, ut ipse dicebat; et alii de aliis rebus. Jubet Dominus Morrisonus adferri cyathum de vino Hispanico, cum saccharo tosto, nuce muschatâ, et gingibere; et fecit nos omnes bibere unum bonum haustum illius vini, quod erat valde gratum pallato, et etiam bonum ad procurandum appetitum ad cænam, si quis non haberet.

Post horam unam audivimus quendam inferiùs in culinâ, alta voce vocantem "Ad Dresserum." Statim vidimus unum filum longum servorum honestè vestitorum, singuli cum patinis selectissimi cibi quas mensæ optimo ordine apponunt: alius lavacrum argenteum cum aquâ limpidissimâ nobis offert; alius linteum nitidissimum porrigit; alii cathedras et sedilia propris locis disponunt.

"Denique quid verbis opus est, spectemur agendo,"

(ut dicit Ajax apud Ovidium.) Post gratiarum actionem, strictis cultellis oculos in patinis intente figere cepimus; et hic plané vidisses Epulas Belgicas ubi

"In principio est silentium,"
"In medio stridor dentium,"
"Et in fine rumor gentium."

In principio enim ciborum varietate et deliciis tanquam rapti et attoniti sedebamus, in modum cujusdam Germani quem ego aliquando depictum

[1] *Iricè paratum*.—These words are so illegibly written in the M.S. that the translator is at a loss to put them into any other form than that now given.

vidi in tabulâ, stantem inter duas ampullas—alteram vini albi, alteram clareti—cum hoc motto: "Quo me vertam nescio."

Sed post parum tempus nos cadimus rotunde ad singulas patinas, vocantes nunc et tunc pro vino, nunc et tunc pro servitio, quisque pro abitrio suo. In medio cænæ jussit Dominus Morrisonus sibi dari ampullam vitream vino clareto repletam quæ continebat, (ut conjicio,) decem vel undecim pollices circum circa, et bibit ad nostrûm omnium sanitatem et gratum adventum. Nos libenter ab eo excipimus, dantes illi gratias, et bibentes unus post alium quantum ille præbiberat. Postea incepit quatuor vel quinque alias sanitates optimorum virorum et amicorum nostrorum, quemadmodum solet Illustrissimus Dominus nunc Thesaurarius Hibermiæ in suis prandiis. Et est res valdè laudabilis, et habet fortasse plus intus quam aliquis crederet; et nemo fuit ex nobis qui non fecit et illi et alteralteri rationem sine ullo scrupulo vel contradictione; quod ego valde lætabar videre, quia erat argumentem unanimitatis et confirmatæ amicitiæ.

Sunt enim multi (quod non possum loqui sine magno et intimo dolore) qui nolunt bibere sanitates apud alios; sedentes nihilominus in eorum societate qui bibunt, et non facientes ut illi faciunt, quod est omnium rerum turpissimum. Et quia jam incidi in istum sermonem de potatione, ego dicam aliquid per viam digressionis de hâc re. Non diu est quod fui apud aliquos bonos socios qui potabant sanitates in usquebatho, ubi qui-

standing between two jars, the one of white wine the other of claret, with this motto: "I know not which way to turn."

But after a short time we fall to roundly on every dish, calling now and then for wine, now and then for attendance, everyone according to his whim. In the midst of supper Master Morrison ordered be given to him a glass goblet full of claret, which measured (as I conjecture) ten or eleven inches roundabout, and drank to the health of all, and to our happy arrival. We freely received it from him, thanking him, and drinking, one after the other, as much as he drank before us. He then gave four or five healths of the chief men, and of our absent friends, just as the most illustrious Lord, now Treasurer of Ireland,[k] is used to do at his dinners. And it is a very praiseworthy thing, and has perhaps more in it than any one would believe; and there was not one among us who did pledge him and each other without any scruple or gainsay, which I was very glad to see; for it was a proof of unanimity and assured friendship.

For there are many, (a thing I can't mention without great and extreme sorrow,) who won't drink healths with others; sitting, nevertheless, in the company of those who do drink, and not doing as they do; which is of all things, the most shameful. And since I have now happened upon this discourse on drinking, I will say something, by way of digression, on the subject. Not long ago I was in company with some boon companions, who

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[k] *Lord Treasurer.*—The Treasurer of Ireland at this time was Sir George Cary, whose character, hinted at by Moryson and Camden, in the affair of the issuing of the Base Money, (as hereafter more fully noted) being that of an avaricious and grasping peculator, would lead to the inference that Bodley, in alluding to his custom of drinking healths at his dinners, is speaking ironically. Other instances occur in the "Journey" which place his irony beyond doubt; indeed, wherever he can, he introduces good-humoured personalities.

were drinking healths in usquebaugh, when one was present who wished to appear more abstemious than the rest, and would not drink with them; to whom one of them, (who could not speak Latin as well as I do,) said these words: "Si tu es plus sapientes quam nos sumus, tu es plus beholden to God Almighty quam nos sumus," which was most nobly said and very apposite. And I saw with my own eyes, when I was in Poland, a certain person, sitting at table with many others and refusing to drink as they drank, thrust out of doors by the head and shoulders, with great disgrace, and made almost unfit for all civilized society. For, at table, he who does not receive whatsoever healths may be proposed by another, does so, either because he likes not the proposer, or him to whom they drink, or the wine itself. Truly I would not willingly have any dealings with him who undervalues either me, or my friend, or lastly, wine, the most precious of all things under heaven.

But if any such person think he should go excused, because he cannot bear wine, owing to the weakness of his brain, he may depend that it happens through his own fault; to wit, because he does not sufficiently accustom himself to wine: for by a daily and frequent use of wine, he will so easily familiarize himself to it (for custom, according to Galen, is second nature,) that he may quaff as many cups as he pleases, not only without injury, but even with the greatest pleasure and delight. But if he abstains from potations because he thinks that from them arises the cause, sometimes of quarrels, sometimes of mischief, let him understand that such things happen not from wine, but from the vicious natures of men; from which it is rather to be deduced that, by a continual habit of

dam fuit præsens qui voluit videri continentior reliquis, et noluit bibere cum illis; ad quem unus ex illis (qui non potuit loqui Latiné tam bene ut ego) dixit hæc verba—"Si tu es plus sapientes quam nos sumus, tu es plus beholden to God Almighty quam nos sumus."—quod erat valde egregié dictum et bene adpositum. Et ego vidi oculis meis quando fuit in Pollonià, quod quidam sedens ad mensam cum multis aliis, et negans bibere sicut illi bibebant, fuit extrusus ex ostio per caput et humeros magno dedecore, et factus incapabilis omnis fere humanæ societatis. Cænæ enim, qui sanitates quantascunque sibi ab alio propinatas non admittit, id fecit, aut quia personam propinantem, aut illum cujus gratiæ propinantur, aut quia vinum ipsum non amat. Ego vero nullum cum illo libenter commercium haberem, qui vel me, vel amicum meum, vel denique vinum, rerum omnium sub cœlo pretiosissimum, vilipendet.

Quod si aliquis talis putet se excusatum iri quia vinum ferre non potest propter cerebri sui imbecilitatem, credat illam culpâ suâ evenire, scilicet, quia non satis se vino assuefacit; facilé enim per quotidianum et frequentem vini usum illud sibi ita familiare faciet (nam consuetudo secundum Galenum altera natura est) ut non modo sine nocumento sed summo etiam cum desiderio et voluptate quantacunque pocula exhauriat. Si vero a potationibus abstineret, quia ab illis aliquando malorum causam esse existimat; sciat hoc non ex vino sed ex hominum vitiis provenire; quo magis elaborandum est ut ex continuâ bibendi consuetudine illa vitia etiam ebrii evitemus, quæ sobrii evitare conamur. Et ego pro meâ parte semper putavi abthemios ipsos conscios esse sibi magni ali-

cujus criminis quod ebrios se proditurosverebantur. Est enim vinum Ebrietatis pater, Ebrietatis vero mater Veritatis, quamvis nonnulli dicant Veritatem esse Temporis filiam; sed illi ita putabant quia vinum bibitur semper in tempore, et requirit tempus ad inebriandum hominem.

Sed videor mihi audire Catonem aliquem severum, qualis illi sunt qui in barbis longis et bene *completis*[1] summum bonum ponunt; videor, inquam, illum audire loquentem.—"Tune ebrietatem nobis laudas, quæ non solum corporis vires enervat, sed animum etiam languidiorem, et ingenii acumen hebetius reddat?" Taceas, quæso, mi bone Cato, nisi primum nobis distinguas quid sit ebrietas; nam qui bene distinguit, bene docet. Sunt, enim, gradus quidam ebrietatis: "sunt certi denique fines:" nec ille verè ebriacus appellari potest qui aliquoties vino vincitur, sed qui ita vino indulget ut, neglectis omnibus aliis negotiis, semper habet nasum in poculo, sine respectu loci in quo, personarum cum quibus, vel temporis quando bibit.

Volo enim inebriari nihil aliud esse nisi aliquando cum ratione insanire; quemadmodum si quis sumeret medicinam aliquam intoxicantem cerebrum, vel fortasse nauseam procurantem, vomitum, vel somnum; cujus generis multæ sunt, ut antimonium, nux vomica, papaver, mandragora, et aliæ ejusmodi; quæ tamen postea morbum alidrinking, we may avoid, when drunk, those vices we endeavour to avoid when sober. And for my part I have ever thought the abstemious are self-conscious of some great crime, which they fear they would betray if drunk. For Wine is the father of Ebriety, but Ebriety is the mother of Truth,—although some may say that Truth is the daughter of Time: but they think so because wine is always drunk in good time, and it requires time to make a man drunk.

But I think I hear some severe Cato—such as they are who place their greatest happiness in in long and "*well got-up*" beards—I say I think I hear him saying,—"Dost thou to us praise Drunkenness, which enervates not only the powers of the body, but enfeebles the spirit, and dulls the sharpness of the intellect?"—Silence, I prithee, my good Cato, unless you first of all explain to us what Drunkenness is; for he who well explaineth teacheth well. There are certain gradations of Drunkenness; there are certain limits; nor can he be in reality styled a drunkard who is occasionally conquered by wine; but he who so indulges that, neglecting all other business, he hath always his nose in the cup, without regard to the place where, the persons with whom, or the time when, he drinketh.

For I maintain that being drunk is nothing else than being sometimes rationally mad; just as if one should take any medicine that intoxicates the brain, or produces, perhaps, nausea, vomiting or sleep; of which there are many, as antimony, nux vomica, opium, mandrake, and such like; and yet which may subsequently expel some dis-

1 *Completis.*—This is the only explanation the translator can give of the contraction, "*complis*," as it appears in the MS. It would mean "furnished" or "complete" (the latter word being a derivative of it) and is expressed by the modern phrase "*well-got-up.*"

ease, and conduce to health. Even Hippocrates himself, the prince of physicians, recommends, amongst other things that contribute to health, an immoderate potation of wine at least once a-month. And I remember having heard that a certain most learned physician, when he was asked by a friend—"Why he drank so much wine himself, and was almost daily drunk, although to others he preached abstinence from wine, whereby they might prolong their life?"–replied–"that he lived more in one day by living his own way and according to his own will, than if he had lived a whole year according to the laws of physic." And certainly there are more old drunkards, than old physicians, as Rabelais says.

I could, indeed, adduce in corroboration of my opinion, almost innumerable instances of illustrious and learned men, who were wont to get drunk after the manner I have mentioned. But what need is there for particular examples when so many countries on the globe are so addicted to potations that you would suppose they did scarcely anything else than drink; to wit, Flanders, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, with many others, now too tedious to particularize. Much more could be said on this point, but I wish not to amplify farther; for the thing is as clear in itself as the day. I will therefore conclude with these lines of Horace, which are worthy of being inscribed in letters of gold, on every table:

"What does not Ebriety effect? It conceals things which were public;
It commands hope to be realized; it impels the unarmed to battle;
Removes the burthen from troubled minds; and teaches the arts.
Whom have not flowing cups made eloquent?
Whom not made free under pinching poverty?"

quem pelleret, et ad sanitatem conduceret. Ipse etiam Hippocrates, medicorum princeps, inter alia quæ ad sanitatem conferunt, immodicam vini potationem semel saltem in mense prescribit. Et ego memini me audivisse quod medicus quidam doctissimus cum interrogaretur ab amico suo—"Cur tantum vini biberet, et quotidie ferè inebriaretur, cum ipse aliis abstinentiam a vino prædicaret, quo vitam prolongarent?"–respondit—"se plus vivere uno die, vivendo suo modo et secundum propriam voluntatem, quam si viveret integrum annum secundùm leges physicas." Et profecto plures sunt senes ebrii quam senes medici, ut dicit Rabelesius.

Possem equidem proferre ad corroborandam sententiam infinita ferè exempla virorum illustrium et literatorum, qui isto modo quem ego propono inebriari solebant. Sed quid opus est exemplis particularibus cum regiones plurimæ in hôc orbe terrarum ita potationibus deditæ sunt, ut nihil fere aliud agere nisi bibere illas existimares;—scilicet, Belgia, Germania, Pollonia, Dania, Scania, Norwegia, cum multis aliis quas nunc perscribere longum est. Multa possunt plura dicta super istum punctum, sed nolo illud ulterius amplificare, quia res per se tam clara est ut dies. Concludam igitur cum his Horatii versibus, qui digni literis aureis in omnibus mensis insculpendi:

"Quid non ebrietas designat? Aperta recondit;
Spes jubet esse ratas: in prelia trudit inermem;
Solicitis animis onus eximit; addocet artes;
Fœcundi calices quem non fecêre disertum?
Contractâ quem non in paupertate solutum?"[m]

[m] *Quid non ebrietas, &c.*—In the M.S. in the Brit. Mus. there are no less than three orthographical errors in this well-known quotation from the Epistles of Horace, (1st Book, 5th Ep.) which could scarcely have occurred

Nunc ad Lecaliam revertamur :—ubi finitâ cœnâ, quæ ut dixi fuit lautissima, intramus iterum in cubiculum, ubi erat magnus ignis (quia illo tempore valdè frigebat foras) et scamna parata ad sedendum super, et multum tobaeei eum nitidis pipis appositum. Etiam vinum ceperat parum operari nobiscum, et ingenium erat singulis paulò acutius; omnes simul garire, omnes simul petere audientiam; quod Sirrus Rogerus Williamsus, dignæ memoriæ, solebat voeare Academiam suam;

Let us now return to Leeale; where the supper, (which, as I have said, was most elegant,) being ended, we again enter our bed-room, in which was a large fire, (for at the time it was exceedingly cold out of doors) and beneches for sitting on; and plenty of tobaeco, with niee pipes, was set before us. The wine also had begun to operate a little on us, and every one's wits had become somewhat sharper; all were gabbling at onee, and all sought a hearing at onee: like what Sir Roger Williams,[n] of worthy

had the writer been even not above mediocrity as a Latin scholar, and this almost proves that it is not Bodley's original M.S.

[n] *Sir Roger. Williams.*—This gallant old soldier, styled by Bodley "of worthy memory," is worthy of a more lengthened notice than can be given in a perhaps even too lengthened annotation; not only because he appears to have been in many respects the model by which Bodley ruled his own conduct, as a straightforward and plain-speaking soldier, but as being in Elizabeth's days the counterpart, to a marvel, of a hero now lately passed away—"honest Charlie Napier," — whose name will live in the memory of many a soldier of Victoria's reign,as that of Williams did in those of Queen Bess. "He was" says Camden, "a Welsh gentleman, and first tried his fortune in the army under the Duke of Alva, (1559 to 1573,) and afterwards having obtained a full and complete experience of the arts and discipline of war, he was, perhaps, no way inferior to the best soldier of that age, could he have put bounds to his courage, which ran quite away with his conduct and discretion." In 1581, being with the English army, in the Lower Countries, under Norris, a captain of the "Epirots" named Thomas, challenged Norris to single combat; whereupon Williams accepted the challenge; because, Norris being General, might not accept it, by the law of arms. After they had tried their skill a little while in the view of both armies, and neither of them had received a wound, they sat down where they fought, and drank a hearty cup together, and so parted friends. Whereupon Camden indulges in a homily on the way in which "the English in these Netherland wars learned to drown themselves with immoderate drinking, and, by drinking other's healths, to impair their own;" offering a curious contrast to Bodley's essay on health-drinking, as given in the text above. In 1586, at Venlo, (also in the Netherlands,) Williams and a Frieslander named Skerk, with a chosen band, attacked the strongly-fortified camp of the Prince of Parma, at midnight, for the purpose of forcing their way into the city. They reached the very centre; but, being about to be overpowered, made good their retreat, after committing considerable slaughter. In 1587, he was one of the defenders of Sluys, which held out most obstinately; but, Leicester, the Queen's favourite, having come to the Netherlands for the purpose of raising the siege, returned to England (not without suspicions of cowardice) and they were obliged to surrender. In 1588, he was appointed one of the Council of Five, to "consult about the best way of managing the war at land" in the event of the Armada coming: and Miss Strickland, in her Life of Elizabeth, states, that he was second in command, under Leicester, of the forces assembled at Tilbury Fort, and received Queen Elizabeth there. We can imagine the contempt with which the old soldier looked on the sexagenarian Queen acting the Amazon, and on her favourite who had deserted him and his brave companions at Sluys in the preceeding year. Perhaps he had not concealed his feelings on the subject, for Miss Strickland relates a very characteristic anecdote, (without naming her authority,) of an interview he had with Elizabeth. It being in less *polished* days than the present,—when Warren and Day and Martin are our most *shining* characters,—Sir Roger had greased his jack boots, and stamped into the Queen's presence, to prefer some request; and, having kissed her Majesty's hand, was proceeding with his suit, when the Queen, who prided herself on the delicacy of her olfactory nerves, and who probably liked not the plain old soldier, interrupted him with—"Oh! Sir Roger, how your boots stink!"—'Please your Majesty" replied he, "it is my suit (request) stinks,and not my boots"—and stamped out of the presence. In 1591 he was sent to Dieppe, with express orders to lie on the French coast; but being in want of employment he marched on to Paris, and sent a letter to the Spaniards, challenging them to send 200 pikemen and 1000 musketeers to engage in the field with the same number of English,—which tho Spaniards most prudently declined. Sir Roger died in London, in 1595. Camden says "the Earl of Essex (the favourite of the day) attended his funeral.—which was solemnized at St. Paul's,—besides as many officers of the army as were then in town. It was undoubtedly by a singular excellence in him that he was capable, upon the bare stock of experience, of writing an exquisite and most judicious History of the Low Country Wars, in which he was an actor, and of maintaining as he did, in an admirable book on the subject, the art of fighting as it is now practised, against that which was in former ages; to the great mortification of the antiquated admirers of bows and arrows." Such was Sir Roger Williams; and such (only with a better knowledge of, and respect for discipline, but with similar courage and honesty) was Sir Charles Napier. May the future furnish many such!

memory, used to call "his academy," to wit, where all were speakers, and no listeners. And it is not true what some say,—"When wine is in wit is out"; unless they mean thereby, that, when any one is full of wine, then his wit, which was previously hidden and unknown, exhibits itself openly and plainly. For if any sober person had been present at that time in any corner of the room, I doubt not that he would have heard very remarkable and witty things, which I cannot now recollect.

I remember, however, that we conversed profoundly about things political, economical, philosophical, and much else; and amongst other things, we said that the time was now happily different, from when we were before Kinsale at Christmas of last year, when we suffered intolerable cold, dreadful labour, and a want of almost everything; drinking the very worst. We compared events, till lately unhoped for, with the past, and with those now hoped for. Lastly, reasoning on everything, we conclude that the verse of Horace, (Ode 37, Book Ist.,) squares exceedingly well with the present time: namely, "that now is the time for drinking, that now is the time for thumping the floor with a loose foot." Therefore, after a little, Captain Jephson calls for usquebaugh, and we all immediately second him with one consent, calling out "Usquebaugh, Usquebaugh,"—for we could make as free there as in our own quarters.

ubi omnes, scilicet, erant locutores, nulli auditores. Et non est verum quod aliqui dicunt—"quando vinum est intus ingenium est extra"—nisi vellent significare per id quod quando aliquis est plenus vini, tunc ingenium ejus monstrat se palam et manifestè quod fuit priùs absconditum et incognitum. Nam, si aliquis sobrius fuisset præsens ibi illo tempore in aliquo angulo illius cubiculi, ego non dubito quin ille audivisset res valdè memorabiles et ingeniosas, quas nunc non possum recordari.

Memini, tamen, nos de rebus politicis, œconomicis, philosophicis, et multis aliis, profundè sermonâsse; et inter alia dixisse quod tempus jam erat bene mutatum ex quo fuimus ante Kinsale, præterito anno in Natalitiis, quando patiebamur frigus intolerabile, terribilem laborem, et penuriam ferè omnium rerum; bibentes pessimum. Cum præteritis nuper desperata, cum jam speratis conferimus.[o] Denique de omnibus rebus ratiocinantes concludimus illud Horatii carmen (Ode 37, lib. 1.) optimè quadrare his temporibus, scilicet–"nunc esse bibendum, nunc pede libero pulsandam tellurem."[p]– Itaque paulò post Capitanus Jephsonus vocat pro usquebatho, et statim omnes uno consensu secundamus illum, clamantes, Usquebathum, Usquebathum, (nam potuimus esse ibi tam audaces ut in Garrisonis nostris.)

[o] *Cum præteritis, &c.*—This sentence, as given in the MS., is rather obscure; it is probably a quotation, and there may be some word omitted. The meaning appears to be "that by comparing the present times, when the power of Tyrone was so much humbled, with that which had passed, when he had won the victory on the Blackwater, and nearly effected a junction with the Spaniards at Kinsale, they might hope that still more favourable times were in store for them." And certainly they were: for in two months after that time, Tyrone had made his submission to Mountjoy, and was preparing to accompany him to England, to render homage to James; Elizabeth having died a week before Tyrone submitted.

[p] *Nunc esse bibendum, &c.*—The manner in which Bodley alters this quotation from the nominative, to the accusative before the infinitive, that it may agree with the previous part of his sentence, shows his grammatical knowledge of Latin, and strengthens the conclusion that a MS. so full of bad orthography, which from the nature of the language, causes grammatical errors, cannot be his own original.

Et præterea non erat sine ratione bibere usquebathum; quia erat optimum remedium contra frigus instantis noctis, et bonum ad digerendum erudos vapores illius vini Gallici, et super omnia salubre in istis regionibus, ubi sacerdotes ipsi qui sunt viri sancti, (ut abbas Armacensis, Episcopus Cashellensis, et alii,) ac etiam viri nobiles, (ut Henricus ogus MacMahonus MacHenricus,) et omnis generis viri et fœminæ, nocte dieque usquebathum in guttures suos infundunt; idque non ad hilaritatem modo, quod esset laudabile, sed ad continuam ebrietatem quod est valdè detestabile.

Postquam, igitur, quisque duas vel tres sanitates bibisset, discurrendo semper, inter unamquamque sanitatem, de rebus gravibus et ad rempublican pertinentibus, (inter quas multa de Mario et Syl-

Besides it was not without reason we drank usquebaugh; for it was the best remedy against the cold of that night, and good for dispersing the crude vapours of the French wine; and pre-eminently wholesome in these regions, where the priests themselves, who are holy men,—as the Abbot of Armagh,[q] the Bishop of Cashel,[r] and others; and also noble men,—as Henry Oge McMahon McHenry[s]—and men and women of every rank—pour usquebaugh down their throats by day and by night; and that not for hilarity only, (which would be praiseworthy,) but for constant drunkenness, which is detestable.

Therefore after every one had drank two or three healths, still discoursing, between each health, on grave affairs relating to the State, (amongst which, many things concerning Marius

[q] *Abbot of Armagh.* Bodley must, by this title, mean the Roman Catholic Primate, who, at that time, was Peter Lombard, the son of a Waterford merchant, and who was educated as a Protestant at Westminster school, the learned Camden being his preceptor; but, whilst on the Continent, he became a Roman Catholic. It is stated in Stuart's History of Armagh, (page 272,) that, owing to the intolerant spirit of the times, "Lombard could not with safety reside in Ireland, and, therefore, had appointed a *Vicar* to preside in his Province. It is, therefore, more probable that it was this Vicar whose love of usquebaugh Bodley has thus chronicled; and who, doubtless, was well known by those for whose edification the "Journey" was originally composed.

[r] *Bishop of Cashel.*—This was a famous personage in his day, and has become recorded in Irish history.—Myler Magrath, an Irish Franciscan Friar, had been in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign Roman Catholic Bishop of Down. He thought fit to conform to the Protestant religion, and became a favourite with Elizabeth, visiting her court frequently; and was by her, in 1570, made Bishop of Clogher, and in the same year, translated to the Archbishoprick of Cashel: he died in 1612. He must have been looked on with contempt, even by Protestants; although it is probable that he was specified by Bodley as addicted to usquebaugh drinking merely on account of his Irish origin. Camden in his Annals of Elizabeth, Anno 1591, relates that Brian O'Rorke, Prince of Breffrey, having been delivered up by the King of the Scots, was tried in Westminster Hall, for high treason; and found guilty, and sentenced to death, although he declared that he did not know one word of English, and that the jury "might even do as they pleased." "He was hung at Tyburn" says Camden, "without the least remorse for his crime; but ridiculed *Meilery Creach* (Meyler Magrath) *Archbishop of Cassils*, who ministered advice and comfort to him in the Irish tongue; and charged him as a man of unsteady principles, and a lewd life; calling him a kind of apostate from the Franciscan Order."

[s] *Henry Oge McMahon McHenry.*—This was one of the Irish petty chieftains, living in the counties of Armagh and Monaghan, and whose names are of frequent recurrence in Fynes Moryson's History of Tyrone's Rebellion. Bodley appears to speak in seriousness on the subject of the tippling habits of the Irish, and is corroborated in the main points by contemporary writers. Moryson says "these drinks, the *English-Irish*, drink largely, and in many families (especially at feasts) both men and women use excesse therein." And old Stanihurst says in his "*De Rebus Hibernicis*" (here translated from the Latin) "they use, as an universal remedy, a certain fiery wine, unmixed with any other liquor, which is commonly called 'aquavitæ,' by the warmth of which their food is made more easy of digestion. They distil this kind of drink with such excellent skill, that, at the application of flame, the whole rapidly ignites like gunpowder", *(bellicus pulvis;)*—and he winds up an eulogy on it in English by terming it "a sovereigne liquor if it bee taken orderlie." Usquebaugh (pronounced in Irish Wisgébaha, i.e. Aqua-vitæ or the Water of Life) is now better known by its first component word, as "whiskey," and unfortunately has its too ardent votaries, as in Bodley's days; not, however, confined to those of Irish race, but extending to all other bloods, whether Saxon or Norman, who frequently, in that respect, have become "Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores."

and Sylla, some concerning Cæsar and Pompey, and also about Marcus Coriolanus, were most learnedly handled and most keenly argued) we all at once agree to go to bed. For—what because of the assailing fumes of the wine which now sought our heads, and by reason of the coolness of our brains, diffused themselves over our eyes,—what because of the fatigue from the previous day's journey—and what because of the hour itself, when the sun had advanced to the east from the meridian line of the other hemisphere, fifteen degrees, six minutes, five seconds and *four thirds*,[t]—we thought it right (as I have said) to rest for some hours. And behold, now, the great kindness that Master Morrison shows towards us! He gives up to us his own good and soft bed, and throws himself upon a pallet in the same chamber, and would not be persuaded by anything we could say, to lie in his own bed; and the pallet was very hard and thin such as they are wont to have who are called "Palatine" of great heroes.

I need not tell how soundly we slept till morning, for that is easily understood, all things considered; at least if the old syllogism be true: "He who drinks well sleeps well." We did not however pass the night altogether without annoyance: for Captain Constable's dogs, which were very badly educated, (after the Northern fashion)[v] were always jumping on the beds, and would not let us alone, although we beat them ever so often; which the said Constable took in dudgeon, especially when he

jâ, de Cæsare et Pompeio nonnulla, etiam de Marco Coriolano, doctissimè a nobis tractata, et subtilissimè disputata sunt,) simul omnes consentimus eundum esse cubitum. Nam quid propter ingruentes vini vapores qui jam capita nostra petebant, et per frigiditatem cerebri in oculos se diffundebant; quid propter lassitudinem ex præcedentis diei itinere; et quid propter tempus ipsum in quo Sol ab alterius hemispherii lineâ meridianâ, quindecim gradus, minutos sex, eum quinque secundis et quatuor tertiis, versùs orientem peragraverat; putavimus bonum, (sicut dixi,) per aliquos horas requiescere. Et ecce! jam magnus favor quem Dominus Morrisonus ostendit nobis; ipse relinquit nobis lectum suum bonum et mollem; et jacit se super unum palatum, in eodem cubiculo, et noluit persuaderi propter omne quod nos potuimus dicere jacere in suo lecto; et erat palatum valde durum et tenue, sicut ille solent habere qui vocantur magnorum virorum Paletine.[u]

At cùm nos bene dormiêramus usque ad Auroram non opus est ut narrem, quia facile est indicari, consideratis considerandis, saltem si verum est syllogisma illud vetus—qui bene bibit, bene dormit. Non tamen omnino sine molestiâ noctem illam transegimus; nam canes illi Capitani Connestabuli qui erant valdè malè educati (more Septentrionali) se supersaltabant super lectos, et nunquam sinebant nos solos, quamvis multitoties illos tunderemus; quod dictus Connestabulus ac-

[t] *Four-thirds.*—This is the first attempt of our hero at at a pun, it being a play on the word "seconds" used just before it, and it is also a bit of burlesque on the minute calculations of science, which it is quite certain were unappreciated by the old soldier and classicist.

[u] *Palatine.*—The second and last pun, being better than the previous one, and perhaps good enough for the mess-room of two centuries and a-half ago; perhaps even better than some now perpetrated by Captains of Artillery, (as Bodley was,) yet still lacking something to gain a laugh from the fastidious critics of the present day. "Magnorum virorum" should, in the translator's opinion, be rather an ablative; but the pun on Palatine may have had some latent meaning, requiring the genitive, which cannot now be understood.

[v] *After the Northern fashion.*—A sly hit at Constable, who was, it is pretty certain, of the old Yorkshire family of that name; and is as much as to say "they are unmannerly dogs, but what else could you expect from a Yorkshire man, who does not know how to teach them good manners."

cepit in malem partem, præsertim quando audivit canes suos plorantes: sed totum erat unum propter id; quia non decet canes, qui sunt ex numero bestiarum, dormire cum hominibus, qui sunt animalia rationalia et risibilia, secundùm Philosophos.

Jam cùm Sol super lineam Eclipticam, super polos Zodiaci quartam ferè partem itineris sui diurni supra nostrum horizontem confecisset; et servi domestici, scientes quod erat tempus surgendi, in cubiculum nostrum venirent ad incendendum ignem; subitò sumus omnes expergefacti, et salutavimus alter alterum (sicut mos est apud bene educatos): sed erant ex nobis aliqui qui salutabant socios per viam de retro, quod non erat, meo judicio, valdè honestum, quamvis nonnulli dicunt esse bonum pro lumbis; sed nihil malè fit quod non malè accipitur. Antequam in lecto surgimus adfertur nobisvis quoddam aromaticum ex nobili *alâ*[w] cum saccharo et ovis concoctâ (Anglicè *Caudel)* ad stomachum confortandum et corroborandum; adfertur etiam cerevisia (si quis malet) cum tosto pane et nuce moschatâ, ad sitem sedandam, caput confirmandum, et jecur refrigerandum: adferuntur etiam *pipi* optimi tobacci ad rheumata et catarrhos expellendos.

Nunc alacres omnes ex lecto salimus; vestes induimus; ad ignem accedimus; et cum quisque paratus erat, pariter omnes foras egredimur, ad capiendum aërem qui est in illâ regione saluberrimus et amœnissimus, adeo ut si vellem illius loci commoditates omnes enumerare, non modò vires sed tempus ipsum mihi deficeret. Illud itaque

heard his dogs howling; but it was all as one for that; for it is not right that dogs, who are of the beasts, should sleep with men who are reasoning and laughing animals, according to the philosophers.

When the sun, on the line of the Ecliptic, over the poles of the Zodiac, had already made almost the fourth part of his daily journey above our horizon, and the domestics knowing that it was time for us to rise, came in to light the fire, we all suddenly awoke, and saluted each other, as is the custom with the well-educated. "Plura, quæ Anglicè nolunt propriè exprimi, Latinè amplius reddita sunt." Before we get out of bed they bring to us a certain aromatic of strong ale, compounded with sugar and eggs, (in English "caudle,") to comfort and strengthen the stomach; they also bring beer, (if any prefer it) with toasted bread and nutmeg, to allay thirst, steady the head, and cool the liver; they also bring pipes of the best tobacco to drive away rheums and catarrhs.

We now all jump quickly out of bed, put on our clothes, approach the fire, and, when all are ready, walk abroad together to take the air, which, in that region, is most salubrious and delightful, so that if I wished to enumerate all the advantages of the place, not only powers (of description) but time itself would be wanting. I shall

[w] *Ala.*—Bodley has coined this word to distinguish it from "*cerevisia*" which immediately follows. Ale is explained by Bailey's Dictionary as "*cerevisia sine humulis*," *Beer without hops*; and we know that until a recent period "bitter ale," was unknown. What a boon it would have been that morning to Bodley and those other "bold Britishers" who had been so lustily shouting for usquebaugh the night before—what a blessing it must now, like mercy, give and get, in the barrack-rooms of this second half of the nineteenth century, when English officers are *awakening* to a consciousness of the results of their first night's Irish campaign, and onslaught on usquebaugh.

therefore omit that, as being already known, and revert to ourselves, who, having now had a sufficient walk, returned to our lodging as dinner-time was at hand.

But how can we now tell about the sumptuous preparation of everything? How about the dinners? How about the suppers? How about the dainties? For we seemed as if present, (as you would suppose,) at the nuptial banquet to which some Cleopatra had invited her Antony; so many varieties of meats were there, so many kinds of condiments; about every one of which I would willingly say something, only that I fear being tedious. I shall therefore demonstrate, from a single dinner, what may be imagined of the rest. There was a large and beautiful collar of brawn, with its accompaniments, to wit, mustard and Muscadel wine; there were well-stuffed geese, (such as the Lord Bishop is wont to eat at Ardbraccan,)[x] the legs of which Captain Caulfield always laid hold of for himself; there were pies of venison and of various kinds of game; pasties also, some of marrow, with innumerable plums; others of it with coagulated milk,—such as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London almost always have at their feasts; others, which they call Tarts, of divers shapes, materials and colours, made of beef, mutton and veal. I do not mention, because they are reckoned vulgar, other kinds of dishes, wherein them that we cannot understand. It is likely an ironical reference to their reception by the Bishop.

tanquam satis cognitum relinquam, et ad nos ipsos redeo; qui jam satis perambulati ad hospitium revertimur; quia tempus prandendi appropinquabat.

Sed quid jam de apparatu rerum omnium opiparo? quid de prandiis? quid de cœnis? quid de obsoniis dixerimus? videbatur enim nobis nos epulis nuptialibus interfuisse, ut crederes Cleopatram aliquam Antonium suum invitâsse; tot erant ciborum varietates, tot condimentorum genera; de quibus singulis libenter aliquid dicerem nisi quod vereor esse tediosus. Unico igitur prandio quid de reliquis imaginandum demonstrabo. Fuit ibi magna et pulchra Collera Brauni cum suis sequaeibus, sinapi, scilicet, et vino muscadello; fuerunt anseres abdomine onusto, quales Dominus Episcopus solet comedere apud Ardbraken, quorum erura Capitanus Caulfieldus semper rapiebat ad se; fuerunt artocrea ex carne ferinâ et ex variis volatilibus; pastilli etiam, alii ex medullâ cum prunis innumeris; alii ex *ejus*[y] eum lacte coagulato, quales Dominus Major et Vicecomites Londinenses semper ferè habent in conviviis; alii, quos Tartas vocant, diversis formis, diversis materiis, et diversis coloribus, de carne bovinâ, de vervecinâ, de vitulinâ. Taceo, quia inter vulgaria numerantur, de aliis ciborum generibus, quibus Gallia plurimum abundat, et quos illi *Quelq'choses* nominant. Nihil refero neque de delitiis quæ caseum

[x] *Ardbraccan.*—The Lord Bishop here alluded to was Thomas Jones, Bishop of Meath, who, two years afterwards, was translated to the Archiepiscopate of Dublin. He was the founder of the Ranelagh family; died in 1619, and his monument is the most conspicuous object in the nave of Saint Patrick's Cathedral. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, on his route to the campaign in Ulster, in 1601, took up his quarters at Bishop Jones's Palace of Ardbraccan, and caused all the northern garrisons to meet him there on the 15th March. Amongst those assembled were Bodley, Moryson, Caulfield, Constable, and probably Adderton; and the allusion to the "well stuffed geese" must have conveyed a meaning to

[y] *Ejus.*—This must be a *lapsus pennæ*, and we should rather read *ea*, referring to "medullâ;" and it is so translated. It is a fair question for one ignorant of the archæology of Gastronomy, to ask—was marrow ever used in cream-tarts or cheese-cakes? for such are evidently the "*pastilli*" mentioned in this case; those previously named being "mince-pies." Why should not marrow have been used in them, as cheese, or "coagulated milk" must have been? Else whence their name? Let us hope this hint may not be lost, and that the Editor of our Journal may open an archæologico-gastronomical page.

comitabantur, quia fidem omnem superarent. Uno verbo dicam, omnia lautissimè, omnia copiosissimè nobis ibi subministrabantur.

Et ne quis putet—Deum nobis cîbum, diabolum verò eoquum misisse—(ut est in proverbio), fuit illic coquus quidam ita expertus in arte suâ, ut vix alius illi par invenire possit: et jam dicam unum superbum verbum—quod ego credo, quod Magister Robertus, coquus qui præest culinæ Domini Deputati (eum veniâ sit dictum) non est multò melior coquus, aut in suâ arte peritior quam ille—et nomen ejus est Philippus. Et hæc quidem sufficiant quod ad cibum et delicias. Verbum enim sapienti.

Si jam quæras nunquid aliud nobis oblectamentum fuerit præter ista quæ commemoravi—Infinita dico, et illa optima. Si enim equitandum nobis post prandium desiderium fuisset, vidisses statim decem vel duodecim pulchros equos, cum bonis Ephipicis et aliis ornamentis, ad iter paratos. Subito conscendimus: visitamus fontem et cathedram divi Patricii, castra antiqua, vel alia aliqua loca pro libito nostro; tandem domum reversi, folia picta, tabulæ, tesseræ nobis objiciuntur: et inter alia tobacco ille Indicus cujus nunc in France much abounds, and which they designate "Quelq'choses."[z] Neither do I relate anything of the delicacies which accompanied the cheese, because they would exceed all belief. I may say in one word, that all things were there supplied us most luxuriously and most copiously.

And lest any one might think that God had sent us the meat, but the Devil the cook (as the proverb says) there was a cook there so expert in his art that his equal could scarce be found; and I shall now say one *big* word,—I believe that Master Robert, the cook who presides over the kitchen of the Lord Deputy,[a] (with pardon be it spoken) is not a much better cook, or more skilled in his art, than he—and his name is Philip. And truly this may suffice as to the dishes and dainties—for a word is enough to the wise.

If you now enquire whether there were any other amusements, besides those I have related, I say an infinite number, and the very best. For if we wished to ride after dinner, you would have seen forthwith ten or twelve handsome steeds with good equipments and other ornaments, ready for the road. We quickly mount; we visit the Well and Chair of St. Patrick,[b] the ancient Fort, or any other place according to our fancy; and at length returning home, cards, tables,[c] and dice are set before us, and amongst other things

[z] *Quelq'choses.*—Generally called "Kickshaws" by our older novelists and essay-writers, and by them used in the sense we now express by the words "*trifles*" or "*entremets.*"

[a] *Lord Deputy's Cook.*—Bodley rather audaciously here hints at the *gourmet* propensities of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, a fact duly chronicled by his secretary, Fynes Moryson; and which will be again adverted to in the remarks on this article which follow.

[b] *Well and Chair of St. Patrick, &c.*—These are still in existence at Struel, about a mile S. E. of Downpatrick. St. Patrick's chair is a recess formed by three large stones or rocks, at the top of the precipitous hill up which those doing penance had to climb; and in which they in turn sat down. For particulars of the holy wells at Struel, see Harris's History of Down, p. 25; and Reeves's Eccl. Antiq. p. 42.—The ancient Fort or Dun, is as fine a specimen of its kind as exists in Ireland, and must have presented much to interest one so well skilled in the modern science of fortification as Bodley is stated by contemporary writers to have been.

[c] *Cards, Tables, &c.*—Bailey in his Dictionary gives *chartæ pictæ* (painted papers) as the Latin equivalent for playing-cards. Bodley's *folia picta* (painted leaves) is a better expression. The reader will call to mind the epithet of "the Deil's picture-beuks" applied to them by Burns. "Tables" was formerly the common name for backgammon; scarcely yet disused by some of our seniors.

that Indian tobacco (of which I shall never be able to make sufficient mention,) and of which I cannot speak otherwise; whereas there are many who loathe it, as not at all pleasant or necessary; and they do not so, like others who unnaturally, and from antipathy, dislike certain foods; just as Captain Morris hates eels, Captain Sydney cheese, Captain Windsor mutton-chops, and Captain Bodley usquebaugh, nevertheless admitting these things to be good in themselves, and freely allowing them to others; whereas those good fellows, (of whom I speak,) not only contemn tobacco themselves, but also advise others against it.

And I have now, for twelve years and more, been expecting some sound reason from them, to confirm that opinion; but have, as yet, heard none (that's worth a farthing); nor shall I ever hear one. Almost all have but one argument, that would make a dog laugh, and a horse break his halter, saying that neither our sires, nor grandsires took tobacco, yet they lived I know not how long. So indeed they lived until they died, despite of tobacco; but who knows if they might not have lived longer had they used tobacco? And if one who now uses tobacco die of any di-

quam satis meminisse potero; et de quo non possum aliter dicere; quia multi sunt qui illum respuunt tanquam minus jucundum vel necessarium, et isti non faciunt, sicut alii non naturaliter et ex antipathiâ quibusdam cibis abhorrent; ut Capitanus Morrisonus [d] anguillam, Capitanus Sydneus caseum, Capitanus Windsorus costas ovinas, et Capitanus Bodleus usquebathum odio persequitur; qui tamen res ipas per se bonas et salubres omnes confitentur, atque illas aliis libenter concedunt; ubi isti boni viri (de quibus ego loquor) non solum ipsi tobaccum contemnunt, sed etiam alios ab illo dissuadent.

Et ego jam per duodecim vel plures annos expectavi rationem aliquam solidam ab illis, ad confirmandum opinionem illam, sed adhuc nullam audivi (quæ valet obolum) neque unquam auditurus sum. Unum ferè omnes argumentum habet quod faceret canem ridere, et equum frangere capistrum suum, quando dicant quod nec avi nec proavi nostri sumebant tobaccum, attamen vixerunt nescio quamdiu. Ita sanè vixerunt usque ad mortem in despectu Tobacci; sed quis scit an diutius non vixissent si etiam Tobaccum sumpsissent? et si quis jam sumens Tobac-

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d *Capitanus Morrisonus.*—This name must have been written in mistake for *Morris*. No captain named *Morrison* appears in the lists of the day; but, Captain Edward *Morris* was frequently associated with Bodley and his companions. In 1600 he was quartered at Drogheda, whilst Bodley was at Newry; Adderton at Mountnorris; and Moryson, Caulfield, and Constable, at Dundalk. He was at the Siege of Kinsale in Dec. 1601, where he distinguished himself, in company with Bodley, Moryson, Caulfield, and Constable. In 1602 he was along with them in the army, under the immediate command of the Lord Deputy; and at the time Bodley wrote the "Journey" he was quartered at Mountjoy Fort, near Dungannon, and most probably was one of the original suggestors of the article. There can be no doubt of his being the person meant in the text, and his name is accordingly given in the translation. Captain John Sidney's name comes immediately after Bodley's, in the list of the captains of the old companies sent out of the Low Countries to Ireland, in 1598. Captain William Winsor came over in the next year. These two officers were attached to the force under Sir Henry Dockwra, whose head quarters were at Derry, and were, during the years 1600,-1, and-2, quartered Sidney at Enogh, (two miles from Derry) where a small fort stood opposite Culmore, to protect the river and Winsor, at Lifford, and at Burt. It is to be presumed that they accompanied Dockwra on his Christmas expedition against Tyrone, and were still in or near Armagh, and amongst his hearers, when Bodley produced "his Journey." We may take for granted, that the antipathies attributed to these three officers, as well as to Bodley himself, are only ironical allusions to their partialities for the good things mentioned; and the personalities would cause a laugh *from* as well as *at*, the parties themselves.

cum de aliquo morbo moriatur, quis scit an citius non esset mortuus si a Tobacco abstinuisset?

Et nolite abjicere (ut) ridiculum illud et planè falsum quod aliqui Tobacconistæ, post mortem exenterati, inveniuntur nigri intùs; quia id (si quid unquam tale acciderit) vel ex vitio sanguinis et corruptione illius, vel ex abundantiâ humoris melancholici, vel denique ex morbo Gallico, vel aliâ aliquâ corporis indispositione procedit; ut optimum nôrunt medici, in quorum sententiâ acquiesco.—Quod autem Tobacco aliquid divini in se contineat, et ad sanitatem nostram mirabiliter conducat.

Unde, quæso, testimonium majus vel certius adferre potero, quam quod tot viri nobiles iidemque sapientes (præter alios infinitos) summopere illo delectantur: et ex quo primùm fuerit inventus eandem estimationem per tot annos retinuerit; nec unquam inimicum habuerit nisi ignorantem, qui vel propter sumptum (carò enim venditur), vel quia ineptum se ad illum rectè et artificiosè imbibendum conceperit, primo quasi limine absterrebatur. Ego vero innumeros et indicibilia illius commoda experientiâ meâ ita prospectu habeo, ut verè ausum dicere.

"Cur moriatur homo qui fumat in ore Tobacco?" [f]

sease, who knows if he might not have died sooner had he abstained from tobacco?

And do not reject as ridiculous, and entirely false, that some tobacconists, [e] being dissected after death, have been found to be black inside; because, (if such hath ever happened,) it proceeds from the vitiation or corruption of the blood; or from the superabundance of the atrabilious humour; or lastly, from the "morbus gallicus," or any other indisposition of the body; for physicians very well know, and with their opinion I agree, that tobacco, nevertheless, may contain in itself something divine, and may conduce wonderfully to our health.

Whence, I prithee, could I bring stronger or surer testimony, than that so many noble, and at the same time wise men (besides countless others) delight in it extremely? And from the time it was first discovered it hath maintained the same repute for so many years; nor hath it ever had an enemy, except the ignorant, who either on account of the cost (for it is sold dear,) or because he imagined himself awkward in properly or skilfully imbibing it, was deterred, as it were, on the very threshold. Indeed from my experience, I have so much in view its innumerable and unspeakable benefits, that I might even venture to say (with the poet,) "Why dies the man whose mouth tobacco smokes."

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[e] *Tobacconists.*—Every reader must form his own conclusion as to whether Bodley meant to apply the word "Tobacconistæ" (here literally translated) to the consumers, or, in its modern sense, to the manipulators of his favourite "Indian weed." His *diagnosis* and the context would certainly point out the former class; yet he may have had (as Hamlet himself would say) "in his mind's eye" the theory propounded by the grave-digger in Hamlet, "that a tanner will last you nine year, (in his grave) his hide is so tanned with his trade that he will keep out water a great while." (Act 5, Sc. 5). Hamlet had appeared only five years before Bodley's "Journey," and the parallel of the Tobacconist and the Tanner as to the *post-mortem* results of their respective trades, might have been fully understood and applauded by his English military,—and, if in London, play-going—audience.

[f] *Cur moriatur, &c.*—This hexameter is an excellent parody on one very generally known: "Cur moriatur homo cui salva crescit in horto"—(why dies the man in whose garden groweth sage)—yet of which, strange to say, the translator cannot by any search or inquiry find out the author. Ray, in his very voluminous *Historia Plantarum*, although, when praising the virtues of sage,

And now once more to our Lecale—where, amongst other things that contributed to hilarity, there came one night after supper certain maskers of the Irish gentry, four in number (if I rightly remember.) They first sent in to us a letter, marked with "*the greatest haste*," and "*after our hearty commendations*,' according to the old style, saying that they were strangers, just arrived in these parts, and very desirous of spending one or two hours with us; and leave being given, they entered in this order: first a boy, with a lighted torch; then two, beating drums; then the maskers two and two; then another torch. One of the maskers carried a dirty pocket-handkerchief, with ten pounds in it, not of bullion, but of the new money lately coined, which has the harp on one side, and the royal arms on the other.[i]

They were dressed in shirts, with many ivy leaves sewed on here and there over them; and had over their faces masks of dog-skin, with holes to see out of, and noses made of paper; their caps were high and peaked, (in the Persian fashion,) and were also of paper, and ornamented with the same (ivy) leaves.

Et jam iterum ad Lecaliam nostram—ubi inter alia quæ ad hilaritatem conferebant, venerunt unâ nocte post cœnam Maschari quidam ex nobilibus Hibernicis, numero quatuor (si recte memini). Illi prius miserunt ad nos literas *instantissimas*,[g] secundum antiquam phrasim, post nostras cordiales commendationes, et dicentes, se fuisse certos advenas nuper arrivatos in illis partibus, et valdè cupidos præterire unam vel alteram horam nobiscum. Et post concessam veniam isto ordine ingrediuntur.—Primo puer cum tædâ accensâ: tunc duo pulsantes tympana; tunc ipsi maschari duo et duo: tum altera tæda. Unus ex Mascharis portabat sordidum emunctorium[h] cum decem libris intus, non ex bulione. sed ex novâ pecuniâ nuper impressâ quæ habet lyram ex uno latere, et insignia regalia ab altero.

Induebantur camisiis cum multis foliis hederæ hic et illic sparsim consutis; et super facies suas habebant *maschariicx* pelle caniculi cum foraminibus ad videndum extra, et nasi erant facti ex papyro: gáleri vero alti et pyramidales (more Persico) etiam ex papyro, ornati cum dictis foliis.

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he gives a somewhat similar line,—"Salvia cum rutâ facient tibi pocula tuta")—(sage with rue will make a safe drink for you)—makes no allusion to the one in question. Loudon, in his equally voluminous, but more popular, "Arboretum et Fruticetum," gives the line in English, and says it is the production of an old Latin writer; but it certainly is not so, at least not of any Classical writer. It is more probably the production of some of the early Monkish Rhymers. The translator has propounded the question of its authorship to the Editor of *Notes and Queries*, without as yet (to 1st March) getting any reply; besides asking many of our first Latin scholars in and about Belfast, who were all familiar with the line, yet not one of them, could say who was its author. Can any of the numerous readers of this Journal give an affirmative response?

[g] *Instantissimas.*—This is the only meaning the translator can give to a word very obscurely written in the MS. The conjecture is borne out by what we read of in the endorsements of "Haste," "ride for your life," &c., which we know were formerly, (when as yet mail-coaches and Post-offices were unknown,) put on letters, as a warning to couriers.

[h] *Emunctorium.*—By using this *non-classic* word Bodley bears an unwitting testimony to an unexpected yet gratifying advance in civilization and refinement amongst the "Hibernian gentry" in Lecale; as we may fairly infer the habitual and proper use by them of the Emunctorium; although, in this particular instance, it was with the ready inventive genius of their race transformed into a *porte-monnaie*. Our learned Ethnologists will, of course, attribute the departure from the aboriginal and characteristic application of the "dexter pollex et index" towards the purgation of the nasal emunctories to the influence and example of the early Saxon and Norman settlers in Lecale. On the contrary, it is to be feared, that, if even now a statistical inquiry were instituted in that very region, too many instances of retrogradation from the civilization inferred by Bodley would be discovered, and the use of the Emunctorium, as an ethnological criterion of "race" would be too strict a test, to be applied in the present day to the Hibernians *en masse*.

[i] *The new money lately, &c.*—This cursory allusion to the money used in a night's gambling opens up one of the most interesting points in the history of Finance, Currency, and Political Economy, that ever engaged the

Dicam brevi, ludimus tesseris. Nunc tympana ex illorum partibus; nunc tuba ex nostris sonabat: dubio marte diu pugnatum est: tandem perdunt Maschari, et vacui dimittuntur. Jam qui unquam vidit canem, fuste vel lapide percussum, currere foras cum caudâ inter nates pendente, vidisset Mascharos istos domum euntes sine pecuniâ, sine animo, sine ordine, sine dicere Valete; et dicunt quod illorum singuli quinque vel sex millia ad domum suam habebant, et erant duæ horæ post mediam noctem.

I may briefly say we play at dice. At one time the drums sound on their side; at another the trumpet on ours. We fight a long time a doubtful game; at length the maskers lose, and are sent away, *cleaned out*. Now whoever hath seen a dog, struck with a stick or a stone, run out of the house with his tail hanging between his legs, would have (so) seen these maskers going home: without money; out of spirits; out of order; without even saying "Farewell"; and they said that each of them had five or six miles to go to his home, and it was then two hours after midnight.

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reader's attention. For all the particulars he must refer to Camden's Annals of Elizabeth, (Anno. 1601), and to Fynes Moryson's History of Tyrone's Rebellion. (Vol. 1, p. 234; vol. 2, pp. 121, 236, 260.) A condensation of the matter is also given in Simons' on Irish Coins, p. 38. It may be shortly stated that Elizabeth's government, finding the war in Ireland very exhausting to the treasury, resolved to coin a quantity of base money, consisting of one part of silver to three of brass, to pay the army in Ireland, to be current there only, and at the full value of silver. A minority in her Council were clear-sighted enough to forsee the evil consequences of such a project; and patriotic enough to enunciate their reasons, and denounce it; and the discussions in the Council, as given *in extenso* by Camden, showing the dawn of that science which we now see reduced to logical correctness, are very interesting to the reader of the present day. It also enlightens us on another point; and, many as were the faults as well as the misfortunes of James 2nd, we must acquit him of being the originator of the "brass money" system in Ireland. For that we must thank the Protestant Councillors of Elizabeth; for she herself, as Camden says, "was averse to this motion, saying often —that it would reflect on herself, and disoblige her army. Without doubt it proved a very great prejudice to the army; and whether it turned to her Majesty's advantage or not I cannot tell. However, it could not but fetch in a vast gain to the paymasters and officers of the treasury; and perhaps it owed its contrivance to the avarice of that sort of men which is usually very ingenious where anything is to be got." Buckhurst, the author of this very unjust plan, got a patent from the Queen in favour of Sir George Cary, the Treasurer of Ireland, above mentioned, for erecting an office of exchange in certain towns in Ireland and England, and the rates of exchanges were fixed. A proclamation was issued making it penal to bring silver coin to Ireland, and compelling all payments to be made in the new base money: which, says Moryson, "impoverished not only the rebels, but her Majesty's best servants in this kingdom, only enriching her paymasters, sitting quietly at home, while others adventured daily their bloods in the service." The consequences were soon apparent—every article of food was immediately trebled, and, in some instances, quintupled in price: all the profit was made by Sir George Cary and his creatures in the several offices of exchange he had set up. The soldiery became very discontented; and we can now understand the ironical allusion, already made by Bodley, to the jovial and hilarious habits of "my Lord Treasurer" as quoted. At length the Lord Deputy Mountjoy wrote to the Council in England, that to prevent a mutiny in the army, whose rations had been reduced, "beeause that the prices of all things are increased above all measure, by reason of the new standard coin," he had been obliged to raise their rations to their former allowance; or in other words, increase their pay in an inverse ratio to the depreciation of the coinage. It was now sagaciously discovered that speculative merchants, profiting by the high prices and the rate of exchange, were the parties ruining the country. And Fynes Moryson (at p. 270, vol. 2,) gives some curious tables as to the profits made by merchants, even supposing they borrowed all their money to trade with Ireland. Another proclamation, prohibiting any exchange, was now issued; but how that stroke of policy would have mended matters cannot now be known, as the difficulty was got rid of by Tyrone's submission, and the closing of the war; when the army got their arrears paid to them in silver. At this day, when we are kept in existence as a commercial nation by paper currency, and the question is freely mooted as to any necessity for bullion at all, further than as a medium of exchange with foreigners, the blunders and plungings of the Currency Doctors of Elizabeth's days are very amusing, and worthy the attention of those who feel an interest in the question. It was this coin, then, which the Irishmen gambled away to Bodley and his brother officers; and of which numerous specimens still exist in the cabinets of numismatists; exonerating James 2nd from the guilt of originating the fraud, and almost excusing him, when we compare his make-shift miserable state, at the time he issued his famous "brass money," with the cool effrontery of Elizabeth's ministers, in their endeavours to cheat a brave army, most of it com-

I shall now tell of another jest or gambol, which amongst many, the domestics of Master Morrison exhibited for us. Two servants sat down after the manner of women, (with reverence be it spoken,) when they "hunker," only that they, (the servants) sat upon the ground: their hands were tied together in such a manner that their knees were clasped within them; and a stick placed between the bend of the arms and the legs, so that they could in no way move their arms; they held between the forefinger and thumb of either hand a small stick, almost a foot in length, and sharp at the farther end. Two are placed in this way: one opposite the other, at the distance of an ell. Being thus placed they engage; and each one tries to upset his opponent, by attacking him with his feet; for being once upset, he can by no means recover himself, but presents his rear to his upsetter for attack with the aforesaid small stick.[j] Which made us laugh so for an hour, that the tears dropped from our eyes; and the wife of Philip the cook laughed, and the scullion, who were both present. You would have said that some barber-surgeon was there, to whom all were shewing their teeth.

But enough of these matters; for there would be no end of writing, were I to recount all our grave and merry doings in that space of seven days.

I shall therefore make an end both of the jouney and of my story. For on the seventh day from our arrival, we departed, mournful and sad;

Alium nunc, ex multis, monstrabo joeum sive gambolium quem presentarunt nobis famuli Domini Morrisoni. Duo servi sedebant in terram more mulierum, [sub reverentiâ sit dictum] quando caccant in aprico campo, nisi quod istorum nates premebant terram; manus erant simul alligatæ, ita ut in se genua amplecterentur; et baculum positum inter flexum brachiorum et crura, ita ut brachia nullo modo movere possunt; inter indices et pollices utriusque manûs bacillum quoddam, longitudinis ferè unius pedis, ab anteriori parte acutum, tenebant. Et isto modo locantur duo illi:—alter ex opposito alterius, per distantiam unius ulnæ. His ita dispositis incipiunt congredi; et quisque per se, junctis pedibus, adversarium subvertere conatur; subversus enim nunquam se potest recuperare, sed podicem præbet, perjungendum cum dicto bacillo. Quod fecit nos ita ridere per unam horam, ut lacrymæ ex oculis nostris distillârunt; et uxor Philippi coqui ridebat etiam, et ipsa lixa, quæ fuerunt ambo presentes. Dixisses tonsorem aliquem chirurgum fuisse ibi, ad quem omnes monstrabant dentes.

Sed de his satis—Nullus enim esset scribendi terminus, si omnia quæ nobis illo septem dierum spatio per gravia et per jucunda fuerunt enumarari. Finem itaque et itineris et dicenti faciam. Septimo enim die post nostrum adventum mœsti et solliciti discessimus; et comitabatur nos

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posed of veterans who had fought in Flanders and Spain, before entering on the wild guerilla war in Ireland.

[j] *Two servants sat down, &c.*—Here is, in plain *outspoken* Latin, a most graphic description of a game still common in the North of Ireland, at harvest-homes (provincially "churns,") and at Halloween and Christmas merry-makings. It is called in this part of Ireland "Skiver (i.e. Skewer) the goose," and is a very good representation of that biped trussed and prepared for the spit. As now generally practised, the pointed stick is properly dispensed with; and the attack is confined to the parties endeavouring to upset each other by pushing; in which the aggressor is frequently "hoist with his own petard," as much to the amusement of the company, as it appears to have been enjoyed by Bodley and his brother warriors.

Dominus Morrisonus usque ad Dundrumum ; cui vale et iterum vale singuli dicentes, et idem a longè elevatis pileis supra caput vociferantes, ad garisonos nostros properamus, ibique de negotiis nostros singuli serio cogitamus.

FINIS.

and Master Morrison accompanied us as far as Dundrum ; to whom each of us bidding farewell, and again farewell, and shouting the same for a long way, with our caps raised above our heads, we hasten to our quarters, and there we each cogitate seriously over our own affairs.

THE END.

REMARKS ON BODLEY'S "JOURNEY,"

AND AN ACCOUNT OF HIS CAMPAIGNS IN IRELAND WITH MOUNTJOY'S ARMIES, AND HIS CONNECTION WITH THE "PLANTATION" OF ULSTER.

If the preceding extraordinary and unique production does not add much to our store of topographical archæology, still it is not without its interest, if we consider the very important period in Irish history when it was composed, and the prominent position which its author and his companions-*in* arms and *at* table occupied in the exciting struggle, of which the north-east of Ireland was then the theatre. It not only offers us a curious peep at the barrack or mess-room life, the sayings and doings off parade and out of view of the eyes of history, of six officers of high rank and fame in Elizabeth's veteran army, (one of these the founder of the noble house of Charlemont ;) but it farther possesses an interest in the locality just mentioned, from the allusions to the wild and uncultivated state in which it then was, and the difficulties encountered in traversing it ; as well as from the circumstance that, just at this time, the power of Irish Clanship was about to cease, by the submission of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, the last of the great O'Neills ; and that, in the forfeiture of his estates, as well as those of the O'Donnell, O'Doherty, O'Cahan, and some other less important chieftains, originated the settlement and "plantation" of Ulster, with the establishment of which Bodley was, as will be explained, officially connected.

A short reference to the history of that time is requisite, as connected with the circumstances under which this comical journey was taken, and as bearing on the life and actions of our author. For reasons with which the reader of Irish history is familiar, but which need not be here recapitulated, Hugh O'Neill, a junior branch of the great northern family who had submitted to the Queen, had held a commission in her army in the wars against Desmond in Munster, and been by her created Earl of Tyrone, had, contrary to former promise, assumed the title of "The O'Neill" and the chiefship of that clan, on the death of Turlough Leinogh O'Neill in 1595, and revolted from his allegiance. He had collected a powerful force of his own name, and of many retainers in the northern counties, and was the last of those great chiefs who, by the mere influence of clanship and name, could array an army to oppose and defeat the well organized forces which were concentrated against him. On the 10th Aug. 1598, he had routed, with the slaughter of above 2000 men, the Queen's forces at Belathaboy, near Blackwatertown, about 5 miles from Armagh, the Marshal Sir Henry Bagnall being amongst the slain ; and, for a time, was master of that part of Ireland. To

strengthen the remains of the Queen's forces, according to Fynes Moryson,[a] "certain old companies of 1050 men drawn out of the Low Countries," were sent to Ireland late in 1598. These were commanded by Sir Samuel Bagnall, as Colonel, and under him were nine Captains; Jephson being the first on the list, Bodley second, Sidney third, and Caulfield seventh. At the end of March 1599, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the Queen's favorite, came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and "had in special charge from the Queen to bend all his forces against the chief traytor Tyrone, and the Ulster rebels his confederates." He had also drafted from the Low Countries and sent over immediately before him, two regiments of old soldiers, and of one of them Sir Richard Morrison was Lieut-Col. Thus we find that four of the six who held their symposia at Downpatrick, had been comrades and brother warriors in the campaigns of the Low Countries, a few years before the date of the Journey to Lecale. [b]

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[a] *Fynes Moryson.*—This author, so frequently quoted by writers on Irish affairs, was a literary man, a Fellow of Peter House, Cambridge, and brother to that Sir Richard Morrison (or Moryson,) to visit whom the "Journey to Lecale" was made. He having come, on account of his health, to stay some time with his brother, then Governor at Dundalk, and being there when the fight at Carlingford occurred, at which the Lord Deputy Mountjoy's secretary was killed, he was appointed to that office, and has left a most quaint and minute narrative of the whole proceedings in Ireland, during the rise, progress, and suppression of Tyrone's Rebellion. From that work nearly all the materials of these remarks are selected. It may be here added, that, in the notes to Connellan's translation of the Annals of the Four Masters, from 1595 to 1602, will be found an excellent condensation of the History of Tyrone's Rebellion, in which frequent reference is made to the exploits of our hero and his comrades.

[b] *Bodley's comrades.*—We may here state shortly all that is now known of the six boon companions whose fame is perpetuated in the "Journey."

Sir Richard Morrison,—Was, as his brother says, "of great inwardness" with Mountjoy, who seeing his abilities, had perhaps noticed him so favourably as to create a jealousy in some quarters: for being taxed with being "ruled by young counsel (whereby he understood his three most familiar friends, Davers, Moryson, and Godolphin,) he boldly answered, that he used the familiarity of none which were not older than Alexander the Great when he conquered the world." Moryson was knighted immediately after his landing in Ireland, and was actively employed in Leix (in the Queen's County,) in the neighbourhood of Dundalk, and at the siege of Kinsale. On the surrender of that place by the Spaniards he was the person selected to carry Mountjoy's despatches to England. On a new garrison being established in Lecale he was appointed governor, and there received and entertained our hero and his friends. On the submission of Tyrone, and the suppression of the Rebellion, he was, (28 May, 1603) appointed Governor of Waterford. In 1607 he was, in conjunction with the Earl of Thomond, appointed President of Munster, which office he held for a few years, and in 1613, he was M.P. for the borough of Bandon. He was again, in 1619, appointed sole President of Munster, his patent declaring that the King was so well pleased with his former administration of that office, that he now appointed him, &c., &c. He held this office till 1624, when it is probable he died, although we have no record of it, and the office of President was vested in Commissioners.

Captain John Jephson,—Was the second son of William Jephson, of Froyle, in Hampshire, who was High Sheriff of that county in 1571. He succeeded his elder brother in his estates, and was M.P. for Hampshire in 1620, and for Petersfield in 1623 and 1625. He married the daughter and sole heiress of Sir Thomas Norris (or Norreys) President of Munster, (who died of wounds received in Munster in July, 1599,) and by that marriage acquired the Mallow estate, which has descended in direct succession to the present owner, Sir Denham Jephson Norreys, M.P., who, a few years ago, adopted the additional surname of Norreys, in commemoration of his descent from the President of Munster. Captain Jephson, commanding a portion of Lord Southampton's horse, was attached to the army which Essex sent, under Sir Conyers Clifford, to invade Connaught, and which was nearly cut to pieces by the Irish, and Clifford slain, in the pass of the Corlew Mountains; "and no doubt," says Moryson, "the rest had all perished if the horse had not valiantly succoured them. For Captain John Jephson presently charged on the Causey, and to the very skirts of the wood, with such resolution, as the Rebels, either thinking horse could not have served there, or expecting advantages upon them in that boggy place, stood gaping on them and gave way without any resistance for a good space, in which our men had leisure to retire over a ford into the plain where the carriages were. So Captain Jephson all that night kept the ford, while our foot in the silent night retired, and in the morning, when they were in safety, he, with the horse under his command, went softly after them to the castle of Athlone." This appears to have been the only active service in which Jephson was engaged, until he marched from Carrickfergus, where he lay during 1600-1-2, to attack Tyrone in the woods of Glenconkeine, as mentioned in the "Journey." Being under Sir Arthur Chichester's command, he must have been with him at the Fort of Mountjoy, and from it came to Armagh, to join in the excursion to Lecale. We have no record of him after the suppression of Tyrone's Rebellion, until we find him member of Parliament for Hampshire, in 1620, as before stated.

Captain Toby Caulfield.—Was of a respectable Oxfordshire family. After his landing in Ireland he was attached to the force under the command of Sir Richard Morrison; was at the fight at Carlingford, and at the siege of Kinsale, and being still attached to Morrison's

Josias Bodley, the chronicler of that Journey, was, according to *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, the fifth and youngest son of John Bodley, gent., and the eldest was Sir Thomas Bodley, who will be ever memorable as the founder of the magnificent library at Oxford, named from him the *Bodleian*. The Life of Sir Thomas, written by himself, is so literally autobiographical that it never alludes to any members of his family, farther than stating that both his parents were of Devonshire, and lived at Exeter previous to the accession of Mary in 1553, when, dreading persecution on account of their holding the Protestant faith, they went to the Continent, and resided principally at Geneva until after the death of Mary, when returning to England they fixed their residence in London. Here it is probable our author was born, about 1560, being perhaps a few years senior to his comrade, Caulfield, the only one of that party whose age can now be ascertained, and who was born in 1565. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, of which college his brother was a fellow, besides being Lecturer on Greek and Philosophy, and Public Orator to the University. Thomas Bodley became Gentleman-Usher to Queen Elizabeth in 1583, and must have been of superior abilities, even in that era of genius, as he was selected by Elizabeth at different times, from 1586 to 1594, to be her Ambassador to nearly every court in Europe; and we may readily imagine that to

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division, accompanied Mountjoy in his campaigns to the North in 1602, when the Fort of Charlemont was built, and Caulfield was appointed its first governor. In 1603 he was knighted, and shortly afterwards made a Privy Councillor, and, by patent, governor of Charlemont Fort and of the counties of Armagh and Tyrone. He now began to exhibit, on a more extended scale, those habits of acquisitiveness, which are instanced by Bodley in alluding to his appropriation of the legs of the "well-stuffed geese." In 1610, and the ensuing years, he got several grants of land, which were all confirmed by one general grant in 1620, of all his lands in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, Derry, Antrim, Louth, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Donegall. In 1613 he was M. P., for the county Armagh; in 1614 Master of the Ordnance; in 1616 one of the Commissioners for setting out the Escheated Lands; and in 1620 he was created a Peer, as Baron Caulfield. He died a bachelor in 1627, at the age of 62, and is interred in Christ Church, Dublin. All his great acquisitions went to his nephew, from whom the Earl of Charlemont is directly descended.

Captain Henry Adderton,—so called by Bodley and Dymmok, (or as Moryson and the Patent Rolls more correctly spell it *Atherton*) makes his first appearance in Irish History in an account by Dymmok (*Treatice on Ireland*, published by Irish Archæological Society) of an expedition in 1599, under the command of Sir Henry Harrington, of 450 foot and 60 horse, against Phelim MacPheagh O'Byrne, in Ranelagh, near Wicklow, where, coming to a sudden encounter with the Irish, a panic seized the English soldiers who fled. Dymmok says that Captain Wardman, "endeavouringe to reforme this disorder, and assisted (as they saye) in his frustrate but honorable paynes by the reste of his ranke, left his dead bodye in that unfortunate place for an occular testymoney of his corage and vertu; of whose infortune Captain Henry Adderton, Sergeant Maior to the Regynent being an emulous witnes, never turned his face from the Rebells; but the rest flyinge was (lyke another Cocles) both to them and to himselfe a buckler, untill he was relieved by Captain Montacute." It may have been his office as Serjeant Major (or Adjutant as we now style it) to this regiment that causes the omission of his name in the lists of captains and their stations given by Moryson. The next mention of Atherton is in the skirmish at the Moyry Pass, near Newry, on the 17th May, 1600, as given in the text. He was stationed at the newly-erected fort of Mountnorris, from Nov. 1600, and appears to have made it his head-quarters during the remainder of Tyrone's rebellion; being appointed governor of it on 28th Oct. 1602: an appointment subsequently confirmed by patent from James 1st, which is the last record we have of this valiant comrade of Bodley.

Captain Ralph Constable makes his first appearance in these wars at the battle in the Corlew mountains, (Aug. 1599,) so fatal to the English, and mentioned in note on Jephson. Dymmok in his account of it says that Clifford having dispersed his army (fearing an ambuscade) appointed "to the angle of ye dexter Flancke Rafe Constable, (a gentleman deservedly esteemed of the governor for his vertu,) and not much distant from him Capt. Walter Fludde and *Capt. Windsore* giving them 40 men a-piece, with commandment that they should not abandon their places until they heard further from himself." He was afterwards attached to Morrison's division, and appears to have still been under his command, and with him saw all the hard fighting going. He was at the fight at Carlingford; at the skirmish on the Blackwater, (16th July, 1601,) where Mountjoy's chaplain was killed; at the siege of Kinsale in the winter of that year; and was now quietly resting in Lecale after his campaigns. From his position in the list of captains he appears to have been much the junior of the party assembled, as we may also conclude from Bodley's allusions. We can well imagine that Bodley must have considered him as great a puppy as any of his hounds, of which he was so fond as to keep them in his bed-room; whilst Constable on the other hand must have thought it a "horrid bore" to have himself and dogs so put about by the old stagers, who probably dispossessed both him and his dogs of their couches. He was, from his Christian name, probably one of the ancient family of Constable, of Halsham, in Yorkshire, the head of which was ennobled by James 1st as Viscount Dunbar, a title which became extinct in 1700, and is now represented by the families of Clifford-Constable, and Haggerston, Baronets, as set forth in Burke's Baronetage.

one of such embassies the youthful Josias was an *attaché* when he witnessed in Poland that enforcement of "Lynch-law" against the delinquent who refused to pledge a health. His brother's position at the court of Elizabeth must have introduced our author as a witness to many of the eventful and stirring scenes which make the last quarter of the sixteenth century appear in the likeness of some great epic or romance rather than in the sober reality of history. We can imagine the interest with which the young Bodley would gaze on the armaments of Drake and Frobisher, starting on their voyage for the discovery of those miraculous regions of which wild traditions had only reached the old world, and the eagerness with which he would hail their return, and listen to their narrative of wonders and riches, hitherto undreamt of by the most visionary—confirmed, as they were by Raleigh in a few years after with his golden accounts of Eldorado; a romance then, a reality now, as witnessed in Australia and California. Raleigh he must have seen in his glory—the scholar, orator, statesman, soldier, sailor—perfect in all; must have witnessed his decline, though he lived not long enough to see the grey hairs fall beneath the axe. He must have seen, and, perhaps, fought alongside the chivalrous Sidney, and may have witnessed his untimely fall. And Spenser, too, he must have pitied, and sympathized with;—an English scholar, and a poet,—banished to the wilds of Desmond, to become an Irish landed proprietor: although we cannot imagine him endowed with so much sentiment as to make him admire either Spenser's or Sidney's poetry. Shakspeare would be more to his taste; whose star he saw rise; and whose birth, career, and death, were nearly contemporaneous with his own. With what gusto and delight he must have hailed the first appearance of fat Jack Falstaff on the stage, (in 1596;)—and truly he appears to have *imbibed* much of Jack's philosophy, as evinced by his eulogy on Wine. He saw the pride, pomp, and haughtiness of Leicester, and must have professionally despised his inefficiency and cowardice as a general. He saw the mustering of hosts to meet the Armada, and may have formed one of Elizabeth's body guard at Tilbury Fort, under the command of Sir Roger Williams, "of worthy memory." Sir Roger and he had many feelings in common; a love of plain-speaking being one. He may have participated in many of the earlier daring and valorous exploits of Essex, on the coast of Spain and at the Azores. It is certain that Essex was a warm friend to Sir Thomas Bodley, and endeavoured to influence the Queen to appoint Sir Thomas her Secretary instead of Robert Cecil, who subsequently, as Earl of Salisbury, was Prime Minister to James 1st, and, as such, had the conferring of patents of the forfeited estates in Ireland on Bodley's brother officers, but none fell to *his* lot; and he complains of unfair treatment in some letters he addressed to Sir Michael Hicks, Salisbury's Secretary. About 1594, Sir Thomas Bodley retired, as he said, from the turmoil of courts; and we may presume that our hero, Josias, about the same time, joined that army in the Low Countries, from which, as has been mentioned, he was drafted to Ireland. That he had superior military talents, education, and experience, is fully admitted by those writers who mention him. In those days, and till a far later date, not only were naval and military commands indiscriminately undertaken by the same individual, but there was no distinction made between the several branches of the military service, and consequently we are not surprised to find our hero nominally the captain of a company of Foot, but frequently discharging the various duties now entrusted to Artillery, Sappers and Miners, Engineers, and Light Infantry or Rifles, and always distinguishing himself in these several capacities.

Essex, on his landing in Ireland, instead of prosecuting the war against Tyrone and the powerful force he had collected in Ulster, divided his forces, leaving a few garrisons in Ulster, one of them being Newry, where Bodley was quartered on his first coming to Ireland; and then, leading a small army into Munster, sent other divisions into Connaught. The consequence was that, in the short campaign of 1599, he lost an immense number of men, his regiments being cut off in detail by surprises and ambuscades, and many of his generals killed; amongst others Sir Thomas Norris, or Norreys, the Vice-President of Munster, and father-in-law to Captain Jephson. He did not turn northwards till September, when he held the memorable conference with Tyrone (he upon the river-bank, and Tyrone up to his horse's girths in the stream) across the River Lagan, which divides the

Counties of Louth and Monaghan, and where they agreed on a truce, inglorious and impolitic as regarded the Queen's interest. Essex, having received a letter from Elizabeth containing a severe reprimand for his disobedience of her commands, departed suddenly for London. His unexpected entrance into the palace, and his surprising the Queen in dishabille, with her grey hairs hanging about her ears, (an offence less pardonable than his misconduct in Ireland,) his subsequent attempt at insurrection, his trial, and execution, all form striking scenes in that great historical drama which is exhibited in the close of Elizabeth's reign. His successor was Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy,[e] a man of very great abilities, energy, and experience, but of such refined manners that they were attributed by the Irish to effeminacy. "He will lose the season of action," said Tyrone, "while waiting until breakfast is prepared to his mind!"—but Mountjoy soon proved himself to be qualified in every respect for the important trust confided to him. He landed in Ireland on the 24th Feb. 1600, and instantly adopted most active measures for the capture of Tyrone. Having got considerable re-inforcements from England, he determined on planting a number of garrisons throughout Ulster, which should keep Tyrone in check, and prevent his giving assistance or receiving it from any of the other disaffected chiefs; whilst he himself took the field against him with a select army of about 3,000 foot and 300 horse. Up to this time Bodley had lain inactive in Newry, under the command of Sir Samuel Bagnall, with Captain Edward Blancy, (the ancestor of Lord Blaney,) as senior captain, and his fellow tourist, Captain Toby Caulfield, (the founder of the Charlemont family,) as his junior. His transference from the rich pastures, fat beeves, and wealthy cities of Flanders, to the rocks and bogs of an out-post then beyond the confines of English civilization, and his consequent change of cheer, may have prejudiced him against Newry, and so misled him to that depreciation of its larders which appears in the "Journey," and which the fattest mutton and best wine could not perhaps have propitiated. We can imagine him pinched in stomach and soured in temper, chafing at his short commons and compulsory inactivity; cooped up for 17 months within the defences of a miserable village, from which he could not ramble a mile, even for a swim in the river or a coursing match on the hills, without the chance of being knocked on the head by some of Tyrone's light-footed kernes. But the time for active service had now arrived, and Bodley was to make acquaintance with the Irish system of warfare, which, we presume, was as little to his taste as Irish beef or mutton. Mountjoy began early in April to put his plan of operations into execution; and, having made his disposition of the garrisons, selected his own army for the field, amongst whom was Sir Richard Morrison, and Captains Bodley, Caulfield, and Atherton.

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[e] *Mountjoy.*—Fynes Moryson gives a most *Pepysian*, or gossiping, sketch of this nobleman's personal appearance and habits, which he was well qualified to do, having been so long his private secretary. He calls upon his reader to give him credit for candour, saying "that as, in the duty of a servant, I will not omit anything I remember which may turn to his Lordship's honour, so, in my love to truth, I will be so far from lying or flattering, as I will be bold, modestly to mention some of his defects, whereof the greatest worthies of the world cannot be altogether free." And he accordingly enters on a sketch of Mountjoy, even to the trim of his beard and the number of waistcoats and worsted stockings he wore in cold weather. He details his habits at table, with a regular dietary of his breakfasts and dinners, from which we may conclude that he was far in advance of the coarse manners of his day: and hence may have arisen the allusion of Bodley to the superior skill of "the Lord Deputy's cook." The picture is too elaborate to be transferred to a note; but a judicious condensation of it is given in the first volume of Professor Craik's "Romance of the Peerage," (pp. 292, et seq.) where is also detailed the extraordinary circumstances of Mountjoy's marriage with Lady Penelope Devereux, (sister of the unfortunate Essex, and *divorcee* of Lord Rich,) and his melancholy death.

[*To be concluded in the next Number.*]

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

IN

SEPULCHRAL CAIRNS IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND,

IDENTICAL IN INTERNAL DESIGN WITH THE

GREAT CHAMBERED TUMULI ON THE BANKS OF THE BOYNE, IN IRELAND.

By A. HENRY RHIND, F.S.A. Scot.

"A few rude monuments of mountain stone survive;
All else is swept away."—*Wordsworth.*

The geographical features of the county of Caithness unmistakeably divide it into two districts of nearly equal extent, but of totally distinct character. The one, which stretches northwards and is bounded by the Pentland Firth, presenting few natural obstacles to agricultural operations, is almost entirely under cultivation, while the other, offering no such facilities for improvement, is, like the conterminous county of Sutherland, all but exclusively pastoral. This last, having been exempt from the obliterating influences of husbandry, contains many evidences of primeval human occupancy; and perhaps in no portion of it are those preserved in greater number than in the south-eastern corner of the parish of Wick, comprehending the estates of Yarrows, Warhouse, Watnyan, and Camster. The remains, to which I here allude as existing on those properties, are of various types and by no means confined to one class; for, besides hill-forts, and dwellings known as "Picts' Houses," there are many unhewn memorial stones reared either singly or in groups. It is not to any of those, however, that on the present occasion I wish to direct attention, but to the Sepulchral Cairns which crown nearly every knoll in the locality I have named, and, though it is of no great superficial extent, may be counted to the number of five-and-twenty or thirty. Four of these I caused to be opened in the course of last summer, by the kind permission of Sir George Sinclair and John George Sinclair, Esq., of Ulbster, and of the late Robert Innes, Esq., of Thrumster; and the results of my excavations I shall now shortly state, conceiving that they may possess considerable interest for Irish Archæologists, because of the striking resemblance between the internal arrangement of some of those Caithness sepulchres, and that of the famous chambered mounds on the banks of the Boyne, which I had recently an opportunity of examining. Premising that all the cairns,[a] which form the subject of the present memoir, were

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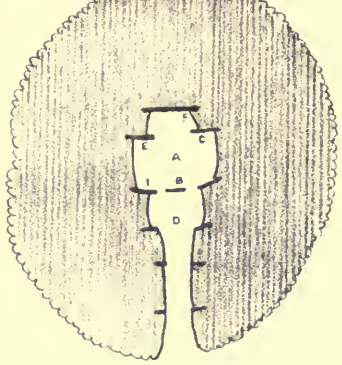
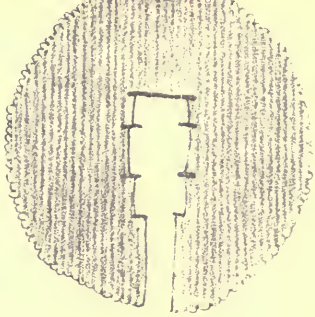
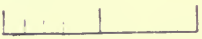
[a] I use the designation *cairn* in the signification generally understood: that is, as the distinguishing name of a tumulus of loose stones. The New Grange sepulchres, though now covered with a grassy sward and frequently termed mounds, are strictly cairns, as is palpably evinced (not to speak of other indications) by the operations carried on at the Hill of Dowth, in 1847, under the direction of the Royal Irish Academy.







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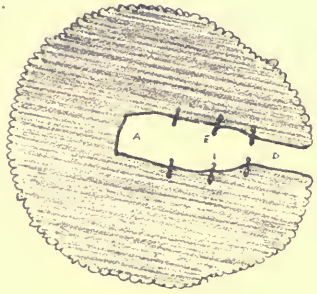

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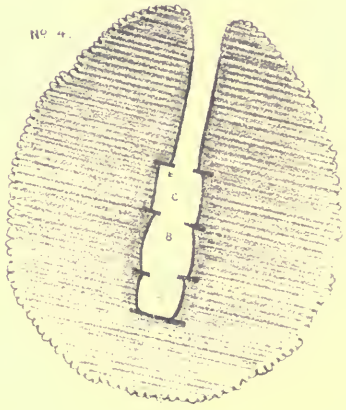

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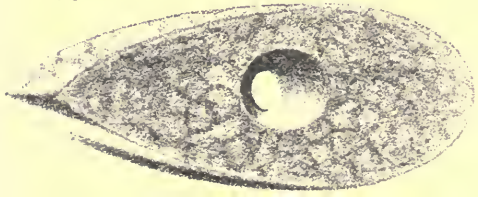
HALF SIZE OF ORIGINAL

Nº 6



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conoid, I shall first advert to the specimen in which the analogy in question was most strongly exhibited.

If those who have not personally inspected the great Irish pyramid at New Grange, (as it has not inaptly been termed,) will compare the basement section of it,—engraved in the second volume of the Archæologia, in Camden's Britannia, or in King's Munimenta Antiqua,[b]—with the subjoined ground-plan, marked No. I, they cannot fail to observe that the same general features prevail in both. Both are radically cruciform, and almost the only discrepancy between them consists in minor details. Perhaps the chief difference is to be found in the more strongly developed monolithic character of the New Grange structure, whose gallery and chamber are throughout defined by single upright stones, while in the Yarrows example the passage and other portions represented by light lines in the plan, are constructed of coursed but uncemented building, single slabs being only employed to form the end of the chamber, and the crypts by protruding from either side. At New Grange, however, coursed building was also resorted to for rearing the rude prototype of the arch which covers the central chamber, and in this it coincides with the Yarrows cairn, for its chamber, although the roof had long since fallen in, had evidently been vaulted in a similar manner, as the walls, which were found standing to the height of 8 feet, retained a few layers of overlapping stones. Although there is thus a marked identity in design there is none in size, for the extreme internal length of the Irish tomb, including chamber and passage, is 75, and the breadth of the chamber, 20 feet; dimensions to which its Caithness analogue can only oppose 26, and 9 feet respectively. Indeed I am not aware that in the North of Scotland there is a single conical cairn which can compare in magnitude with those at New Grange; and the only one I know of, which at all approximates to their enormous size, is situated in the district in Caithness I have already indicated, and measures in circumference 210, and in sloping height 38 feet. At some period, probably not long ago, a breach had been made near the top of this tumulus, and an entrance gained to the chamber just under the cap-stone of its roof, which still remains resting on the converging walls; but the clear space under this stone is not more than four or five feet deep, and the rest of the interior is completely filled up. Unfortunately its remote situation renders the thorough excavation of this cairn not very practicable, as the mere walking to it from the high road and back, would consume a large proportion of a summer day. I have, however, mentioned it both on account of its great bulk, and because the vaulted roof of its chamber is still entire.

Having instituted the above general comparison, I shall now proceed to describe more minutely the facts disclosed on opening the cairn whose internal arrangement is represented in ground-plan No. I. This tumulus rested on the top of a heathy hill which commands an extensive view, and it stood in close proximity to two similar sepulchral heaps, which were distant from it about one hundred and

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[b] Similar drawings can be seen in Higgins's Celtic Druids, Vallancey's Vindication of Ancient Irish History, and other works relating to Irish Antiquities.

three hundred yards, respectively. Observing that its apex was not by any means clearly defined, and conceiving, therefore, that the roof of the chamber had probably given way, I directed the workmen to commence by throwing the stones off the top. A few minutes labour verified my conjecture, for it was soon rendered evident that the compartment *a* was filled with the stones which had composed its roof. These were gradually removed, and the chamber cleared to the depth, as I have previously stated, of 8 feet, when the hard and undisturbed clay was reached. By proceeding with the utmost care, I was enabled to assure myself that at least three urns had been deposited at the points *e*. *c*, and *i*, and I detected this fact, notwithstanding the confusion produced by the fall of the roof, by noting that at each of those spots there was a flat stone resting on the clay and covered with fragments of coarse thick pottery interspersed with ashes and traces of incinerated bones. At *f* a very small splinter of a human cranium was discovered, but whether it had escaped from one of the urns, or was the only remaining vestige of a body which had been buried unburnt in the western recess, it was impossible to determine, although its uncharred appearance was in favour of the last supposition.

I now turned to the entrance *b*, and perceived that it was most efficiently closed by a large thin stone, which, though untouched by the hammer, fitted so exactly as to cause the workmen considerable trouble before it could be extracted. Finally, however, it was dislodged, and I then found that the chamber *d* was almost perfectly entire, the large stones which spanned it at the height of 3 feet 9 inches from the ground having scarcely begun to yield. Its floor also was the natural clay, but this was strewed over to the depth of five or six inches with a species of fine sandy loam, imbedded in which, at the point *d*, was a portion (about 1 foot long) of a human *femur* in the last stage of decay. The merest traces of other bones were likewise discernible, but these were neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently distinct to enable one to predicate the position or manner in which the body had been disposed. From this chamber the main passage proceeded, and was throughout perfectly accessible when its external opening was cleared, and when the impalpable mound I have described, with which it also was partially filled, was carried away. Its height was 3 feet 9 inches, its average breadth about 2 feet 6, and its length, like all other dimensions of area, can be ascertained by reference to the scale. I may here at once explain, that except the fragments of pottery, no manufactured relics were recovered from any part of the tomb, although every precaution was taken that nothing should escape, and every spadeful cast up from the bottom was subjected to the closest scrutiny. The same remark likewise holds good of all the other cairns examined on the same occasion, and I need not therefore repeat it.

The Cairn of which No. II. is the plan was one of those already alluded to as standing at no great distance from the example above described. In opening it I was unfortunately forestalled by some people in the neighbourhood, to whom it had become an object of curiosity, and who, about eighteen months ago, devoted not a little ill-spent labour in tearing it to pieces, in the vain hope of finding a treasure. Osseous remains, however, were its only contents, so far as they observed; but

these, possessing no interest for them, they little heeded and threw carelessly aside. This fact I ascertained from an intelligent person who passed that way shortly after the work of demolition had been completed, and who himself saw, lying among the ruins, two skulls, one much decayed, and the other fresh and perfect in every respect. From a commendable feeling he had partially restored them to their original resting-place, and heaped a few stones over them to protect them from further molestation, which he mentioned to me, expressing a hope that they might not have been disturbed; but, on visiting the place accompanied by him, it was quickly proved that other and less reverent hands than his had since been there, for, while the one cranium had crumbled into dust in obedience to physical laws, the other had been broken into fifty pieces by a much more active agency. I collected all the fragments I could find, and afterwards succeeded in reconstructing the skull as well as my materials would permit; but the whole base and facial portion were entirely gone, and I could scarcely complete even the frontal, parietal, and occipital bones.

In clearing No. III. I adopted the same mode of procedure as I had observed in opening No. I, but I found it to be in a much more ruinous condition, as the roofs had been precipitated alike into chamber and passage. To throw out the rubbish much labour was required, which at first was productive of no interesting results, as nothing but the most insignificant, and I may say untangible, vestiges of bones were discovered from the end of the chamber *a* until the projecting stone *e* was exposed. At this rude partition the ground seemed to be somewhat drier than elsewhere in the structure, which doubtless tended to preserve the crushed fragments of two crania, which had apparently been deposited one on either side of the stone, the bodies having been probably stretched along in opposite directions.[c] One of those skulls having suffered but slightly from decay, would most likely have been entire had the roof not fallen to crush it; but once broken, the decomposing influence of the surrounding moisture which in its integrity it might have resisted for some centuries longer, quickly consumed the fragile, and even made inroads on the more substantial, portions. These last I have as far as possible pieced together; but the deficiencies are a great deal too numerous to enable one to form anything like a just conception even of the capacity of the cranium, not to speak of its minor characteristics. Of the other skull nothing but the frontal bone remained; and of a third, a similar fragment, along with a portion of the occipital, was found alongside the stone *i*, and therefore opposite the place where the two first mentioned were exhumed. At the point *d* in the passage, a piece of an upper jaw bone with five sound teeth was turned up. It may possibly have formed part of a body entombed there after the rest of the sepulchre was occupied[d]; but, as no other bones were met with near it, I think it is more likely to have been dragged from the interior by some weasel or polecat which may have harboured in so convenient a lair.

No. IV, which, like all the other cairns I have mentioned, occupied a rather elevated position, had been partially opened many years ago, and there was reason to believe, from certain in-

[c] This surmise is warranted by the position in which the bodies had been laid in No. IV.

[d] The existence of such a practice can be detected in some of the Scandinavian *Giants' Chambers* as they are termed.—Worsaae, Prim. Ant. p. 87

dications, had been appropriated for a somewhat curious purpose. The two compartments *a* and *b* had been cleared out from the top of the cairn down to the soil, a depth of 9 feet, and an apparatus for *illicit distillation*, had, apparently, at one time, been placed in the former, while in the latter a few rude steps had been built as a means of access. The smuggler, if such there was, displayed considerable ingenuity in choosing so extraordinary a site for his operations; as, in the days when the cairn was thus used, popular superstition would act as no trifling safeguard to secure his undisturbed possession. But be that as it may, he was content to occupy only as much of the tomb as suited his convenience, and the compartment *c*, as well as the entrance passage, he fortunately allowed to remain choked up with stones and rubbish, just as he found them. To excavate these therefore, I set the labourers to work, first taking care to satisfy myself that my predecessor had not left an unstirred layer of mould at the bottom of the divisions *a* and *b*. As for the compartment *c*, the debris which filled it was found to be so firmly impacted as to leave little doubt that it had not been disturbed since the fall of the roof created it, which the result afterwards proved to be the case: for, when the whole was removed, two skeletons,—or I should rather say traces of two skeletons,—were disclosed, occupying the positions in which the bodies must have been deposited. The one lay stretched in the southern recess, with the head, which rested on a sloping stone, close to the upright slab *e*, and therefore towards the west; and the other was disposed in a precisely similar manner in the corresponding crypt, at the opposite side of the chamber, but with the head,—which was also supported by a rude pillow,—towards the east. In both instances, the grey mouldering dust of the bones in relief against the dark and fetid soil, afforded some evidence that the legs had been bent up at the knee joints, an arrangement rendered necessary by the limited length (4 feet 9) of the space between the monoliths by which the crypts were formed. Although, as I have just implied, the glutinous substance of the bones which produced cohesion of the particles was entirely exhausted, leaving only the earthy residuum, still I was at first in hopes that the skull, which lay beside the slab *e*, might be ethnographically available; but after it was carefully removed, with the putrid mass which adhered to it, I regretted to discover that much of it was wanting, and that the rest, which retained only the consistency of a gelatinous pulp, was everywhere bruised and squeezed out of all shape. I was therefore in every instance disappointed in obtaining even a tolerably perfect cranium; and as I am not yet possessed of any of the required character, which are sufficiently entire, I deem my want of success the more unfortunate, especially because I am desirous of enabling Mr. Davis and Dr. Thurnam, in accordance with their wish, to procure for their projected valuable work, the *Crania Britannica*, drawings of one or two specimens from primeval tumuli in the secluded glens of the north of Scotland, where comparative purity of type might not unreasonably be looked for. But, indeed, it is only when enjoying conditions peculiarly favourable to preservation, that the skulls in those early graves resist the progress of decay; nor need we be surprised that they should yield to time, when the very stone roofs of the sepulchres themselves crumble into ruin.

Miremur perisse homines? Monumenta fatiscunt;
Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit.—*Ausonius.*

At and near the point c, numerous fragments of pottery of the same texture as those met with in No. I, were strewed about, along with some wood ashes and appreciable remains of burnt bones. No mortuary traces whatever were observed in the passage, whose height was from 3 to 3½ feet, and whose construction was perfectly cyclopean, as some of the stones which composed its roof measured from 8 to 9 feet in length, 3 to 4 in breadth, 1 to 2 in thickness, and thus far exceeded in size and weight those similarly employed in any of the other tumuli above described.

Nearly a whole day's labour was fruitlessly spent in examining a fifth cairn, of much smaller dimensions than those already alluded to, and of the same external appearance as those which in this county are found usually to cover a single cist. In this one, however, no cist was found; and the whole heap was so confused, with an occasional bone protruding at intervals through it, that in all probability explorers had been there before.

Every Archæologist is aware how much his science is indebted to the light thrown upon European aboriginal relics, by placing them side by side with the rude weapons of modern Polynesian savages: and if illustrative data can be drawn from a source so remote, how much the more can instruction be hoped for by comparing the primeval remains of one European country with those of another, and allowing them, when possible, mutually to explain each other. In not a few cases good results have already been attained by adopting with caution a course such as this; but in some instances considerable misapprehension has arisen by applying the principle without due restriction; as witness the dogma extremely prevalent among certain writers thirty or forty years ago, that the stone circles in Scotland, and even elsewhere, must be evidence of Scandinavian, or at all events of Gothic, presence, because similar circles existed in the North, and were known to have been used for well-defined purposes within the historical period. There is little danger, however, of our exceeding the limits of fair induction if we infer, that the fact of the New-Grange mound having been a sepulchre is placed even farther than formerly beyond a doubt by the discovery, in the North of Scotland, of similarly constructed tumuli containing the palpable evidence of the use they had been intended to serve. But in truth, proof such as this was scarcely necessary, for Vallancey's theory of an *Antrum Mithræ*,[e] and similar chimerical guesses advanced by others, have long since given place to the more rational belief that the New-Grange structure was no Pagan temple, but was sacred to the dead alone—an opinion strengthened by the recent but unfortunately incomplete examination of the neighbouring "Hill of Dowth," and now still further confirmed by those excavations in Caithness whose results have just been recorded.

In Britain and also in Ireland (limiting our remarks for the present to them), it has frequently been observed that tumuli of the same, and evidently of a very early, period, sometimes contain inurned ashes, and sometimes the remains of unburnt bodies, while, in not a few cases, specimens of both modes of sepulture have been found in the same tomb;[f] and from these circumstances the very

[e] Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, Number XIV., p. 211.

[f] It would be quite unnecessary to cite specific instances of the well-known facts here stated; and a single re-

obvious inference has been deduced, that cremation and ordinary burial were contemporaneously in use. That such was the case when the Yarrows cairns were reared, the opening of them indisputably proved; and their contents served further to indicate that the one method of disposing of the body was not regarded as more honourable than the other. For not only do we find that examples of both conjoined were met with in two of the tumuli—which, however, were the following fact not adverse, many would account for on the supposition that the bodies of masters and slaves were differently treated,—but we find that in one cairn the deposit in the principal chamber was cinerary, while in another cairn of nearly equal magnitude, neither ashes nor fragments of urns were discovered, but the crumbling vestiges of unburnt corpses. That all those memorials to which I here allude, date from the same period there cannot be a question, for they are grouped in close juxta-position, and are all in their internal arrangement so thoroughly of one type, that it may be said the slight variations they exhibit are those of construction and not of design.

Another interesting illustration of the funeral customs of the builders of those sepulchres, may be derived from an examination of the accompanying plans, which will show that *no invariable rule seems to have prevailed as to the direction in which bodies were laid*, and that it was by no means indispensable for the entrances to the tombs to correspond with the same point of the compass. Had Nos. I and II been alone examined, one might perhaps have generalised in very different terms, for the chambers of these two both tend East and West; but standing as they do, not more than three hundred yards apart, they were probably built on the same occasion, and the above coincidence might merely have been the fruit of an attempt to attain some degree of uniformity. At all events, no farther significance can be attached to it, for Nos. III and IV open respectively towards the N.N.E. and W.N.W.

Like the "Giants' Graves" of Ireland and the *Jættestuer* of Scandinavia, the Yarrows cairns were each apparently the burial-place of a family or a sept, as in every instance they contained the vestiges of several bodies. In No. IV for example, besides those which may have been incinerated, not fewer than six unburnt corpses must have been deposited, if we assume the two inner compartments to have been occupied similarly to that marked *c*. The other cairns were not, it would appear, less numerously tenanted; but, except in this particular, the sepulchral memorials we are considering have not much in common with the "Giants' Graves" or the "Jættestuer." Specimens of both of these have indeed been observed, whose design was cruciform;[g] but here the analogy ceases,

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ference from each country will be more than sufficient. As for Ireland, Dr. Wilde, ("*Boyne and Blackwater*,") records a prominent example from the county of Sligo, where, in one tomb, were "remains of nearly every form of interment employed by the aborigines of this country." The topographical literature of England furnishes many similar cases. (See, among other works, Borlase's Cornwall, p. 220) And with regard to Scotland, the particulars collected in Dr. Wilson's chapter on "Sepulchral memorials," will afford ample illustration of the remarks in the text. (Pre-Hist. of Scot. pp. 41, et seq.)

[g] Of the one an example has been described by Mr. J G. A. Prim, in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol 1. p. 17; and of the other by the Chevalier Worsaae, (Primeval Antiquities of Denmark, p. 91.) I will here mention also, a very remarkable tomb in Somersetshire, examined by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and noticed in the Archæologia, vol. 19., the plan of which represents a long passage, with cells at equal distances on either side, thus giving the whole precisely

for it is a characteristic of both that, like cromlechs, their chambers are roofed by large stones which span them from side to side, and are not vaulted as those at New Grange are, and as those at Yarrows had been. This discrepancy assumes greater importance when it is remembered that up to the year 1848, when the 'Guide to Northern Archæology,' edited by Lord Ellesmere, was published, "nothing had been observed approaching to the form of an arch in the stone sepulchres of Scandinavia;"[h] nor from that time to the present has any discovery been made, so far as I am aware, which could invalidate the above remark: and, if this be so, notwithstanding the number of tombs which have been explored in the North, and the excellent system of antiquarian supervision which exists, especially in Denmark, it seems very probable that the rudimentary or cyclopean arch was unknown to, or at all events unused by, the primeval inhabitants of Scandinavia—a fact which, if still further verified, will be highly curious and not a little likely to form a suggestive element for ethnological speculation.

It is much to be regretted that the Yarrows cairns yielded no manufactured objects illustrative of the artistic knowledge of their builders, except the fragments of pottery I have already mentioned. These certainly bear witness to the expenditure of only a very moderate amount of taste and ingenuity in the fashioning of the urns, of which they formed part; and the only attempt at ornament they present are a few coarse incisions, such as a thumb nail might have made, which seem to have been continued round the urns an inch or two under the lip, after the manner so commonly observed in ancient cinerary vessels. From the very insufficient evidence such relics unaccompanied by others afford, it would be rather hasty to speak definitively as to the period to which the tombs in which they were found should probably be assigned; but as these sepulchres themselves exhibit, on the part of their architects, no inconsiderable degree of constructive power, perhaps we shall not be far wrong in regarding them as the work of men who, to say the least, had attained a step higher in the scale of civilization than is indicated by the very rudest of our primeval remains. This conjecture is in some measure countenanced by the fact that the highly finished stone hammer here figured was obtained from a cairn distant not half-a-mile from those referred to, and which was demolished some years ago to furnish materials for a neighbouring farm-house. This beautiful object, now in possession of Miss Innes of Thrumster, is formed so symmetrically and polished so well, that a modern lapidary aided by all the appliances of his art, could scarcely produce a superior specimen of workmanship. In the same tumulus were likewise found a globular stone ball,[i] about 3 inches in

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the appearance of three cruciform chambers *en suite*. But, as well as this peculiarity of shape, this monument, unlike the Giant's Graves or the Jættestuer, had other features which entitled it to be classed with the New Grange and the Yarrows cairns: for besides being a tumulus of loose stones, and not of earth, the roofs of its cells or chambers were vaulted in the manner adverted to above. It is also worthy of remark that it contained, not only unburnt bones, but ashes and fragments of urns; and that one portion of it was separated from the rest by a large thin stone, as in cairn No. I, at Yarrow.

[h] Guide, p. 78. The early tombs of Scandinavia rarely exhibit any coursed building whatever, even in the construction of their walls, which are almost invariably formed of single blocks; and the only instance of departure from this method which I at present remember, is a singular chamber in the northern district of Selande, whose sides are composed of *two* huge shapeless stones, but whose roof is no exception to the general rule. (See, for an account of it, Memoires des Antiquaires du Nord, part for 1840-43, p. 138.)

[i] Such balls are not of uncommon occurrence in Scot-

diameter, and a cup or small vase of thiek rough-grained pottery 3¼ inehes high, which, presenting the peculiarity of fluted sides, is also engraved. I am sorry to add that I cannot supply any trustworthy information respecting the interior arrangement of the cairn which contained those relics; but from the outlines of its base, which are yet discernible, it seems to have been oblong and not conical: still, though differing so materially in shape from those I excavated, I am not disposed to think that it must necessarily be viewed as not coeval with them; for, in the very district where they are situated, oblong cairns are to be seen quite close to others which are conoid; and, in one instance, in the middle of a wild and unfrequented moor, an unusually large example of the former type stands within gunshot of a no less gigantic specimen of the latter,[k] inducing the belief that they were contemporaneous structures. I had hoped to obtain some definite information on this point, by causing one or two of the oblong tumuli to be opened, but my health presented an obstacle to the prosecution of my plans.

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tish barrows, (Wilson Arch. of Scotland, p. 138,) and it has been surmised that, eased with raw hide, and attached to thongs, they may have served as flail-like weapons, similar to those employed by certain American Indians. The "Morning Star" of the Taborites, specimens of which I have seen at Prague, is but a modification of this device, whose principle it fully preserves; only, instead of a stone ball, there is a wooden one, bristling with spikes:—hence, from a supposed resemblance, the name "morning star;" and, instead of a leather thong, an iron chain attaches the ball to a stout hand-staff. In ancient graves in France spherical stones are met with, "de toutes les grosseurs, depuis celle de la tête d'un enfant jusqu'à celle d'un noix." (De Perthes, Antiquités Celtiques p. 340); and in the Hill of Dowth "were discovered a number of globular balls of stone, the size of small eggs." (Wakeman's Arehæologia Hibernica, p. 35.)

[k] This cairn is noticed in a former part of this paper as the largest of its kind known to the writer in Scotland; and its oblong neighbour, being 190 feet long, 75 feet broad at one end, 35 at the other, and 40 in sloping height at its most elevated point, is, perhaps, as good a specimen of *its* class, as the northern counties can produce.

CURIOUS OLD MANUSCRIPT.

Among the curiosities collected at the Exhibition of Antiquities in Belfast, (Sept. 1852,) was a curious manuscript belonging to the Right Hon. Lord Massereene; of which we have obtained permission from the noble proprietor to lay an account before the readers of the Ulster Journal of Archæology.

It consists of six pieces of parchment, each nearly five inches wide, sewed together at the ends, so as to form a roll of eleven feet and a half in length. To the last slip belonging to this roll is sewed another in a different hand and relating to another subject, which has manifestly been attached to serve as a protection to the MS. when rolled up, being the only kind of binding of which a scroll admits.

The documents contained in the roll, (exclusive of the last or outer piece of parchment,) are

1. A Legend in Latin, concerning the miraculous consecration of the Abbey Church of Westminster: the title is written in red ink, and is as follows:—

"De Dedicacoe ecclie bti petri westm' quam btus petrus apls spu dedicavit ministratibus sibi angelis; xi kk. aprilis, Anno Domini Secº quarto."

2. This is followed by an English translation; which, as it affords an interesting specimen of an early style, and is curious in other respects, we here set forth *in extenso*. Our transcript is, we believe, literally exact: but in printing we have been obliged to insert *th*, instead of the Anglo Saxon character representing that sound, which is generally used throughout the *English* part of this MS., though not in the Latin portions.

"Of the halowynge of Westmȳstre Chyrche by Seynte Petur Apostelle, ministrynge and servynge to ȳ Angells of God, the sonedaye at nyghte the xi kt of Aprille, the yere of the incarnāion of Oure Lorde vi c and iiii.

"[E]n the tyme when kynge Ethelbte, whiche was kynge of Kente and reigned thereynne, was throu the p̄hyge then of Seynte Austyn co̅vted to the feithe and rygte beleve of the sacramentic off holy chyrche, hys nevewe kynge Seberte, that thane was chefe of alle the Estesaxones that same tyme, throu the p̄hynge of the holy byschope Seynte Mellite, was also co̅vted to the feythe and ryghte beleve: and th̄rfor, ī the cyté of London, Ethelberte kynge of Kente made, wt̄in the walles of the same cytee, a chyrche in the worshippe of the most blessed Apostelle Paul; to whome Seyte Mellite, whane the blessed pope Gregory hade sende h̄y wt mony oth to helpe Seynte Austyne to p̄che and encrease the trew bleve and feythe, both worthyly and wurshipfully he was made the fyrste byschop of the cité. And Seberte, thane kynge of Essex, havynge grete devoco̅n to Synte Petur, ī the weste p̄te of the same citee, wt owte the walles, ī the worshippe of Seynte Petur did make and fownde a nowble ministre, and worshyped hyt wt mony ryche gifts, and endowed hyt wt divse possessions. And whane tyme eame this chyrche scholde be halowed and all thiḡes were ordeyned that longed bothe to the place and to the tyme, and the dignite off the ministre, beynge alle that nygte the byschope besy and ordeynynge alle thinge redy a yeynes the morowe, the grete desyre and abydynge of the peple that as gitte was but as boiste' and newe in the feythe joyeden gtely to come and se and be at this solenite of halowynge of the chyrche, not oonly for devoco̅n but also ffor wonder to see a thyge thei had not see afore. And ī the same nygte to a fyscher ī the flode of Temse, whiche renethe und'nethe the same ministre, on the yound syde of the same water, Seynte Pet' the Apostel apperyed in pilgremes wede, behotynge the fyscher mede for to have h̄y ou' the water; and so he dyd. And whane he was owte of the boote Seynte Pet' wente in to the chyrche, beholdynge hyt the same fysher, and sodenly a hevenly lyghte schyned alle the place and wt so maruellous a schynynge alle the place was so bryghte

thī it turned the derke nyghte in to the bryghte daye. And wt the Apostel Seynte Peter was a grete multitude of hevely citeseyns goynge oute, and the moste melodious querys and copanyes sygynge songes and hevenly melodyes were hered and seen; alle places were fulle of lyghte, fulle of swetenes; alle eeres were fulfylled of angells' myrthe and swete savo' that may not bee tolde; that then was fulfilled alle the peple wt swete smelle and savo' and the hevenly lygte that the was, byshan and cleryde alle the view and syghte of alle that were thr in so far furthe that it semed that erthely thinges and hevenly were medled to gedr, and worldely thīges ioyned to spualle and to gostely; and Agelles were seen goynge up and downe as it was seen in the ladder of Jacob. But what moore? Whane alle theis thīges were doen that longen to the soleniteis of the halowynge of the chyrche by the noble and worthy fysher Seynte Peter, the fysher was so a gaste, he turned and wente to the fysher of fyshes and for the grete lygte and brygtenes that was wt Seynte Petur the fysher was almoste so a gaste he was almoste oute of his mynde *(sic:)* but wt coforte and feyre speches he restoryd hy to hys mynde and witte a yeyne, and bothe thei entereden in to the boote and Seynte Petur asked "hase thou any man' meyte or drynke?" He answeryde, "what for fere y have of thy bryghtenes and grete lyghte and what for abydynge and waytynge upon the, y have take rygte nougte, but y have byde the mede that thou behyghteste me:" and thē the Apostel seyde "Sleke the nettys and drawe thei to the:" and the fysher did as he q'maunded hy and anoone the nette was fulle of the moste multitude of fyshes: the whiche whane thei were drawe up to the brynke, Petur seyde queth *(sic)* 'take he this samon the whiche passethe alle theis othr fyshes bothe in gretenesse and ī pryce and ber hyt on my behalve to byshope Mellite and for thy bootte hyre take alle the othr fyshe; for y am Petur that speke wt the, the whiche wt my felawes and henely eytesynes have halowed the chyrche which was made ī my name; for my blessynge passethe the byshop's blessynge and halowynge by the auctorite of my holynesse and blessynge. And thrfor lete hy leve of hys halowynge; and telle the byshope alle thou hase seen and herde, for the tokens and signes that bee ī pssed ī the walles of the chyrche schal bere wyttenes to the wordes for the holy mysterys of the blessyd sacramente of the awter schul fulfil that we have lefte of: and lete hy pche this wt hys worde and conferme it wt hys blessynge to alle hys peple, witynge welle that I schal visite ofte this place and shalle come thr to throw the desyre and preyer of trewe men and to thei that lyven ī thys place soburly rygtefully and mekely I schal open the gate of heven.' And when he hade seyde alle this the hevenly port' vanysched a weye and this was ī the dawnynge wha the nygte was passed: and as the bischop Mellite was goynge to the halowynge of the chyrche the fyscher rene a geynes hy wt the fysche, and tolde hy as Scynt Petur bade and the bischop hauyge gte wonder of thys opened the chyrche doores, and he say the pauymet mked wt lett's and wrytynge of a b c and the walles anoynted wt oyle ī xii places; and, as it wer' newe spryngid, furthe wt hyt swatte; and fro thens forthe' was no dowte ne weed ī noo manes sawle ne cossyte of that the fycher hade tolde for thei see welle that hevenly tokens wyttenesside to hys seyinge and tha the bp-

schope tolde to hys peple, and a noon alle the peple wt oon voyce crieden up to heven, preisynge God and blessynge hym the whiche ī strennhtynīge of the feythe ī the halowynge of this mooste holy temple made bothe hēne & erthe bere wytenesse of this holy thynge: for to this miracale alle thilke fycher's successours that comen after hy geven fully beleve: in so ferr' furthe lyk as he hade take frely of Seynte Petur, that rygte so fro that tyme furthe, truly tythe and offre hys dymes to Seynte Petur and hys ministere. But yitte thr was oon that stale the tithys, and was bolde to do disseyte; but he wated at the laste so longe the benefyce of his crafte tyl he was rygte feyne to knowledge hys gylte and make restitucōn and bihigte to amende hym."

3. The third document in the roll is entitled **Privilegia Westm'**; and contains what purports to be a Canon of an ecclesiastical synod held in the time of St. Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury, and ratified by various Popes: which we here translate.

"We, Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury, Oswald of York, and Alphegne of Winchester, and the other bishops of all England, by the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, by the permission and precept of Pope Leo, excommunicate all offenders against the Church of St. Peter at Westminster, of whatsoever name, honour, order or power they be, who shall remove, disturb, conceal, or attempt to seize the possessions, rents, tithes, or property of what sort soever which have been bestowed by the faithful on God and St. Peter of Westminster, and the monks there serving God: or who shall unjustly molest the monks of the aforesaid church; or shall have presumed to offer violence to the same: or who, with vain effort, shall have conspired to carry off as well the things given and bequeathed thereunto by the faithful in our own or past times as in all time to come; or shall have endowed others with or out of the property of the said church, or shall have presumed to remove anything, however small, from the said church, or shall have violated its privileges; or who shall have consented to the same; or shall not resist them with all their might. We give over all such to eternal flames and perpetual torments. We close against them the gates of Heaven. And let their names be blotted out of the Book of Life; let their portion be with Judas the betrayer of our Lord; and as the earth opened and swallowed up Dathan, so let it swallow them; and let them descend into Hell, unless they repent, and restore to the aforesaid church of St. Peter whatsoever they have taken away or abstracted, in possessions, rents or other things, aforesaid, be the same great or small. But if any person shall better or increase the aforesaid church of Westminster in lands, rents, tithes or other things, let God grant unto them the blessedness of eternity and life without end; and being absolved from all their sins, let them happily abide in our prayers and benedictions.

"This sentence hath been ratified and confirmed by Pope Leo the tenth; *(sic:)* Adrian the fourth; Alexander the third; Celestine the third; Urban the fourth; Clement the fourth; John the twenty-first; Benedict the twelfth; and many others.—Amen!"

4. The fourth document is a Charter of Edward, commonly called St. Edward the Martyr, King of England: of which the following is a translation:—

"In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity.—I, EDWARD, by the grace of God King of the English make known to all generations of the world coming after me, that, according to the precept of Pope Leo, I have renewed and honoured the church of St. Peter at Westminster. And therefore I ordain and establish that whatsoever fugitive, from whatsoever place, for whatsoever cause, or of whatsoever condition he be, shall in his flight enter that holy place, he shall obtain impunity of limbs and life: and we prohibit under the penalty above-named, all officers of the Crown from interfering with their lands or any other possessions of theirs, great or small; forasmuch as we have taken the men aforesaid under our special protection; and I willingly grant and confirm to the full extent of my earthly power, all manner of liberty belonging to the aforesaid church of Westminster.—AMEN."

5. The fifth document seems to be a fragment of a forensic argument, enforcing on the ground of those above set forth, and others of the same kind, the maintenance of the privileges which they profess to confer and to confirm. It appears from the preamble and the expressions in the body of the document to have been addressed to K. Henry IV in council,—in some suit or process relating to the right of sanctuary claimed on behalf of the church of St. Peter at Westminster, which is expressly granted by the foregoing charter of K. Edward the Martyr, if genuine.

And to us it seems highly probable that the document referred to as emanating from K. Edward the Martyr, is genuine. The light thrown upon his character by history, renders the granting of such a document by him, in a very high degree verisimilar. The same may be said of the preceding document from Dunstan, Oswald, and Alphegne.

The paper now before us is in English; and wonderfully good English, considering the time. It begins thus:

"Liketh it and is hyt pleasynge unto the highe and discrete circūspeccon of the hihe excellence of kygely maicsté, and to hys moste worshipfulle counsele, discretely and prudently to conside', and tenderly ī her c'scice to weye the mat' cotcyned ī a e'teyne scedule, towchyinge the strenghte and liberteys of the seyntewary off the mynst' off Westm', and the pvilege off the same place, wt the fudacon yroff, to the worchip off God, and hys hihe vicary pnce off apostells, and the moste blessed off alle apostells, Petur, chefe ptector and kep' of Englonde, and off the moste holy cfessr kynge Edwarde, whose ordinance hath endowed and nowbled that place wt so hihe strenghtes and dignitcis and privileges, that it sholde passe alle oth' in excellence, in token of felicite, and the cheife kyngely See of Englonde: And that it please you fyrste to consider the cawse off the grawnte; and nexte to consider the hihe auctorite of holinesse of them that grawnted the privileges and auctorised them; the iii. that ye woulde consider the statutys and the charge of the grawntes: the iiii. the grete and horrible sentenee of the censures; and the v. and laste of alle, the notory and opyn execucon of the manyfolde vengeance doen and ordeyned a yeynes the privilegys of the afore-seyde place."

On the first point the document begs that it may be considered, "how meke and resonable was the cawse of the grawnte of the strenghte and privilege of the same place: for...there was no man here lyvynge so clene, but oonly thilke moste blessed prynce of apostells, Seynte Petur, sende from heven, that halowed the chyrche ī sprite, and made hyt cosecrate by his auctorite, as it is coteyned in the charte' off kynge Edgar, anoon aft' the begynnynge.—"And in the chartr' of Synte Dustan, it is cotiyned, that St. Aldrede, abbot, have writen this cedule, and the same cedule halowyde wt angells hondes; and in the iii. charter of Seynte Edward, kynge and cofessoure, a noon aft' the begynnynge it is said thus,—'*and the foreseyde chyrche halowyde by Seynte Petur, ministryinge to hy angelys of heven, throwe the impsson of the holy crosse, and thro holy anoyntynge*; and ī as oth' place, &c.

Under the second head, the writer considers "what maun', of how moche auctorite and holynes, the men weren that grawnteden the foreseyde privileges to this place, and cofermede hem: for sothe thei were moste holieste kyinges and byshops, holden throu alle holy chyrche for seyntes, and cleped and canonized: and these were not a fewe, but many and dyvse, as the most devoute kynge Edgar, and the moste excellente kynge and prynces kynge *Henry the Fourthe, that now is*, hath confirmed the same. As for the iii. it is to be considered how grete thinges and streyte it ben that thei have grawnted; for the fyrste, namely, which is cotyned in kynge Edgar's chartr', where hit is coteyned that kynge Edger hyselfe beynge psente in the foreseyde chyrche, wt Edwarde hys son, and the same worshupfulle erchbyshop, Seynte Dunstan, and oth' bishopps and barons, and hys counselle, followynge the ensample off hys pdecessoures, hathe renewed and strenghted alle the chartyrs and privileges of the same place, and this liberte that followed: '*to the same chyche of Seynte Petur, prynce of apostelis, I have grawnted, to whom the foreseyde place, late beynge the temple of Apolyon, and now by the gce of God of the same heavenly port' is cosecrat and halowed that the chyrche eu' mor' fro' this tyme ffurthe be fre and qwyte fro alle secular svyce, and that ev' man that is fugitife for what syne or trespas that ev' it be, fleying to the chyrche of Seynte Petur, and be entred wt in the pcincte thereoff, be he footeman or horseman, of kynges courtes or of the citee, or of eny towne of what codicon that ever he be; for what man' tresspasse and cause a yeynes us, or oure successos, kynges of Englonde, or a yeynes eny man of holy kirke, we wole that he be thn q'te and fre, and that he have bothe life and lyme wtout eny wseyage, &c. Also we preye and beseche alle oure successours bothe kyges and prynces, and by the holy et'nal trinyte and by the comynge of the Rightiful Juge at demys-day, we requiren hem, that w' psente auctorite oure wyl may be holde and be stable, unbrokne, and undefiled ī that same holy place.....And who this wrytynge psente do diminute, thei be a cursed and her name put owte of the Booke of Life.*

"Also in the fyrst chartr' of St. Edwarde, kynge, among other thynges, he sayethe: '*Edwarde hath ordeyned that what man' may be gylty a yeynes the kynge's maieste, or of eny oth' offence and fle to this foreseyde place, I wille that he be safe and quyte, both of life and lyme, and by my auctorite I grawnte*

that th'ilke place be fre fro alle secular s̄vyce and if it happe eny of oure successoures, kynges or eny oth' man, (that God forbede !) wt folly or wt the divell's pryde, be led or disseyved, that he will chaunge or breke, or nyme, our ordinance, or stale in eny poynte, wete he well undere p'petualle cursyinge to be dampned ; but he amende it wt condigne satisfaccon ; or if he wole not, or be not worthy to do satisfaccon, be forsothe with the traitoar Judas.' "—(Cetera desunt.)

From the extracts given it would thus appear, that there were other charters relating to the Abbey church of Westminster, besides the three which are set forth in this roll; secondly, that the suit which was the occasion of the legal argument begun, but not completed, in the last of the documents herein contained, related to the right of sanctuary; and thirdly, that the cause was tried in the reign of King Henry IV. The document has every appearance of one written about that time; and, perhaps, may have been a brief, held by a counsel or advocate in the cause.

The same documents, or others precisely similar, were brought forward in a suit which was tried in the thirteenth century, between the monks of Westminster Abbey, and the Incumbent of the parish of Rotherhithe, respecting the right of the parties to the tithe of fish caught in the Thames, within the limits of the latter parish. The Incumbent pleaded his common-law right as parson of the place; the monks the donation of St. Peter, as intimated to the fisherman who had ferried him over the river on the night when he consecrated his own church. (See Knight's *Cyclopedia of London*, pp. 230-231.) That suit was compromised; instead of a *tenth*, the Abbey received thenceforth a twentieth; the other twentieth went to the Incumbent.

RELICS OF ANTIQUITY AT YOUGHAL, Co. CORK.

By the Rev. SAMUEL HAYMAN, B.A.

No. 1.—ANCIENT PECTORAL CROSS, FOUND AT YOUGHAL IN 1814.

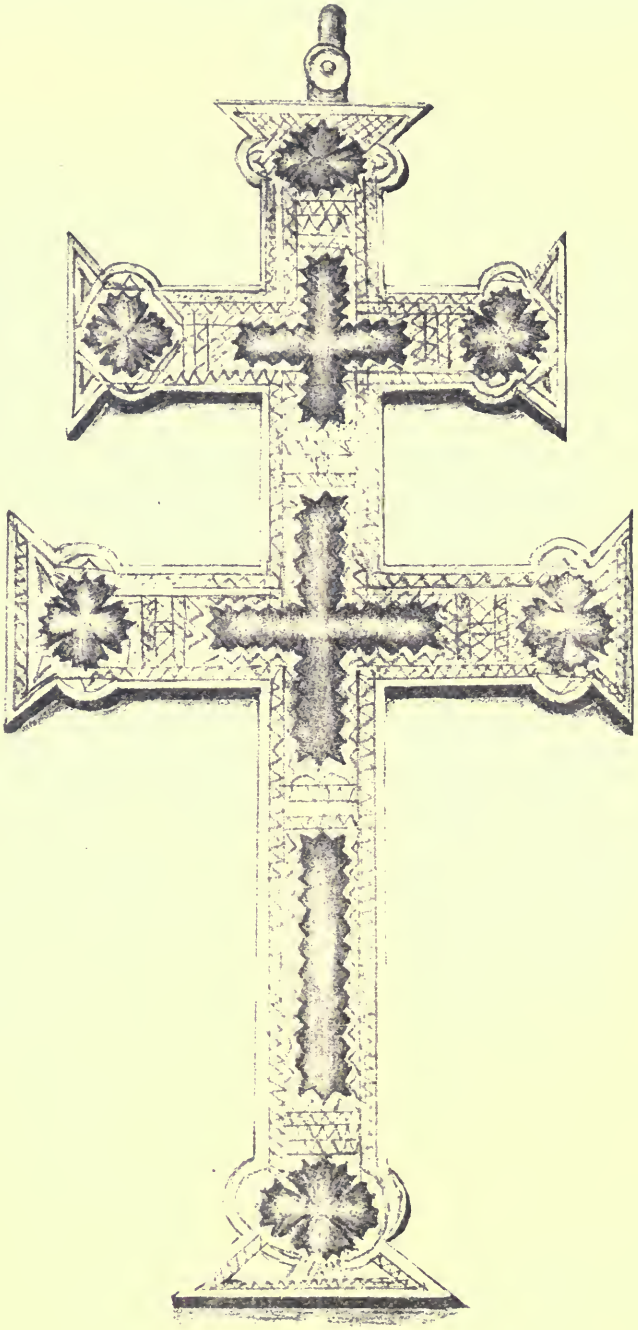
The historical town of Youghal, in the county of Cork, is picturesquely situated at the embouchure of the river Blackwater, and possesses Ecclesiastical remains of very great interest; chiefest among which is the Collegiate Church of St. Mary's, in the northern part of the town.

This noble edifice is chiefly in the Early Pointed style of architecture of the thirteenth century. It forms a Latin Cross, and consists of a Nave with Aisles, North Transept with Aisle at W. side, South Transept, a Choir, and a massive square Tower in the angle of the North Aisle, and North Transept. But there were also, anciently, a Sacristy issuing from the north wall of the Choir, two Chauntry Chapels, a Bell Tower swelling from the west gable, and North and South Porches. It does

(OBVERSE)

PECTORAL CROSS FOUND AT YOUGHAL, Co CORK, IN 1814

Size of the Original



(REVERSE)

not come within the scope of the present paper to enter further into a description of this fine parish church, (though we may do so at a future time); but these leading details are necessary to be given in connection with the Pectoral Cross, which we illustrate in our present Number and which was found in a grave at St. Mary's, in the year 1814.

Our drawings are of the exact size of the original. The cross is of bronze, and once was gilt; in length it is 6¾ inches, including the ring for a suspension-chain. It has upper and lower arms measuring 2½ inches, and 3¼ inches, respectively. It is hollow within, opening on a hinge; the interior being "divided into several compartments, or chambers, for the deposition of relics."[a] The obverse has a figure of the crucified Redeemer. Over his head is "INRI," in Roman capitals, the second and third letters being coupled together. On the lower crossing (or arm) and under portion of the shaft is engraven, in Roman letters, the prayer of the penitent thief—"DOMINE MEMENTO on the lower crossing, and "MEI" perpendicularly downwards, beginning at the feet of the figure. At the base is a skull. The reverse is ornamented with angular florid chasings, in the style that may be called the late period of Gothic.

So far in the way of description, in which we have not deemed it necessary to be minute inasmuch as an examination of our lithographs will convey a clearer idea than any verbal statement. We shall now proceed with an account of the discovery of this interesting reliquary:

We have mentioned that, among the original features of the church which cannot now be found, were two Chauntry Chapels. Of these, one filled up the angle of the South Aisle and South Transept, and the other stood at the S.W. quoin of the west gable. The latter might be regarded as an extension of the South Aisle, with which it was connected by a high pointed arch piercing the gable. It was a building necessarily of small dimensions; in width it was limited by its position at the gable, and in length it could not have extended far, as a steep rising ground is here met with, about 14 feet from the church. The chapel was dismantled at a recent period; for the county historian, Dr. Smith, writing in 1749, (Vol. I. p. 110) describes it as being then "ruined." Some of its walls, however, were standing in 1782, when they were taken down by Messrs. Taylor and Howard, then churchwardens. The south wall, which ranged in continuation with the outer wall of the South Aisle, is still remembered by aged parishioners. It is said to have presented two arches, probably those of windows broken through.

Although the chapel was taken down in 1782, a large mound of earth and rubbish, formed by its broken materials, remained at the quoin of the gable until the early part of the present century. The heap rose high against the walls of the South Aisle, and half covered some curious sculptured tombstones. In 1814, an energetic churchwarden, Mr. Edward Allin, applied himself to clear away this encumbrance; and in the course of the necessary excavations was found this Pectoral Cross, lying deep, with a human skeleton beneath it. There were three table-tombs within the ruins of the cha-

[a] Crofton Croker's "Researches in the South of Ireland," 1824. p. 145.

pel; the oldest was to the memory of Richard Nagle, of Youghal, merchant, who died 21 August, 1605.[b] The second, in point of date, covered the remains over which the Cross was lying, and should be therefore specially noticed. It has been erected again in a contiguous part of the churchyard, and is yet in good preservation. The tomb is a plain, oblong structure, having short pilasters dividing its sides into compartments, occupied with mort-heads and cross-bones On the horizontal slab is a cross-fleury inscribed in a wheel. At the sides of the shafts of the cross, suspended by a ribbon from the limbs are two shields, the dexter bearing the arms of Coppinger, and the sinister those of Ronane; and round the edge of the slab is the following inscription:

"HIC. IACET. EDVARDVS.
COPPINGER. VILLE. DE. YOGHIL. MERCATOR. QVI. OBIIT. 12.
IVLII. ANNO. DOMINI.
1624. HELENA. RONANE. VXOR. EIVS. POSVIT."

The third tomb is of a similar character, and was erected to the memory of Thomas Coppinger, son of the aforesaid Edward, who died 18th Sept. 1642.

We are particular in our statement, because a paper in the *Illustrated London News*, (August 17, 1850) which was accompanied by a reduced drawing of the reverse of the Cross, is calculated to mislead antiquaries. The *News* tells us that the Cross "was discovered in a highly sculptured stone coffin, in a churchyard near Cork." The article proceeds: "three skeletons were found in the coffin; the Cross was lying on the breast of one; the head of another was lying at the feet, as if decapitated during life. There was nothing remarkable about the third skeleton." We wish now to say that this statement is full of errors. The writer, with the best intentions doubtless, gives us a history which we might properly call a myth. There was no "highly sculptured stone coffin" found in the grave with the Cross; neither were there human remains discovered under the circumstances described. Interesting as is the reliquary itself, we do not hesitate to affirm that a stone coffin which could contain three skeletons, deposited as the *News* would have them, would have been a tenfold greater curiosity. Its proportions must have been gigantic beyond parallel. Nor is it likely that such a marvel would have been again consigned to the earth, and its very existence and hiding-place be utterly forgotten by the inhabitants. We derive *our* account from the chief workman employed by Mr. Allin in 1814, and can therefore vouch for its circumstantial accuracy.

It remains for us to fix the probable æra of the relique, and to hazard a conjecture concerning the individual with whom it was interred. The former circumstance, if we can rightly ascertain it, will materially assist us in discovering the latter.

And here, in the first place, we look to the Roman letter employed in the inscription, and learn

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[b] Richard Nagle's tombstone is so rich in tracery, and so involved in its inscriptions, that a wood-cut would be necessary for its right description. The tapered tomb-flags of Youghal church (popularly called stone-coffin lids) with their Lombardic legends, and the slabs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with their various designs of fleuréed crosses, would deserve a separate article.

from it that the Cross cannot be assigned to a higher period than the 16th century, when that character began to be used, and came to supersede the black letter, or Old English. We find the chasings will correspond with this date, and that the whole style of the workmanship will agree; and we are accordingly inclined to attribute the relique to the reign of Henry VIII., when near its close. The Cross appears to us to be episcopal, like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates; and we naturally turn to the list of the Bishops of Cloyne in King Henry's reign, and enquire for their burial-place. But here we are left in ignorance. Neither Sir James Ware in other days, nor Archdeacon Cotton in our own, can do more than give us a list of names, with the years of consecration and decease. We look especially to the last two bishops,—John Bennet, who was consecrated in 1499, and died in 1536, and Dominick Tirrey, who was consecrated in 1536, and who died in 1556, in the reign of Queen Mary. Can either of these be connected with Youghal? The answer is affirmatively, in regard to the the former. We can historically prove his having resided in the town, where he had much property; and it is not too much, therefore, for supposition that his death and burial respectively occured here, in due season.

In the *Record Reports*, (1816-1820, p. 596) we find that an Inquisition was taken at Youghal, 20, Elizabeth, No. 17, 20 May 1585, respecting the estate of "John Bennet, called Bishop Bennet. It found that he had been seized, with other possessions, of

"Bennet's greate howse, near the Common Gate of Youghell, in the northern (*aquilonali*) part of said town worth 6d. per annum, and of a toft adjoining thereto to the north of Uniacke's lands, and on the south to the Common Street; and of a garden outside the walls, and a garden in Church Lane; and of two houses in Key Lane, etc.; and after the statute of mortmain [that he] gave same to the Chapel or Chauntry of the Holy Saviour, or Holy Trinity, near the College of the B.V.M. of Yoghell. That Walter Manvill, the Chaplain, was seized thereof, and by deed dated at Yoghell the 24 May, 31 Henry VIII, granted same to said Chapel for the celebration of divine things, the which deed is here set forth. The said houses, etc., were held of the Earl of Desmond, devolved to Henry VIII, and are now concealed from the Queen."

In the Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls, we trace the demise of "Bennet's greate howse" by the Crown, to various individuals. It was granted, 20th Jan. 1603-4, to William Taaffe, Esq., with the other subordinate holdings; to John Wakeman, Esq., 23d Feb. 1608-9; and to Sir Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, 23d March, 1609-10, whose representative is the Duke of Devonshire, the present proprietor of the town. Our object, however, is simply to connect the Bishop with Youghal as his residence, and this we think we have done sufficiently.[c] It is worthy of notice, that until the present century, the Roman Catholic Bishops of Cloyne always resided here, instead of at

[c] Should we be required to account for the circumstance of the covering slab of the grave, in which the Cross was found, being inscribed with the name of Coppinger, it may be sufficient to remark, that the Coppinger family (like the Ronanes, with whom they intermarried) was one of the highest Roman Catholic families in Youghal, and of remote settlement there. We may suppose that in their vault Bishop Bennet was interred. Many years after, the stone in question was erected to the memory of the then head of the house.

Cloyne; and that now, when an alteration is made, the change of residence is not to the place whence they derive the name of their see, but to Queenstown on the Cork river.

This interesting relique, having passed through the hands of different possessors, found its way a few years since into the cabinet of a well-known southern virtuoso, the Rev. Dr. Neligan,[d] Rector of St. Mary's Shandon, Cork. On the dispersion of his valuable collection, it was sold in London, along with other articles of *virtu*, 20th January, 1851, by Messrs. J. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson. The purchaser was understood to be T. Bateman, Esq., of Yolgrave, near Bakewell, Derbyshire, at the price of £3 6s. 0d.

No. 2.—THE MIRACULOUS IMAGE AND SHRINE OF THE MADONNA OF YOUGHAL.

The Dominican Friary of Youghal was founded in the year 1268, by Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald, generally called *nAppagh*, *Simiacus*, or the Ape.[a] It was originally placed under the Invocation of the Holy Cross *(S. Crux,)* perhaps in allusion to the Family Arms of the Founder; but, subsequently, this was changed, and the House was dedicated to St. Mary of Thanks, *(S. Maria Gratiarum,)*[b] on account of a much-venerated Image and Shrine of the Madonna it had acquired. Of these we furnish drawings, carefully made for this Journal. They will be found valuable, not only as preserving to us an interesting specimen of Mediæval Art, but as helping to illustrate the records of one of the old Monasteries of Ireland.

And first as to the "invention" or finding of the Relique, the story of which is sufficiently curious:

"In the Dominican Convent," [i.e. at Youghal,] writes M. de la Boullaye le Gouz,[c] the French traveller in 1644, "there was an Image of the Virgin, formerly held in the greatest veneration in Ireland, which arrived there in a miraculous manner. The tide brought a piece of wood on to the sands opposite the town, which several fishermen tried to carry off, the wood being rare in this country, but they could not move it; they harnessed ten horses to it without effect, and the reflux of the

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[d] Our engravings of the Pectoral Cross have been made from pencilled drawings in the possession of this gentleman, to whom we return our grateful acknowledgments, These sketches were made from the original by Dr. Neligan's sister, Mrs. Robert Longfield, and were beautifully copied for this Journal by another Lady, Miss R. Green, the Mall, Youghal.

[a] The origin of this appellation will be found in Lodge, (vol. I. p. 62, n.) and to the same family tradition the supporters of the shield of the Duke of Leinster have been ascribed.

[b] "Porro Ædes Sacræ Cœnobij Dominicani primitùs dicatæ fuerint *S. Cruci*, idque fortassis ob Tesseram Gentilitiam Fundatoris. Postmodum vero ob devotissimam Deiparæ Imaginem, de qua protinùs fiet sermo, et Gratias (ne dicam miracula) ejusdem Sanctissimæ Deiparæ Interventu impetratas, Cœnobium sub Nuncupatione fuit *S. Mariæ Gratiarum.*"—*Hibernia Dominicana*, cap. nonum, § xx. Num. II.

[c] "The Tour of the French Traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, in Ireland, A.D. 1644. Edited by T. Crofton Croker, with Notes, and Illustrative Extracts, etc. London: T. & W. Boone, 1837.

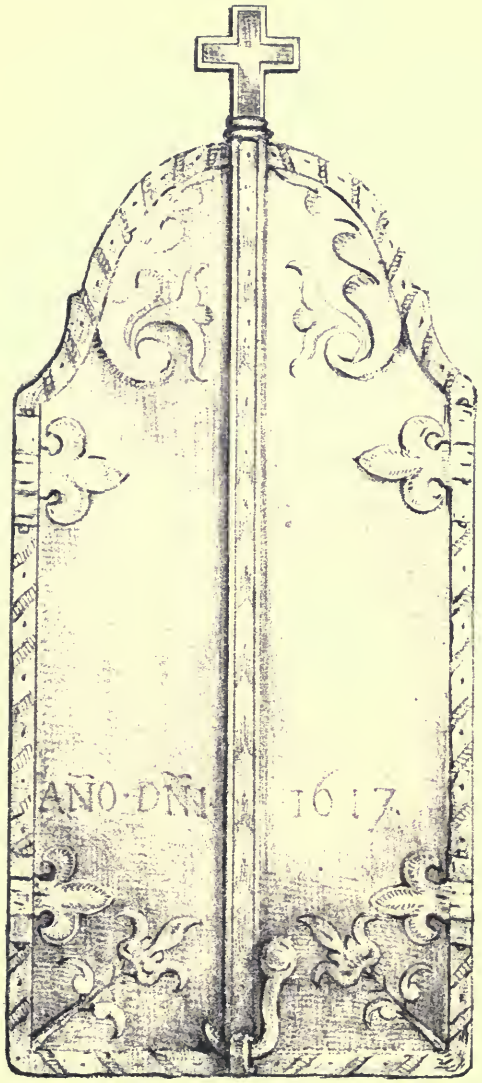
(FRONT VIEW_OPEN)

MADONNA SHRINE AND IMAGE

Formerly Preserved in the Dominican Friary at Youghal

SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL

From a Sketch by Mr Cullins



(FRONT_ CLOSED)

(BACK)

MADONNA SHRINE AND IMAGE,

Formerly Preserved in the Dominican Friary at Youghal.

SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL

tide brought it near the Dominican convent. Two monks raised it on their shoulders and put it in the court-yard of the convent; and the prior had in the night a vision that the image of our Lady was in this piece of wood; which was found there. So say the Catholics, who have still a great devotion towards it; but the Dominicans having been persecuted by the English settlers carried it elsewhere."

This legendary story, with but little variations, is still currently repeated at Youghal.[d] What M. de la Boullaye le Gouz heard told in 1644, may yet be listened to at the fireside of the humbler Roman Catholic inhabitants. When divested of some of its marvel, the tale may have had its foundation in fact, as thus:—

A large piece of the wreck of a vessel having come ashore, several fishermen failed with ten horses in securing it. The sea having broken it up, a portion was carried near the Dominican Friary, and was brought thither by two of the brethren. In this piece was found, or there was picked up at the same time, a little ivory image of the Madonna.

The image is, as we have stated, of ivory, now much worn by attrition and discoloured by age. It is, apparently, of Italian workmanship of the fifteenth century. The Virgin Mother is represented in a sitting posture, her gaze wistfully fixed on the infant Jesus, who is standing erect on her knee, and is supported by her left hand. Her head is a little inclined towards him. Worn as are the features, the expression of her face, in connection with her half-clasping right hand, is that of exquisite maternal love. She is crowned; and from her diadem descend lappets upon her shoulders. Her garments are loose, but are cinctured at the waist. The infant's dress is a simple frock or tunic. His face is directed towards his mother's. His head is bare; nor is there any appearance of a *nimbus* around it.

The Shrine, in which the image is kept, is of silver and once was gilt. Our engravings are of the exact size of the original, and accurately set forth all its details. It is a little box or case, about four inches in height, by two in width. The top assumes a conical shape, and is surmounted by a cross. The front opens with two folding-doors on hinges so as to admit a full sight, through a piece of glass, of the enclosed image seated on a bench. The leaves of the doors, when thus opened, display on the left hand the Crucified Redeemer, with INRI over his head, and emblems of mortality at the base of his cross, and on the right hand a saintly figure praying, invested with a "glory." The portions of the doors above these figures, and the whole back and sides of the shrine, are ornamented with incised floriated chasings, done in a free bold style of workmanship. The shrine is inscribed with the following legend, in Roman letters:—

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d When a variation is made, it is only by mentioning a "miraculous tree," (as the floating ark of the image) instead of a "piece of a wood." A singular MS. history of Youghal and its Religious Houses lies before us as we write,—the composition, we understand, of a local *seaniachudh* now deceased, named Savage. There are sixteen pencilled illustrations, not badly executed. Of these, No. 11 is "The Miraculous Tree found at the Warren, 15th century"; and the following is the description of the drawing:

"This is the tree that was spoken of to have the picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary in it. It was about 6 or 7 inches long. I have not seen it. My sister had it in her hand. She told me of it; and the persons that had it told her, that was the one. It was always kept in the North Abbey, that was the Dominican Friary, &c.

The sketch represents a large tree, uptorn by the roots. It has been floated in by the tide, and is lying on the sands. The scenery around is the entrance to Youghal Harbour.

"ORATE. PRO. ANIMA. ONORIAE. FILLÆ. IACOBI. DE. GERALDINIS. QUAE. ME. FIERI. FECIT. AN. DOM. 1617."

The Lady Honor Fitzgerald, who presented this shrine to the Dominicans of Youghal, was the only child of Sir James of Desmond, who having been deeply concerned in the Geraldine revolt in Munster was slain in 1579 by the sons of Sir William Burke, and was gibbetted in the market-place of Kilmallock. She "first married" (writes Lodge,[e]) "John Fitzgerald, Seneschal of Imokilly; and, secondly, Sir Edmond, son and heir to Sir John Fitzgerald of Cloyne and Ballymaloe, by whom she had one son, Maurice of Castle-Liffing, and three daughters, viz. Ellen, married to Dermoid, Lord Inchiquin; Mary, to Owen O'Sullivan More; and Honora, to Patrick, Lord of Kerry." The date of the shrine is engraven on it; but we consider the image to be nearly two centuries older.

The possession of this relique brought great fame to the House of Dominicans at Youghal. The image became "*devotissima*," most venerated, as the author of *Hibernia Dominicana* informs us.[f] From every part of Ireland, the devout thronged to it for purposes of prayer;[g] and miracles were ascribed to its agency. The monastery itself underwent a change of dedication; and was now denominated "Conventus Deiparæ Gratiarum Yeoghelensis," as appears from the Register of the Order, dated 19 Feb, 1639-40. Nor was there fame only, but rich offerings were poured in. To such amount grew these treasures, that the Provincial of the Dominicans considered them too much for a single establishment, and devoted them to the general support of the Fraternity in Ireland. An appeal seems to have been made against his decision; for we find the following Order passed at a Most General Chapter,[h] held at Rome in the year 1644, under the 56th Master of the Dominicans, Thomas Turk, of Cremona:—

"*Applicamus Eleemosynas omnes, quæ fiunt ad devotissimam Imaginem B. Virginis Mariæ de Youghel, in Usum ipsius conventûs Youghellensis, nec de ijs in futurum aliter disponere valeat Provincialis.*"—That is,

"We apply all the Alms which are offered at the most venerated Image of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Youghal, to the use of the monastery itself, nor can the Provincial in future dispose of them in any other way,"

In the year 1698 the Monastic Orders were commanded to depart out of Ireland, never to return, on pain of death. The miraculous image of the Youghal Dominicans was confided during their banishment to the keeping of Sir John Hore, a Roman Catholic gentleman, who resided at Shandon Castle, in the county Waterford. We find it in 1756, (when Bishop Burke was compiling his history) once more at Youghal, and in the possession of Thomas O'Kelly, the then prior of the Dominican community there. It was subsequently transferred to Cork, where we understand it is still preserved in the Dominican Friary, dedicated to St. Mary on Pope's Quay in that city.

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[e] Peerage of Ireland, vol. I., p. 72. ed, 1789.

[f] Caput nonum, § xx. Num. IV.

[g] Ex universis *Hiberniæ* partibus confluere solebant Christifideles, Religionis et Voti causa."—*Ibid.*

[h] A Most General Chapter is explained by Bishop Burke, (*Hib. Dom. caput sextum*, §. x) to differ from a General Chapter, in being equal to three of that nature, and therefore to have power to make perpetual decrees.

*** The writer's obligations are due to his gifted friend, Thomas Crofton Croker, F.S.A., for much kind assistance in procuring the illustrations of the Shrine. He would offer his respectful thanks to Mrs. Collins, daughter of the Roscoe of Cork, the late James Roche. To this lady's pencil the open front view of the shrine is to be attributed. He begs to acknowledge, also, the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Russell, Superior, O.S.D., Dublin, and of the Rev. Mr. Carberry, of St. Mary's Priory, Cork, through whose permission the other drawings have been made. The whole are now, for the first time, given to the public.

LETTERS PATENT OF JAMES MAC DONNELL,

LORD OF THE CASTLE AND MANOR OF

TENEKILLY,

IN THE BARONY OF PORTNEHINCH, AND QUEEN'S COUNTY.

In the last Number of this Journal appeared a valuable historical sketch of the history of the Mac Donnells, the Lords of this Manor and Castle, who appear to have settled in this part of Ireland about the middle, or towards the close of the 15th century. Like other stout soldiers of fortune who obtained settlements in various parts of Ireland, they appear to have held their possessions by various grants from the Crown, upon the usual conditions of rendering military services, and payments of certain rents. The author of the historical account of the MacDonnells above-mentioned, which terminates with a brief sketch of the career of James MacDonnell, born in 1617, appears, in his curious and interesting paper, to have overlooked, or not to have been aware of, the existence of Letters Patent, granted to him in the 14th year of the reign of King Charles I. A.D. 1631. The original of this document is preserved among the Deeds and Muniments of the Earls of Antrim, at Glenarm Castle, in the county of Antrim.

In the fierce struggle during the reign of this monarch, in which the adherents of the Stuart family in Ireland took no inconsiderable share, the stout MacDonnells naturally espoused the royal cause, and the title of James MacDonnell to the castle and possessions at Tenekilly (which he had inherited from his warlike predecessors) having been rendered in some measure insecure, he appears to have sued out and obtained from the Crown a fresh patent of those estates; and of this it is now proposed to give a brief abstract.

The Patent above-mentioned, which is in the Latin language, begins as follows:

"Charles, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, to all to whom these Patent Letters shall come, greeting:

Know ye that We, of our special grace, and certain knowledge, and mere motion, and also by the advice, assent, and consent of our well-beloved and very faithful cousin and counsellor, Thomas, Vis-

count Wentworth, our Deputy-General of our kingdom of Ireland, and President of our Privy Council in the northern parts of our kingdom of England; and of our other Commissioners,—according to the intent and effect of our Commission, under our Great Seal of our said kingdom of Ireland, bearing date at Dublin, the 7th day of September, in the 12th year of our reign, as well as for, and in consideration of, the fine or sum of Fifty-five pounds, Two shillings, and Six pence, sterling, good and lawful money of, and in, England, by our beloved subject, James MacDonnell, Esquire, before the sealing of these our Letters Patent, at the receipt of our Exchequer of our said kingdom of Ireland, to wit, to the hands of our Vice-treasurer, or Receiver-General of the same, well and truly to our use paid, which said fine or sum is due and payable to us by virtue of a composition, agreement, or concord, made at our Castle of Dublin, between our said Deputy-General and our other Commissioners, on one part, and the said James MacDonnell, of the other part, as well as for, and in consideration of, the rent, services, and reservations, in these presents, by virtue of the commission, composition, and agreement aforesaid, received, or mentioned to be received,—Have given, granted, bargained, sold, released, and confirmed, &c., to the aforesaid James MacDonnell, his heirs and assigns, the Castle, Town, and Lands of Tenekilly, with one water-mill there, and all the towns, villages, hamlets, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, of Ballyerassell, &c."

The lands then are named, *seriatim*, which are, in number, thirty, are situate in the united parishes of Ardea, Coolbanagher, and Lea; and are to found in sheet No. 8 of the recent Ordnance Survey of the Queen's County, a little to the southward of Portarlington; and the site of the ruined castle of Tenekilly is shewn within the demesne of Woodbrook.

In the first column here following, the names of these townlands are given as in the Patent; the number prefixed to each indicating the parish in which it lies; and in the second column are their modern names, so for as they have been identified.

Ancient Names.	Modern Names
No. 1.—Ballycrassell,	Ballycrossell,
2.—Carhin,	Carn,
Derrychuane,	
1.—Portenehinehe,	Portnahinch.
3.—Balleeale,	Ballycarrol.
Colbane,	
1.—Ballyculane,	Ballycullenbeg.
Ferrinedonoghfine,	
1.—Gentery als. Clanterfe als. Clanteny,	Clonterry.
1.—Larragh,	Laragh.
1.—Dinganmore,	Dangans
1.—Kilnekessaghe,	Kilnacash.

Dinganbeg,	
Balloroddery	
2.—Coolnefernocke,	Coolnavarnoge.
Ballyneglasse,	
Ballycalc	
2.—Cooloches, als. Ballyboggane,	Coolagh.
Ballyneboddagh,	
1.—Acregare,	Acregar.
Clonvegher	
1.—Straghard,	Straghard.
1.—Derrigill,	Derrygill.
1.—Derrieclony,	Derryclony.
1.—Kilmongan,	Kilmainham.
1.—Ballycowleyne,	Ballycullenbeg.
2.—Derrycappie,	Cappakeel.
1.—Clonecosne,	Cloncosny.
1.—Derrydavy,	Derrydavy.
Shanvallymortagh,	

The Patent then proceeds in the usual legal terms to create the manor of Tenekilly with manorial rights, jurisdictions, franchises, liberties, and privileges, and powers to hold Courts Baron, and Courts Leet, to be held by seneschals appointed by the said James MacDonnell, with authority to enclose two hundred acres of land as a deer-park, and a free warren, with right of chasing all game, taking partridges or pheasants, &c.

Covenants then follow on the part of the Grantee to attend, whenever duly summoned, with the greater part of his domestic servants and tenants, armed, and provided with victualling for three days, upon the Lord Deputy, or on whomsoever he should appoint; and to answer general "Hostings" according to the rate and value of his lands; to maintain continually on the first portion of said lands twelve expert axe-bearers, called Galloglasses, and on the remaining part two trained horsemen of the English nation and blood, well mounted, and all sufficiently armed with offensive and defensive weapons;—in the following words:

"Et pfat Jacobus McDonnell pro se hered. executor. administr. et assign. suis convenit et concedit ad et cum nobis hered. et successor. nost. per pntes quod ipe pfat Jacobus McDonnell hered. et assign. sui quandocunq. post datum prtm pmoniti erunt attendent cum maior pt domesticor. servient. et tenen. suor. sup. pmiss pmenconat residentm seu inhabitantm in defensibil. modo guerrm armat. cum victual. pro tribus diebus, sup deputat. nostr. general, sive al. principal. Gubernat. seu Gubernators huius regni nostr. Hibnie pro tempe existents, sive sup. tal. pson. seu psonas qualis sive quales pdict deputat

nostr. general, sive al. Gubernator appunctuabitur, sive appunctuabuntur, pro defensione pd terr. tenement. et hereditament, et comitat. pred. et respondebit et respondebunt omn. hostil. exercit. vocat. "Hostings," iuxta rat. et valor. terr. suar. pred. et hebit, custodiet, sustinebit, mauntenebit, hebunt, custodient, sustinebunt, et mauntenebunt continuo sup. pred. castr. vill. et terr. de Tenekilly, Ballyerassen, &c....pred. aut aliq. inde pcell. duodecim habiles Seeurigers, Angliee vocat. "Galloglasses." Ac etiam hebit custodiet sustinebit, et mauntenebit.....continuo sup. pd vill. villat. hamlet. et terr. de Acregare, Clonveger, &c.....pd, aut aliqu. inde pcell, duos habil. equestres Anglican. nacon. cognominis et sanguin. bene instruet. pro melior defension. et p'servaeon. p'menconat. pmiss. et Com. Regine pd respective, et quod hebit et hebunt bon. et suffieient. equos et arma tam invasiva quam defensiva p pred. duodecim habil. Seeurig. Anglice vocat. Galloglasses et equestr. pred. et eor quolibt respective."

Then follow covenants on the part of James McDonnell to give, yearly, one custom-day, called "a plowe day," at sueh time and place within the Queen's County as the Constable of the Castle of Maryborough, for the time being, shall appoint, or two shillings and three pence in lieu thereof; and that his sons and servants shall use altogether, or for the most part, the English language and dress; and shall appear every year before sueh Constable at the said Castle on the first day of September, and bring with them all the males under their controul, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, able to carry arms, and shall deliver in their names to be written in a book,—in the following words:

Ac etiam reddet et pformabit, reddent et pformabunt annuatim nobis heredˢ et sueeessorˢ nostrˢ servitm unu. custum diei, Anglice voeat. "a plowe day," pro quolibt Aratio. quod tune erit sup. pmiss p'menconat. ad arrand. aut tal. labor. et opera faciend. ad tal. tempus et loeum infra diet. Com. Regin qual. per Constabular. Castr. de Maryburrough pd pro tempe existent. limitabuntur vel appunctuabuntur, vel duos solidos et tres denar. legal. monet. Anglie pro quolibt custumar. die ad election. pfat. Jaeobi McDonnell heredum et assignator. suor. Et quod filii et habil. servients eor. utentur pro maior. parte sive totaliter tam Angliean. lingua quam vestiment. et apparal. et Angliean gubernacon. ad eor. raeonabil posse. Ac etiam annuatim compebunt coram constabular. Castr. de Maryburrough pred. sive pro defect. tal. eonstabular. eoram Vice eomit. diet. Comitat. Regine pro tempore existent. ad diet. Castr. primo die mensis Septembr. et dueent secum omnes homines sub eor. gubernaeon. et potestat. inter etat. sexdecim et sexagint. annor. qui reputat. sunt habiles homines portare arma, quor. nomina deliberabuntur diet. eonstabular. sive in eius absentia viceeomit. eiusd. Comitat. Regin. pro tempore existent. in libro ponend."

The Patent then eoncludes with an idemnifieation from rents and arrearages, and appears to have been signed by the, then, Lord Chancellor, Carleton, examined in the usual form by Jo. Exham, deputy clerk of the Hanaper, and enrolled among the Patent Rolls of the Court of Chaneery in Ireland in the year in which it bears date, by Christopher Lascelles, clerk in the office of the Master of the Rolls.

There appears to be no doubt that this Patent was the latest granted to the MacDonnells of Tenekilly; for their possessions in the Queen's County appear to have been forfeited by James Mac Donnell, and to have thereupon passed into the hands of other adventurers.

The account of the varied fortunes of this family in the Queen's County, which thus terminates, forms a most instructive chapter of Irish history, and may taken as a fair sample of the rise and fall of many families of military adventurers who obtained large grants from the Crown in the warlike and disturbed reigns of Elizabeth and the monarchs who immediately succeeded her. If a few more such accurate and careful archæological sketches were thus given to the world, they would throw more light upon the policy of the English government, and the state of society in Ireland during the period to which we alluded, than most of the elaborate, but somewhat fanciful, disquisitions, that have hitherto passed current for positive History.

J. HUBAND SMITH, M.A.—M.R.I.A

ST. COLUM CILLE'S CROSS.

The following curious passage occurs in a letter preserved in the State Paper Office, dated 20th October, 1504, from the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir John Perrot, to Sir Francis Walsingham, the English Secretary of State :—

" For a token I have sent you holie Columkill's crosse :—a God of greate veneration with Sarleboy and all Ulster; for so greate was his grace, as happy he thought himself that coulde gett a kisse of the said crosse. I send him unto you that when you have made some sacrifice to him according to the disposition you beare to Idolatrie, you maie if you please bestowe him upon my good Lady Walsingham or my Lady Sidney, to weare as a Jewell of weight and bignesse, and not of prise and goodness, upon some solempne feaste or triumph daie at the Courte."

The Lord Deputy had just returned from an expedition into Ulster against the Scottish intruder Somairle *buoy*, (or the yellow) McDonnell, and the remarkable relic he sent over to England was probably part of the spoil won from that chieftain. Lady Sidney, to whom the "jewell" was offered, was daughter of the powerful Secretary of State, and recently married to the accomplished Sir Philip Sidney :—she was subsequently espoused by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; and, after his death, was married a third time, by the fourth and brave Earl of Clanricard. Her last husband being a Roman Catholic, she adopted his creed, and, if she possessed this venerable Cross, doubtless regarded it with more reverence than is exhibited by the donor.

The memory of St. Colum Cille was, indeed, held in much veneration in Ulster, and every memorial of that good and Christian man must have been considered sacred. His copy of the Scriptures, preserved in a rich case, was brought out on particular occasions to be employed by the chief of the clan

O'Donnel (of which the saint had been a member) as an instrument of ordeal whereby a clansman might clear himself from an accusation by taking a purgatory oath on its holy contents. It is well known that many families and clans used what may be termed favourite oaths:—accustoming themselves to swear by some special saint or notable relic. Thus the O'Neill swore by the *Bachal Murry*, or ecclesiastical staff of St. Murry. O'Donnell probably called on the patron saint of his race. The Earl of Clanricard writes, 22d October, 1567, to the Queen,[a] to acquaint her that:—"O'Donnel hath threatened by a solemne othe that he will burn Clanricard, where I have the government under your Grace." This threat had obliged the Earl to return home in order to defend his territory, and it had proceeded from that chief's displeasure because the Earl's daughter would not marry him. Lord Justice Fitzwilliam writes on the 31st of the same month to Secretary Sir William Cecil to say that "ODonel has burned most part of McDermond's country and corn, but missed the prey, which was fled, and did then swear by the chief idol of his country that he would do as much in Clanricard ere it were the end of Christmas."

St. Colum Cille's cross may not now be in existence; it may either have been destroyed or lost:—however, it may still hold a place in some cabinet collection of ancient rarities, and this notice of it may lead to our being able to give an engraving of so interesting a memorial of one of the best of Ireland's worthies.

HERBERT F. HORE.

RUSTIC PROVERBS CURRENT IN ULSTER.

The Philosophy of Proverbs is a wide and interesting subject, but it is one with which I do not intend to trouble you at present. My object is to illustrate three curious points in a single Essay, though there are many others collateral which are also of great interest.

1. A proverb or proverbial phrase shows a certain poverty of language in the individual; he accordingly uses a particular expression with a general application which his hearers perfectly understand. He cannot tell you that 'perseverance overcomes the most formidable obstacles,' but he says "a constant dthrap wares a hole in a stone.' His vocabulary hardly furnishes him with terms to say "attach the blame to the culpable individual,' he therefore says "put the saddle on the right horse." When desirous to express—'the circumstance does not affect your interests,'—he says—"it takes no butther aff your bread."

2. While each expression is thus a condensation of philosophy, or epitome of experience, the mode of expression seems to show the birth-place of the speaker. Few forms of expression show the peculiarities of dialect in bolder relief than those which are so currently used; and your readers will

[a] MS. Irish Correspondence, State Paper Office.

easily verify, from their recollection or daily intercourse, every expression used here. The Ulster-man is an Irishman, of course; but the dialect of Ulster is not that of Ireland. The latter is more limited in its characteristics, and a little varied; the former has a large amount of specific difference.

3. Side by side with these, I place the same proverbial expressions as used in England or Scotland, or occasionally in both; so as to exhibit a sort of 'comparative anatomy' of the subject. One occasionally sees a Latin, an Italian, or a Spanish proverb, quoted in illustration of an English one; and the accurate observer must admit that neither dress nor manner affords a more interesting or curious illustration of the peculiarities of any people.

It would be easy to classify proverbs, and to show those, for instance, that are of Hibernic, or even of Ulster, origin; at present the selection is made mainly with reference to such as exist on the other side of the channel. Even of these, but a few are taken by way of specimen; it is, as an eminent geologist would say, "a new walk in an old field."

1. "Purty people an' ragget people 's often gettin plucks."—*Ulster.* "A fair woman and a slash'd gown find always some nail in the way."—*Eng.*

2. "A soople mother makes a lazy chile."—*Ulster.* "An oleit [nimble] mother maks a sweir [reluctant] dochter."—*Old Scotch.* "A licht heeled mither maks a leaden heel'd dochter."—*Mod. Scotch.* —"a heavy heel'd daughter."—*Eng.*

3. "Hunger begins at the cows' stakes."—*Ulster.* "A famine begins at the horse's manger."—*Eng.* "After a famine in the stall, comes a famine in the hall."—*Somerset version.*

4. "Them 'at hides can fine."—*Ulster* "They that feal [hide] can find."—*Eng.*

5. "Ye sit yer time like many a good goose."—*Ulster.* (This is spoken in derision of a person who sits long in a house which he visits.) "Ye hae sitten yer time, as mony gude hen's done."—*Scot.*

5. "Inches disn't break squares in a load o' whins."—*Ulster.* (In matters of a trifling character, minute discrepancies are of no consequence whatever.) "An inch breaks no squares in a burn [burden] of thorns."—*Eng.*

6. "Niver put out yer han' fardther nor ye can draw it back again."—*Ulster.* (Never make an an attempt from which you may not retreat creditably.) "Ne'er put your han' far'er out than your sleeve will reach."—*Scot.*

7. "Butther to butther's no kitchen."—*Ulster.* ("Kitchen" is condiment, or that which is used to modify and season the more substantial articles of food. The proverb is applied when two men dance together, when two women kiss, &c.)

8. Nivver powr watther on a drownded mouse."—*Ulster.* (Do not injure those who are already oppressed.) "Pour not water on a drowned mouse."—*Eng.*

9. "Them 'at gets the name o' risin' early may lie all day."—*Ulster.* (In any quality for which a man is celebrated an occasional deficiency will not affect his reputation.) "If one's name be up he may lie in bed."—*Eng.*

10 "Let ivvery her'n' hing by its own tail."—*Ulster.* (Let every man depend upon himself.

In the cottages, dried herrings are suspended by a rod passed through their tails.) "Every herring must hang by its own gill."—*Eng.* "Let ilka herrin hing by its ain head."—*Scot.*

11. "Jist as day broke butther broke."—*Ulster.* (This is applied when events coincide in time. Butter is said to "break" when it first shows itself in the process of churning.) "As day brake bitter brake."—*Scot.*

12. "A slice aff a cut loaf's nivver miss'd.—*Ulster.* "A whang aff a new cut kebbuck [cheese] is ne'er miss'd."—*Scot.* "'Tis safe taking a shive of a cut loaf."—*Eng.*

Demetrius—. What man! more water glideth by the mill
Than wots the miller of; and easy it is
Of a cut loaf to steal a shive we know.

SHAKSP.—*Tit. Andron.*

13. "We have dogs' days, hunger an' aise, through the whole of the blue month."—*Ulster.* (The "blue month" is the period which elapses between the scarcity of the old potatoes and the ripeness of the new; usually the month of July.) "A dog's life,—hunger and ease."—*Scot.*

14. "I may as well be hang'd for an oul' sheep as a young lamb."—*Ulster.* (Since I am to be punish'd, the fault may as well be a great as a small one.) "As weel be hang'd for a wether as a lamb."—*Scot.* In the south of England it is quoted as in Ulster.

15. "The shoemaker's wife an' the smith's mare af'en goes barefooted."—*Ulster.* "The souter's wife is warst shod."—*Scot.* "Who goes worse shod than the shoemaker's wife and the smith's mare?"—*Eng.*

16. It's a long loanin' [field lane or "boreen"] that has no turn.—*Ulster.* "Its a long run that never turns."—*Eng.*

17. "Han'some is that han'some dis."—*Ulster.* "He is handsome that handsome doth.—*Eng.*

18. "Betther is the end of a faste nor the beginnin' of a quarle."—*Ulster.* "Better come at the latter end of a feast than the beginning of a fray."—*Eng.*—*Scot.*

19. "Whin rogues disagrees, honest men gits their own."—*Ulster.* "When thieves cast out, honest folk come to their ain."—*Scot.* "When thieves reckons, leall men comes to their geir."—*Old Scotch.* "When thieves fall out, true men come by their goods."—*Eng.*

20. "Ye look for the ladle when the pot's in the fire."—*Ulster.* (You take precautions when the catastrophe has occurred.) "Ye rin for the spurtle [potstick] when the pat's rinnin' ower."—*Scot.*

21. "Kissin' goes by favour."—*Ulster.* (The modern meaning is, influence is more availing than merit. There is, however, a pun in the proverb; "favour" meaning the countenance or features. Thus, "ill-favoured" means ill-looking, to "favour" one's uncle is to resemble him, and several examples of this use of the term occur in Shakspeare.—Prov. xxxi. 30, "*Favour* is deceitful and beauty is vain.")

22. "Don't kick till ye'r spurr'd."—*Ulster.* "If you be not ga'd (gall'd) ye need na fling."—*Scot.*

Let the gall'd jade wince, our withers are unwrung.

SHAKSP.—*Hamlet.*

The Reverend & Valiant
W.m GEORGE WALKER Governour of LONDON DERRY.

23. "You have a good many nicks in your horn."—*Ulster.* (The age of an ox is shown by the rings at the base of the horn; and the expression is jocularly applied to persons.) "We ken your eild by the runkles o' your horn."—*Scot.*

24. "There' never a gant [yawn] but there's a want, of mate, money, or sleep."—*Ulster.* "Ganting bodes wanting ane o' things three,—sleep, meat, or gude companie."—*Scot.*

25. "Hit a dog with a bone, an' he'll not gowl."—*Ulster.* (In doing an unkindness, confer some benefit, and you prevent growling.) "Fell a dog wi' a bane, an' he'll no yowl."—*Scot.*

26. "Look a thing till ye fine it, an' then ye'll not loss yer labour."—*Ulster.* "Seek till you find, and you'll not lose your labour."—*Eng.*

27. "You can kill the two birds with one stone."—*Ulster.* "Kill two birds with one shaft."—*Eng.* "Kill twa flies wi' ain flap."—*Scot.*

28. "Them 'at likes the dunghill sees no motes in it."—*Ulster.* "They who lo'e the midden see nae mots in't."—*Scot.*

29. "Every day braw makes Sunday a daw." (If the best clothes be worn during the week, a less respectable appearance is made on Sunday.) "Alike ilka day makes a clout on Sunday.—*Scot.*"

30. "Let the tail go with the hide.—*Ulster.* "Let the horns gang wi the hide."—*Scot.*

31. "Great cry an' little wul, as the Deil said when he pluckt the pig."—*Ulster.* "Muckle din and little woo,' quo the Deil when he clippit the sow."—*Scot.* H.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF GEORGE WALKER,

GOVERNOR OF DERRY DURING THE SIEGE IN 1688.

By the Rev. ABRAHAM DAWSON, A.B.

Curate of Christ's Church, Belfast.

PART I.

George Walker was the son of English parents. His father, a native of Yorkshire,[a] appears to have settled in the county of Tyrone, early in the seventeenth century. Like his son he bore the name of George Walker, and was a clergyman of the church of Ireland. From the records of the Board of First Fruits, it appears that the elder Walker was instituted to the parish of Badoney, in the county of Tyrone and diocese of Derry, on the 13th of January, 1630.[b] He was still rec-

[a] Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 380.

[b] Graham's *Derriana*, 101. In this passage Graham says only, that "*a person of the same name*" [George Walker] was instituted to Badoney and afterwards to Cappagh. In his later works, being better informed, he states positively, that the rector of Cappagh was father of the governor of Derry; and, of course, this affirmation extends to the Rector of Badoney. At the time of Walker's institution Badoney was undivided. About a century ago it was divided into the parishes of Upper and Lower Badoney. The mother-church is at Glenelly, in Upper Badoney.

tor of this parish in 1634, when Dr. John Bramhall was appointed to the bishopric of Derry, on the decease of Dr. Downham, the former bishop. Dr. Bramhall, who was himself a native of Yorkshire, (being born at Pontefract in that county,) seems to have been previously acquainted with the elder Walker, and to have highly appreciated his abilities. The new bishop found his diocese in a state of much disorder, and on commencing the work of reformation he first consulted with "the old, venerable Dr. Walker, whom he addressed himself to as to his father.[c]" Bishop Bramhall, grateful for the assistance rendered him by Walker at this time, procured his appointment to the parish of Cappagh, in the gift of Trinity College, on the 26th of September, 1636.[d] During the troubled period which followed soon after this appointment we can discover no trace of him. His friend and patron Bramhall fled to the Continent to save his life from the hostility of Cromwell and the English Parliament. Returning to England at the Restoration in 1660, Bramhall was immediately nominated to the primacy of the Irish Church, and was duly consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, on the 18th of January, 1661. This zealous prelate, in the same year, held a general Visitation of the See of Armagh and the other Dioceses connected with it. On this occasion, at the Visitation held at Derry, August, 19, 1661, Walker is thus noticed in the Visitation Book: "Geo. Walker, Rector de Cappog, M.A., Rector absens licentiat.[e]"

Walker was subsequently promoted by Archbishop Bramhall to the parish of Kilmore, in the diocese of Armagh, and to the chancellorship of Armagh, which is held in connection with that parish.[f] The exact date of this promotion has not been discovered[g]; however it could not have been later than 1663, in which year, on the 25th of June, Archbishop Bramhall died. Walker seems to have been succeeded in the parish of Cappagh by one Elias de Raynac, who appears as Rector of "Cappog," at the Triennial Visitation held at Derry, June 6, 1664.[h]

The Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers was passed in the year 1665. By its provisions it was required of all persons in holy orders, schoolmasters, and private tutors, that they should subscribe a declaration of allegiance to the King, and of conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland, as by law established. In the Armagh Book of Subscriptions Dr. Walker appears among the first who signed this declaration in his diocese. On the 5th of September, 1666, he thus subscribes himself: "Geo. Walker, Cane: de Ardmac.[i]"

Dr. Walker continued Rector of Kilmore until his death in 1677. He was buried in his parish-

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[c] Ware's *Works*, edited by Harris, vol. I, *(Hist. of the Bishops)* 118.

[d] Graham's *Derriana*, 101; *Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 380.

[e] Diocesan Records, Metropolitan Registry Office, Armagh.—The writer is much indebted to Mr. George D. Hughes,—a gentleman connected with the Armagh registry Office,—for the accuracy and zeal with which he has supplied all the information which the Records of that office contain, respecting both Walkers.

[f] Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 381.

[g] The Armagh Dioc. Records are imperfect from 1584 to 1678.

[h] Armagh Dioc. Records.

[i] Armagh Dioc. Records. In alluding to this signature Dr. Cotton supplies the link which connects the Rector of Kilmore with the Governor of Derry. Referring to the Chancellors of Armagh, he says:—"1666, George Walker, D.D., appears. (Dioc. Reg.) He was father of the Rev. George Walker, who, in the reign of King James II, eminently distinguished himself at the Siege of Derry." *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*, (Dublin, 1849), vol. III, p. 40. See also Graham, *ubi supr.*

Fac-simile of the Handwriting

OF THE

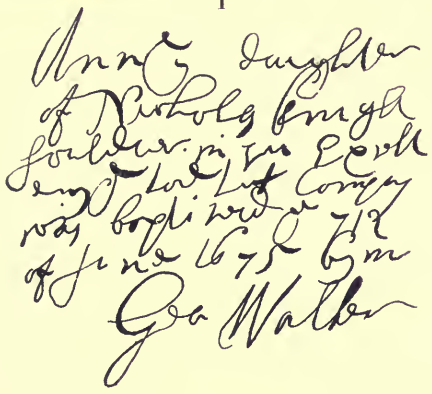
Revd. George Walker, D.D.,

Rector of Donaghmore and Governor of Derry.

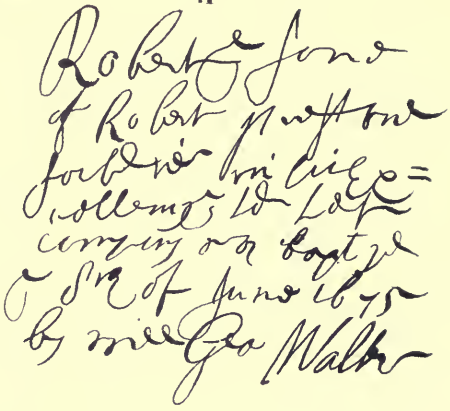
Copied from the Register of the Parish of Drumglass.

W. & G. Agnew, Lithographers, Arthur Square.

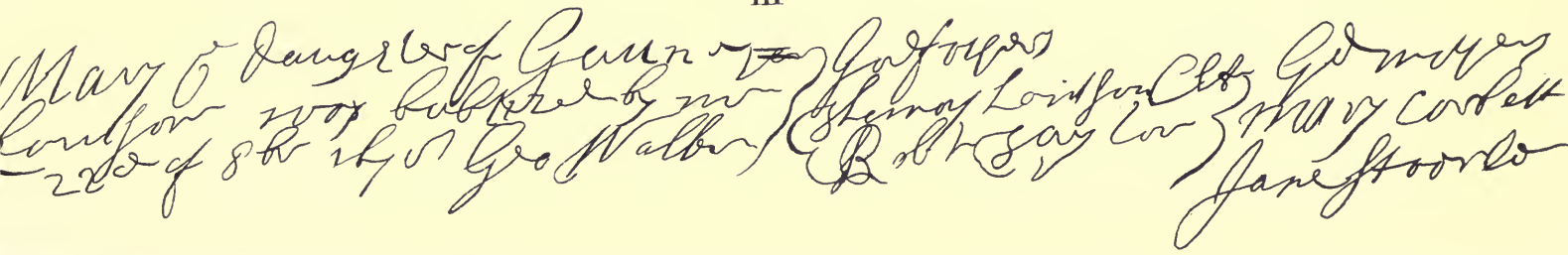
I



II



III



church. A plain stone, inserted in the floor in front of the chancel, marks his grave, and bears this simple inscription :

> GEORGE WALKER, D.D. : CHAUNC-
> ELLOUR OF ARDMAGH & RECTOR
> OF KILMORE, WHO DYED YE
> 15TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER ANNO
> DOM. 1677.

George Walker, the subject of this Memoir, son of Dr. Walker, rector of Kilmore, was born in the county of Tyrone.[k] The year of his birth, according to credible tradition, was 1618.[l] Of his early life almost nothing is recorded. The single fact which history has preserved is, that he received his education at the university of Glasgow.[m] It is difficult to account for the preference thus given to this university before those of Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin. Any of these would appear to offer more attractions than Glasgow to the son of English parents, who were members of an Episcopal church, and who at the time, perhaps, designed their son for that ministry to which he was afterwards ordained. In the way of explanation we may surmise that there was much intercourse between Scotland and that part of Ulster in which Walker's family then resided, and that there were greater facilities for travelling from Derry to Glasgow, than even to Dublin. Also residence at the Glasgow university may have been much less expensive, and, considering the state of the times, safer than at any of the other universities named. From whatever cause the selection of Glasgow was made, the fact itself seems to have been the foundation of the erroneous statement occasionally made, that Walker was a Dissenter.[n]

We have no information when Walker was admitted into Holy Orders, or where he spent the first part of his ministerial life. On the 16th of July, 1669, he made the requisite subscription to the Act of Uniformity, at Armagh, on his appointment to the parishes of Lessan (now Lissan,) and Desertlyn, in the diocese of Armagh.[o]

Walker was married to Isabella Maxwell, daughter to Robert Maxwell of Finnebrogue, county Down.[p] The exact date of this marriage is unknown ; but, from a passage in Walker's "Vindication of the True Account of the Siege of Londonderry," it would appear to have taken place a few years

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[k] Ware's *Works*, vol. II, *(Writers of Ireland)*, 205; Edit. 1746.

[l] Graham's *Ireland Preserved*. Notes, 381 ; and *History of Ireland*, Appendix, 362. The date given above is probably correct. The epithets "old, venerable, &c.," applied by Ware to the elder Walker, in 1634, render it unlikely that his son was born at a more recent period.

[m] Ware's *Works*, vol. II, 205; also, Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 281.

[n] The attention of the writer has been directed by one of the editors of this Journal to the following instance of the error alluded to. It occurs in the "Belfast News-Letter," No. 4036, April, 9-12, anno 1776. In an obituary notice of Mr William Kenny, then lately deceased, at the age of 109 years. It is said—"He was one of the gallant defenders of Londonderry ; was in several actions afterwards ; and one of the Enniskilleners, who, with the brave English troops (under the immortal Mr. Walker, *an eminent Dissenting Minister*), distinguished themselves at different periods for King William, of Glorious Memory."

[o] Armagh Dioc. Records.

[p] Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 320.

at least, prior to his appointment to Lessan and Desertlyn.[q] Walker was again connected with the Maxwell family by the marriage of his only sister, Anne, to William Maxwell, of Falkland, in the county of Monaghan, the fourth son of Dr. Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and nearly related to Robert Maxwell of Finnebrogue.[r]

On the 2nd of August, 1670, Walker again made subscription at Armagh, but without any designation appended, or any note which might assign the reason of this additional subscription.[s] On the 9th of September, 1674, Walker subscribed on his appointment to the parish of Donaghmore, in the county of Tyrone, in succession to the Rev. James Barclay, who had been rector of that parish only from the 26th of May, 1673.[t] Walker held Donaghmore in conjunction with his former parishes, or certainly with Lessan, for, at the Triennial Visitation, in 1679, he appears as rector of Donaghmore and Lessan, having Bartholomew Blacke as his curate in the latter parish.[u]

The loss of the ancient parochial records (which would seem to be almost universal in this country) leaves us without that information respecting Walker, as a parish minister, which it is reasonable to

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[q] In this *Vindication*, which was published in 1689, Walker states, that he had at that time, four sons in the service of King William.

[r] Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 320, 381.

The following interesting narrative of the escape of Mrs. Maxwell and her children from Falkland, after her husband was murdered by some of his own tenantry, in 1691, originally appeared in the "Newry Telegraph," December 6, 1838. It was communicated by the late Rev. H. F. Lyte, (a connection of the Maxwell family by marriage) in a letter to the editor of that newspaper, from which it is now reprinted with the omission of some inaccurate statements which involve obvious historical errors.

"William Maxwell, Esq., the then possessor of Falkland, and high sheriff for the county, (Monaghan,) had, during the troubles of the year 1691, some horses stolen from his demesne. A letter was sent to him by some of the popish party, to say that, if he would meet them at a certain hour and place, the horses should be restored to him. He unwarily depended on the faith of the writers, went to the place appointed, and was inhumanly murdered. His wife, Walker's sister, immediately shut herself up in the house of Falkland, and in the spirit of her gallant brother, determined to hold out till some relief should be given her from the Protestants. On the following day however, the butler, a papist, in whom she fully confided, came to his mistress and compelled her to give up to him and his fellow-servants all the money she had in her possession, amounting to about forty pounds, and then, after plundering the house, left her to her fate. This heroic woman, however, though thus barbarously treated by those in whom she most trusted, did not resign herself to despair; but, placing her children in a pair of panniers, on the back of an old horse, she took her melancholy way across the country towards Londonderry. The difficulties and privations she endured are incredible, being obliged to subsist chiefly on the berries she could pick up by the roadside; and it is further said, that having lost one of the children by the way, she was obliged to return a day's journey to seek it, and found it, at length, almost exhausted with cold and hunger. She made her way, however, to Derry; and from thence she was sent with her little family, to Scotland, where they were hospitably received by the Maxwells of Calderwood, the old stock from which the family originally sprung." At the close of this letter Mr. Lyte states, that "Mrs. Lyte is in possession of a very curious old silver watch, once the property of her great ancestor, Walker."—This relic has been described to the writer as a small, single-cased watch, with the initials "G. W." engraved on the back of it; and having the winding-hole covered by a small plate of silver, which moved on a pivot.

Graham says (*Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 381), that he was murdered "by some of his own tenantry and followers, in revenge for the protection he had given to the Protestants, in the course of the preceding war." Mr. Maxwell was included in the first division of persons attainted by the infamous Bill of Attainder, passed by James's parliament in 1689.

The attention of the writer was obligingly directed to this narrative by the Rev. Thomas Carpendale, Rector of Donaghmore.

[s] Armagh Dioc. Records.

[t] Armagh Dioc. Records.

[u] Ibid: see also conclusion of this Article.

Graham, (*Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 381; and *History of Ireland*, Appendix, 362), gives a much earlier, but plainly erroneous date of Walker's appointment to Donaghmore. In the same passages, Graham says, that "Walker was presented, at the same time, to the parishes of Donaghmore, and Errigal Keerogue. But from the Armagh Dioc. Records it appears that Walker was never connected with Errigal Keerogue. In the year 1666, we find John Roan rector of that parish; at the Visitation of 1679, "Gualterus Stewart" is mentioned as the rector of that date; on the 11th of July, 1681, Andrew Hamilton is appointed to Errigal Keerogue, on the death of Stewart; and on the 31st of January, 1690, (O. S.), Alexander Moutray is appointed to the same parish on the death of Hamilton.

expect such documents would afford. Walker and his father, at different times, presided over at least six parishes in Ulster; of all these the parochial records are no longer extant. The only information of this kind which we at present possess is furnished us by the register of the parish of Drumglass, (Dungannon,) where Walker occasionally officiated.[v] The appearance of entries by Walker in this register is simply explained. When he was appointed to Donaghmore, he found it would be requisite to rebuild the church and glebe-house, which had been destroyed, or very much injured, during the great rebellion of 1641. Whilst they were being rebuilt, he resided at Dungannon, of which town part of the suburbs are situated in the parish of Donaghmore. His residence at Dungannon continued until a few years prior to his retiring, with the inhabitants of the town and its vicinity, for safety to Derry; and during this period he frequently assisted the rector of Drumglass, the Rev. Peter Maurice, in the several offices of the ministry.

The earliest date in the Drumglass register is 1663. The first entry made by Walker, is found at page 6 of the register, as at present numbered. It runs:—"Ann, ye daughter of Nicholas———, Souldier———, was baptized ye 7th of June, 1675, by me Geo. Walker."[w] Immediately below this entry, on the same page, is found the second, which runs:—"Robert, ye son of Robert Preston, Souldier, ———was baptized ye 8th of June, 1675, by me, Geo. Walker."[x] The ink with which these entries were made has turned brown from age, but the entries themselves are as legible as when first written. The third entry is found at page 23; it runs: "Mary, ye daughter of———Lawson, was baptized by me, ye 22d day of 8ber, (October,) 1678. Geo. Walker.—Godfathers, Thomas Lawson, Clk., Robert Taylor; Godmothers, Mary Corbett, Jane Sproule (?)[y]" At page 28 there is an entry of the baptism of Peter, son of Peter Maurice, Rector of Drumglass, on the 19th of December 1679; and at page 32, of the baptism of Elizabeth, that daughter of the Rev. Peter Maurice, on the 21st of June, 1680. These last two entries do not bear Walker's name; but the exact similarity of the style proves they were written by him as well as the former entries. At page 44 then occurs the following entry, under the heading, "Burialls, 1685."—"Major Theodore Maurice was buried on Saturday, the 22th of Agust, By Mr. George Walker, Rector of Donnaghmore." The style of this last entry differs so very much from that of the former entries that it is doubtful if they were written by the same person. Walker and his wife are noticed also as sponsors at several baptisms[z]; and, at page 19, the baptism of one of Walker's children is thus stated: "Thomas, ye son of George Walker, Clerk, was baptized on Monday, at even, ye 25 of June, (1677): Godfathers, John Chichester, Henry Ball; Godmothers, Elizabeth Walker, Frances Nelson."

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[v] For the preservation of this register we are indebted to the opportune care of Mr. Richard Simmons, of Dungannon. This gentleman, who is still living, on being appointed a churchwarden of the parish of Drumglass, in 1830, found "the Parish Registry Books in a state of dilapidation, and fast going to decay." He at once collected the scattered leaves, repaired and arranged them, and had them carefully bound together. The writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. Wm. Quain, rector of Drumglass, for the free use of this register.

[w] See FACSIMILE, No. I.

[x] See FACSIMILE, No. II.

[y] See FACSIMILE, No. III.

[z] In pp. 18, 23 (twice), 26, 32, and 48.

This old register seems to tell us that Walker and his family were on kindly terms of intimacy and friendship with the rector of Drumglass and his parishioners.

We come now to the time when Walker's parish church and glebe-house were rebuilt. According to the date on the sun-dial, on the south wall of the tower, the new church of the parish of Donaghmore was built in the year 1680; and on the 24th of September, 1681,[a] the primate issued a commission to William (Smith, D.D.) bishop of Killala, for its consecration.[b] The former church stood at the village of Donaghmore, but the new edifice was erected at the village of Castle-Caulfield. Tradition assigns this change of site to the influence of Lord Charlemont, who desired that the parish church might be in the vicinity of his mansion at the latter village. This tradition seems to be confirmed by the prominence of Lord Charlemont's name in the primate's commission, and by the appearance of the coronet and crest of his family over the door of the tower.

The handsome stone windows which adorn the east and south sides of the church were taken from the old church at Donaghmore.[c] Over the east window, on the exterior, there is carved in stone the figure of an angel holding an open bible, on which are engraved the ten commandments. The porch on the south side was added in 1685. Above the entrance there is a piece of sculpture representing two angels, or winged figures, holding between them an open bible, with the last four verses of the 24th psalm engraved upon it; and beneath the bible is the date of the addition, 1685.

By the change of site the church was removed about two English miles from the glebe-house. To obviate this disadvantage Lord Charlemont, it is said, gave the townland of Mullamore, on which the present glebe-house is built,[d] for the townland of Mullagruen, on which (adjoining to the village of Donaghmore) the old glebe-house stood. By this alteration the residence of the rector was brought within a short distance of his parish church at Castlecaulfield. This change however seems to have taken effect after the death of Walker, who rebuilt the glebe-house at Mullagruen, in the year 1683, as appears from a fragment of this house which is still preserved.[e] Walker's house was standing

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[a] The interval between these dates may be accounted for, by supposing that the former date denotes the year in which the building was commenced; or we may reduce the interval to a few months by understanding 1680 to mark, according to Old Style, the spring of 1681.

[b] Armagh Dioc. Records. The commission is issued on the prayer of William Caulfield, Viscount Charlemont, joined by the parishioners. The rector's name does not occur in this document. Blanks are left in it for the insertion of the dimensions of the church.

[c] The bell, also, appears to have belonged to the old church; but having suffered some injury, probably in 1641, it was re-cast at the expense of Lord Charlemont, and was by him presented to the new church. It bears the following inscription:—"Re-cast for William Caulfield, Vict. Charlemont, $\frac{1630}{1697}$." The first date may denote the time of the original casting, the second, that of the re-casting.

[d] The present glebe-house at Mullamore was built in 1737 by the Rev. Richard Vincent, who was rector of Donaghmore from 1730 to 1774. Vincent's memorial for leave to build a glebe-house and offices, and to form new gardens, &c., is dated 9th December, 1732, and is addressed from "Mullamore, near Dungannon.—[Armagh Dioc. Records.]

[e] This fragment consists of *three stones*, which were removed from their place above the entrance-door of Walkers house, and were inserted in the garden wall closely adjoining to Mr. Mackenzie's residence. They are imbedded in Roman cement, and around them extends a frame of the same substance. Two of the stones, placed side by side, form the base on which the third stands. This last is sculptured in the form of Walker's Arms, which correspond with those upon his monument, in Castlecaulfield church, with the addition of supporters. The supporter on the left of the shield was broken off and lost at the time of removal, and the upper part of the crest has suffered injury. On the stones forming the base is engraved the date, 1683; one half being on each stone, and not immediately contiguous. It has been said that Walker's initials were engraved upon the stones; at present, however, there are no initials upon

until about twenty years ago, when it was removed to make room for the residence of the late Alexander Mackenzie, Esq. It is well remembered by many persons; and it has been described to the writer as a thatched cottage, having the appearance and the accommodation of a comfortable farm-house.[f]

Local tradition assigns to Walker the erection of the ancient corn-mill in the village of Donaghmore, which is still standing and in use. An apparent confirmation of this tradition is afforded by an inscription on a stone in the wall, at the principal entrance of the mill. The stone, which is nearly lozenge-shaped, is thus inscribed:

W
G. I.
1684.

The second initial is probably that of his wife, Isabella Walker. At that time it was not uncommon, to inscribe the initials, or even the names, of husband and wife together, on public buildings and works erected by their joint munificence.[g]

Walker appears to have maintained his parental connection with England, by making occasional visits to that country. One of these visits was made in March, 1685, by permission of the primate who granted him a license for that purpose, on the 6th of this month, on his own application as rector of Donaghmore and Lessan.[h] A similar license was granted to him, under the same designation on the 24th of July, 1686.[i]

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any part of the fragment. A slight indentation over the date on the right of the base, may denote the place where an initial-letter has been. The fragment, as it stands at present, is about 1 foot 10 inches wide at the base, and about 2 feet 6 inches in height. It is composed of the stone of the district.

[f] A relic of Walker's residence at Mullagruen was extant some years ago. This was a silver cup, supposed to have been his property, which was dug up in the garden. It is known to have been in the possession of the late Mr. Mackenzie, but it cannot now be found.

[g] For an example of this custom, see vol. I of this Journal, p. 304.

[h] Armagh Diocese Records.

[i] Ibid.

MARSHAL BAGENAL'S DESCRIPTION OF ULSTER, ANNO 1586.

The following description of the state of Ulster in the year 1586 is an accurate transcript of a manuscript in the State Paper Office, written by Sir Henry Bagenal, who was at that time Marshal of Queen Elizabeth's forces in Ireland, and resided at Newry. This State Paper appears by its post-script to have been composed while the author was living temporarily in London; and it was evidently drawn up for the use of Lord Burleigh, in whose handwriting the M.S. contains some interlinear annotations: the document, therefore, possesses the interest of having been written by the principal officer of the crown in Ulster for the information of that celebrated minister. By comparing it with John Dymmok's description of the Northern Counties in his "Treatice of Ireland," (recently printed by the Irish Archæological Society,) it will be seen that Dymmok's paper was copied largely from the Marshal's, but with omissions of considerable portions, and which are now published for the first time.

Bearing in mind the chief object of this Journal—namely the publication of contributions to the Archæology of Ulster from original and rare sources—any remarks in illustration of this interesting contemporary description of the Province must be confined to introducing some notes, taken for the most part from the Irish Correspondence in the State Paper Office.

Valuable as this State Paper is in an historical point of view—containing as it does an account of the political state of the North of Ireland in the year 1586, with short descriptions of some of the fastnesses in Eastern Ulster—we should have prized the document more highly had it formed part of the writer's plan to describe with more minuteness, and had he given even "a slender and brief description" of the house in which the Gaelic chief, Sir Hugh M'Enys, lived "very cyvellie and English-like." The writer himself resided in "the New Castell," which is depicted as a handsome fortified mansion in the little town of Newry upon a map preserved in the above-named repository. His theme was to prove to Lord Burleigh how few "wardable" castles the desolated province contained; for, having in the preceding summer indited an offer to government "for the making a walled town in Ulster"[a] his thoughts were full of the necessity of sufficient fortifications against the increasing power of his dangerous neighbour, the Earl of Tyrone, and also against the impending armaments of Spain. Marshal Bagenal's sympathies were altogether opposite to those of Fearflatha O'Gnive, bard to the potent O'Neill's of Clanabuoy, who laments in one of his poems the usurpations of the Sassenach, by whom the fair territory, once the patrimony of his clan, had been narrowed, and its hunting-fields disfigured by towers.[b] The most topographic architectural detail in the document is the notice of the "olde defaced castle" which still handed down the name of one of those bold adventurers who subdued

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[a] Lansdowne MS., No. 5.

[b] Walker's Bards, I. 201.

the fertile plains of Down. Assuredly Sir Henry Bagenal never rode by those ruins without thinking of the days when King John kept royal court in Carrickfergus,[c] surrounded by great nobles whose names are "of famous memory" in Magna Charta—William, his brother, surnamed 'of the long sword,' and Earl of Salisbury, Earl Ferrers, and the Earl of Wiltshire, the Constable of Chester, John de Courcy, Robert Fitz-Walter, De Ros, De Vescy, Percy, Fitz-Herbert, and other valiant knights and peers.

It may be gathered from Sir Henry's careful recapitulation of localities formerly "the enheritances" of extinct barons and freeholders, that the colony established by "one Sir John Coursie" and his companions in arms did not extend into the interior of Ulidia, but was confined to the eastern countries and coasts between Drogheda and Coleraine, and comprised no more than the three counties of Louth, Down, and Antrim, "of auncient and olde making," which, even down to the close of the sixteenth century, were the only districts "sheared off" from Gaelic rule, and made shire ground. To compare the subjugation of the North of Ireland with that of North Wales would instructively contrast the clan and feudal systems. The conquest of the latter region was undertaken in person by a monarch not less skilful as a lawgiver than as a general, Edward the First; and it occupied him ten years. Stately fortresses were erected as garrisons throughout the principality; its countries were made counties; and its brave inhabitants prevailed upon gradually to adopt feudal and primogenitural succession instead of gavelkind and repartition, customs which were altogether abolished by statute under Henry VIII.[d] These customs were not abandoned in Ireland until the seventeenth century. Giving only a transitory and uncertain possession, their effects are described by Sir John Davis as preventing land from being fenced or improved, and as deterring the building of houses; for no man would build where his children had no right of inheritance; so that those parts of Ulster where these customs were followed remained in a state of wilderness. Sir John Davis's statement is borne out by a letter in the S. P. Office, dated 20th Jan., 1597-8, in which it is observed that the people in the interior of the country lived *without houses*. He also explains that under the law of Tanistry the chieftaincy of a clan was not conferred by descent, but by election, or by the strong hand. Nor was the chieftain by any means owner of the land. It belonged to the clansmen, and was accustomably, under the law of gavelkind, apportioned and re-applotted among them at various times. Under this system the sons of "the greate O'Neylle, chief capytayne of the nation within the regyon of Tyreown,"[e] were liable to be left without land on the death of their father, especially if they were hostile to his successor; and, also, should they incur the new chief's displeasure, to be kept captive in some island prison. At the time Sir Henry Bagenal wrote, the country of the clan MacEnnis was the only country in Ulster belonging to the native race where it had been agreed to "put awaie the rude custom of Tanestship;" and the Marshal strongly recommends that the territory under Turlough Luineach's rule should be settled on that chieftain's son, with the primary object of abolishing a custom truly deemed

[c] Cal. Pat. Jac. I. p. 354;—See also p. 141, in which the Abbey of Carrickfergus is stated to be "commonly called the Palace," perhaps from having received King John during his sojourn.

[d] Davis, on Gavelkind, &c., p. 50.

[e] State Papers, vol. II. p. 1.

to be "the occasion of much mischief and disorder;"—for it was indeed the very fountain of discord and war.[f] But as the Tanist or successor-elect to the chieftainship, together with all the other subordinates, would have been deprived of their expectant interests if both their tribal estate in the soil and the governorship of the clansmen were appropriated by any one man, so as that he should hold it in fee with right of descent to his child as his heir, the proposed change was naturally and strenuously resisted by them; and it was not until the reign of James I. that hereditary estates were generally obtained. In estimating the injurious operation of these national laws, by which succession to power and property was regulated, it must also be recollected that it was the policy of the Gael, both in Scotland and Ireland, to offer neither temptation nor advantage to invaders. This policy is said to have been recommended to them in the last counselling words of great and experienced rulers. Thus we read of the ban laid by Conan More O'Neill, on his death-bed, upon any of his posterity who should sow corn or build a house; declaring that for them to build was but for the crow to make a nest to be beaten out of it by the hawk. And so he

——Vow'd his race
For ever to the fight and chase,
And curs'd him of his lineage born,
Should sheathe the sword to reap the corn,
Or leave the mountain and the wold
To shroud himself in castled hold."—ROKEBY.

When his country was invaded in 1541 by the royal forces, which remained three weeks therein "burning grete part of the same, and destroying much of his corn and butter, which is the grete living of the said O'Neill and his followers,"—"the said O'Neill never made show of no power, but kept him and his and their cattell in grete woodes and fastnes, where we could not attayn them, nor yet have perfect knowledge where they were." [*Printed S. P.* vol. III, 337.] Yet at that very time, so soon as he had secured his wealth in the mountains and forests, he left the invaders to work their will,—and, making a descent into the English Pale, retaliated upon the enemy's country the destruction which was taking place in his own. This fierce mode of warfare was the same advised in the rhymes considered as a legacy from Robert Bruce to his successors:—

"On foot should be all Scottish war,
By hill and moss themselves to weir;
Let wood for walls be bow and spear,
That enemies do them no dreir.
In strait places gar keep all store;
And burn the plain land them before.
Then shall they pass away in haste,
When that they find naething but waste;

[f] Moore's History of Ireland, vol. I. 171.

With wiles and wakening on the night,
And mickle noises made on height;
Then shall they turn with great affray,
As they were chased with sword away.
This is the counsell and intent
Of good King Robert's testament." [g]

To the invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce the succeeding barbarism and consequent weakness of the Englishry have been ascribed in the graceful writings of a calm and philosophic essayist on the history of our country. [h] Its effects in the North, where the Scots remained for some years in league with the Irish chiefs, were so to weaken the English colonists that they became the subordinate power. Their decay and subjection became complete when they adopted Gaelic usages. So far from the invaded people having, as in Wales, conformed themselves to the laws of England, the settlers themselves, whether of Saxon, Welsh, or Norman origin, gradually assimilated their customs of succession to power and property to those of the neighbouring clans. To enable the feudal baron to cope with his bold and uncompromising neighbour, he was obliged to assume the full authority of a patriarchal chief. Of this transformation and its results the social history of the Anglo-Irish affords many a remarkable instance. A singular one occurred in that "pleasaunte and fertile countrey" the Route; to which "the Capten making claim" was known by the title of "Mac-Gwillin"—evidently a corruption of Mac Llewelyn. Eager as the poet Spenser was to trace some of the native clan surnames to British origin, he overlooked a case in which his theory was really correct. The council-book of Henry VIII's time contains this entry under the year 1541:—"the submission of Maquillen:—note: he desireth to be reputed an Englishman, as his ancestors were." [*Add. M.S.S. Brit Mus.* 4790.] In the following year the Lord Deputy writes to the King that he had a meeting "with O'Neill, and divers other Irisshe capteyns of the North, and amongst them one Maguyllen, who having long strayed from the nature of his alleigeance (his ancestors being your subjectes and *came out of Wales,*) was growen to be as Irisshe as the worst, and was, in the late conflycte with O'Neill, in his ayde ageniste your Majestie." * * "His contrey lieth far off from ayde of your Englisshe Pale, which hath been a great cause of his long rebellion, beyng forced to adheare to some Irisshemen for its defence ageinste some other of them; and, as he confesseth, none of his name, sithe the first conquest of their saide lande, *being captain*, have dyed in their beddes, but were all slayne by Irisshemen."

In alluding to the "baron's wars in England," Sir Henry Bagenal implies that the decay of the Ulster colony may be attributed to the effect of those contests in drawing away the flower of the

[g] Fordun's Scotochronicon; quoted in Sir W. Scott's Essay on Border Antiquities.

[h] The Very Rev. Richd. Butler, whose introductions to some of the publications of the Irish Archæological Society are most valuable commentaries on Irish history.

Anglo-Irish chivalry. The primary cause of the decline of the colony may be traced to the revolt of the Ulster baronage against feudal tenure under the Earldom, analogous to that revolution in Connaught by which two families of De Burgh were transformed into independent septs. The O'Neills did not rise predominantly on the ruin of the feudal system until the 15th century. It was in 1423 that the chief of that powerful clan, after having defeated the men of Louth in battle, first put the town of Dundalk under tribute.[i] In 1468 his successor, Con, gained a victory over the settlers in Lecale, killing Lord Savage and many others; and in the following year aided the head of the Whites of Duffryn to banish that nobleman's family from Lecale and usurp the lordship of their territory. A reference to annals at the close of the same century will show as well the contentions among the native chieftains, arising from disputes as to succession, as the narrowed and weakened state of the colonists. Although Carriekfergus still held out, the castle of Belfast was demolished by O'Donnell in the year 1489. But hostility was as fierce between the clansmen of Tyrone and Tyreonnel as between themselves and the veriest *Sassenach*. O'Donnell induced the viceroy to mareh northward in the year 1498, with the King's cannon, those new and sure engines of offence against stone walls, to lay siege to Dungannon castle, and wrest it from one of the O'Neills. He soon after totally demolished that fortress during a single-handed incursion into Tyrone. An aneedote is related of the son of this chief which is highly illustrative of the helpless condition of a "baron" desecnded from once potent peers of parliament. Hearing that MaeEoin—(the Gaelie title of the head of the aneient family of the Lords Byssett of the Glynns)—possessed the finest wife, most famous steed, and fleetest hound in the country, the son of O'Donnell surprized the owner of sueh very desirable goods by a night attack, and carried them off.[j] Carriekfergus itself at length yielded to the prowess of O'Neill; "the great eastle and the mayor of the town" being both taken by him anno 1507. Yet, invineible as the brave Ulidians—who always sustained the charaeter of being the most warlike of the Milesian raee—proved themselves to be, their own dissentions prevented them from uniting to repel foreigners from their sea-board. They were as unable to drive them thence as they themselves were inexpugnable in their own fastnesses. And—although Sir Nicholas Bagenal, on settling at Newry, the key to the North, found Shane O'Neill guarding the pass by land like a lion—fainting hearts in the sea-ports were constantly revived by maritime succour; and it was the mistressship of the sea that enabled Elizabeth, by establishing a garrison at Derry, to quell at length the last long and formidable revolt.

When the title of Earl of Ulster beeame vested in the Crown, pride and policy both suggested a royal attempt to make the Earldom a province. Aeeordingly, various endeavours were made during the sixteenth century to regain the lost dominion. Lord Surrey writes to Henry VIII. in 1521:—"No men in Ireland will be more sorry to see your Grace reeover your rightful inheritance of the Earldom of Ulster than O'Donnell and Hugh MaeNeill; for they and their servants and subjects, have more

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i Annals, Four Masters.

j Ibid.—1495.

ground of your Grace's said inheritance than six of the greatest men of land in England have within your realm. Notwithstanding, it is not so profitable to their purses, only for lack of good order." Lord Surrey adds that neither O'Donnell nor his subjects are ready to "answer the King's courts or obey the King's laws."

The enterprise was not undertaken seriously until the time of Elizabeth, in the second year of whose reign the Earl of Sussex, who was experienced in border warfare, was directed to reduce Shane O'Neill to obedience "by all manner of means, as well as by force if need be, as otherwise,"—to set apart certain taxes to purchase victual for the army, "procure habitations for the English people in Ulster, recover Lecale, Newry, and Carlingford from the Scots, and recompense Sir Nicholas Bagenal for his interest:"—at the same time the chief of the Scots was to be admitted to hold such lands as he had inherited; Hugh O'Neill, the Baron of Dungannon, was to be invested with the Earldom of Tyrone; and hereditary estates were to be granted to such other chieftains as were loyally inclined.[k] Several victories were gained in succeeding campaigns by O'Neill over the redoubted general, Lord Sussex; and Sir Nicholas Bagenal wrote despairingly to Lord Leicester, in 1566,[l] that the Gaelic chief "has all from Sligo to Carrickfergus and thence to Carlingford, and from Carlingford to Drogheda, and, having won all by the sword, declares he so will keep it."[m] The triumphant conqueror had also expelled any of the inferior chieftains who disputed his sovereignty. In the preceding year, on the 25th November, John Maguire, (brother and predecessor of "Sir Conohour McGwire," whose loyal disposition is mentioned by Sir Henry Bagenal,) writes to the viceroy from "Maguire's Castle," complaining grievously that O'Neill had left neither house nor corn in all his country, excepting only in certain islands, which Hugh O'Donnell has prepared twelve boats to attack and plunder; and that O'Neill is coming again to fall on him with all his power. Though in the depth of winter, Lord Sussex determined to march with the royal forces as far as Armagh; stating this intention in a despatch of the 20th December, in which he mentions his wish for a hasty parley with O'Neill, "while the bright moons last, to keep him from preying the Irish chieftains."

Upon the assassination of this turbulent enemy, the Lord Treasurer, Sir William Cecil, (afterwards Lord Burleigh) writes to the Lord Deputy, 24th June, 1567, congratulating him that the unfortunate insurgent was "delivered from his evil doings;" adding, "you shall do verie well to see his lodgings in the fen, where he *built his lodging* and kept his cattell and all his men," and desiring that so useful a fastness should be secured for the Queen's service. This stronghold was undoubtedly a *Crannog* or wooden house, and was probably constructed either on the "little iland called Loch Coe," mentioned by Bagenal, or on the artificial one called *Inish-na-gardy*, or Guard-island in Loughinsholin. At the same time the Prime Minister enclosed a plan for the future security of the province, which is more fully developed in instructions subsequently addressed to the viceroy by

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k Desiderata Curiosa Hib. vol. I p. 2.
l State Papers, 1561, and Wright's Elizabeth, vol. I, 67
m MS. Correspondence, 24, Feb. 1565-6.

Elizabeth herself.[n] Forts were ordered to be erected at Coleraine, Castletown, Massareen, Newry, Strangford, and other places. The region of Tyrone was at that period to be divided in two, and partitioned between the two great claimants for the chieftaincy, namely, Shane's cousin and Tanist, Turlough Luineach, (whose claims to the succession were supported by the clan in general,) and the Baron of Dungannon, who, as a peer of state, was regarded with suspicion by the clansmen. Ulster was for the future to be a province governed by a President; who was to be stationed at Armagh, assisted by a regular council, and supported by standing troops. Lastly, inquisition was to be made as to the Queen's title to lands through her right to the Earldom of Ulster. The instructions close by observing that "generally we think very good in the reducing of the Irish countries to obedience, that in such as cannot presently be brought to a perfect obedience as to the obeying our ordinary writs,—which we take to be the best degree of obedience in that realm,—some degrees be used to train the people from the inordinate tyranny of the Irish captains, and to cause them to feel and taste of the sweetness of civil order and justice." The Crown was, however, unprepared to carry this plan out in full; and, in the meanwhile, several private individuals were unfortunately encouraged to attempt to settle English "plantations," as they were termed, in the North. These private enterprizes, desperately undertaken and weakly supported, roused the just indignation of the possessors of the countries against which such aggression was projected. The first offer appears to have been that of Sir Thomas Gerrard of Lancashire, "for the planting of the Glynnes and part of Clandeboy;" his proposal bears date the 15th of March. 1569 70.[o] That of Sir Thomas Smith then Secretary of State, seems to have been the first put into execution: it was to serve his natural son, Mr. Thomas Smith, whom Bagenal notices as having "undertaken" the Great Ardes, and who took possession in 1572, but was slain the next year.[p] The grand attempt for "the recovery and reformation of Ulster" was boldly made by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex; but it brought that gallant nobleman to an untimely grave. His declared object was to conquer land for himself; and when this design became publicly known all Ulster was ripe for revolt and resistance. O'Donnell told him the Irish would assist the Queen if she undertook to reform the North for her own honour and benefit, but not for the private gain of others.[q] Bagenal remarks that the interest bestowed on Sir Nicholas Malby in Mac Cartan's country had never been "quietlie enjoyed." That district is represented by Sir Henry Sidney as waste and desolate, full of thieves, outlaws, and unreclaimed people. He observes that "none of the old owners dare occupie the land, because it hath pleased her Majestie to bestow the countrie upon Captain Nicholas Malby," and proposes the grant should be surrendered. Bagenal does not notice the greatest failure of all; that of one Chatterton, to whom O'Hanlon's country and the Fews had been granted. Sir Henry Sidney describes these districts, which he visited in 1575, as in extreme disorder, and the grantee as absent in

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[n] MSS., S. P. Off. 6th July, 1567.
[o] Shirley's Farney, p. 47.
[p] Ibid.—P. 52.
[q] S. P. Oct. 1573.

England, in dismay at the untowardness of the business; for the few settlers he had placed there had done little, even by way of fortifying themselves against the attacks of the natives, who refused even to meet the viceroy, and declared they never would yield to Chatterton. In the following year the viceroy writes respecting this unprosperous enterprize of Mr. Chatterton's "to expulse and subdue the O'Hanlons, and reduce the countries of the Fews and Anrerie to yield him commodity,"—"in troth, my lords, the poor gentleman hath utterly undone himself in wrestling with them, and hath nothing left to maintain him to live on; and his brother likewise, an honest valiant gentleman, was wounded and maimed in the service, and lost and spent all that ever he had." * * * "The countrie, though it be large and long, yet it is altogether waste, neither house, pile, nor castle left standing in it, but only a little sorry fort, pitched of sods and turves, that he built there for his strength and defence." [r]

Our observations may close with some remarks on Marshal Bagenal's last recommendation; viz., that the countries in Ulster should be brought to the nature as well as the names of Shires. He wished to see the power of the chief superseded by that of a sheriff under the Crown. A commission "for reducing Ulster to shire ground" had been appointed 18th September, 1585,[s] but had been unable to proceed. When it was attempted in 1579 to make a county of O'Reilly's country, it was remarked that that territory was one "where never writ was current," and one which it was "almost sacrilege for any governor of Ireland to look into." [t] The events attending the introduction of a sheriff into Monaghan, ten years subsequently, are given in contemporary letters which have recently been published.[u] There is a well-known anecdote of the chieftain of a country to which it was intended to send down a sheriff having written to the Lord Deputy, stating that such an officer would be welcome to himself, but at the same time requesting to know the amount of the *eric* or compensation payable in case his people should kill that official! A Captain Willis [v] was sent into Monaghan, where he was soon slain and his guard driven away.[w] Sir Ross McMahon, the then chieftain, is accused of having refused to permit a sheriff to enter his country; of having forbidden his tenantry to till their lands for three years; and also of having encouraged his followers to plunder the county of Louth. To punish these offences Marshal Bagenal led a government foray or "journey" into Monaghan, and did not leave a house unburnt or a grain of corn behind. Sir Ross, however,—who is mentioned in the foregoing writings of this unsparing general as "verie desirous to be governed after the English manner," seems to have been personally ready to admit a sheriff, but to have been opposed by the clansmen, for he writes that the bulk of the people deserted the country when they heard a sheriff would be established over them, but that he himself will receive such an officer willingly, if he can gather them back again. The establishment about the same time of a settled government in Fermanagh

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[r] Collins, vol. I., 148.
[s] Shirley's Farney, p. 78.
[t] S. P. O.
[u] Mr. Shirley's Farney, p. 83.
[v] Moryson mentions the misconduct of a Captain Willis as sheriff of Fermanagh. See also Captain Lee's statement, Desid. Cur. Hib. p. 106.
[w] 1589.—Shirley's Farney.

was the main cause of the Earl of Tyrone's discontent, for he saw it was preparatory to a similar course in his own territory. It was not until the 15th July, 1591, that the extensive region of Tyr. Eoghan, the land of the Clan-Owen, which included the present county of Derry, was reduced to shire-ground. *

In the year following that in which Marshal Bagenal wrote, Sir John Perrot, then Viceroy, in order to guard against the effects of the impending invasion from Spain upon the malcontent chiefs, obliged them to give hostages:—at the same time, seizing by stratagem, the extraordinary and promising son of O'Donnell—Red Hugh—whose unjust capture, and long and cruel incarceration in Dublin, aroused in him those energies which, added to the ambitious views of the Earl of Tyrone, and the general grievances, induced those brave leaders to join their standards in 1595—when, in the words of the Four Masters, "the entire Province of Ulster rose up in one alliance, and one union, against the English." HERBERT F. HORE.

* Archbp. Colton's Visit, a. by Dr. Reeves, p. 125.

THE DESCRIPTION AND PRESENT STATE OF ULSTER.

[From the State Paper Office. Endorsed—Description of Ulster, 20th December, 1586, with some interlineations by Lord Burghley.]

The Province of Ulster lieth in the further part North of the realme. It is devided from Meath with the Ryver Boyon upon the South-east parte, and with the Breny which is Orelye's countrey on the South part, and on the South-west parte it bowndeth uppon Conaght, namelie uppon Orurke's countrey, and Oconohour Sligah; the rest is altogether environed with the sea. It conteyneth in it 9 counties, that is to saie, 3 of auncient and olde making, and 6 made (or rather to be made) newe; the names of them are these:—

Old.	LOUTH, DOWNE, ANTRIM.	3	*Newe.*	MANACHAN. FARNEMAGH, TIRONE,	DUNGALE, COLRAINE, ARMAGHE. 6

LOWTH.—The Countie of Lowthe lieth betwene the Ryver of Boyn and the Haven of Carlingford; uppon the Este parte liethe the sea, upon the West it confineth upon very barberous countreys, namely upon the Breny, Clanechye, Farney, McMahon's contrey, and the Fewes: by mean whereof it is exposed to th' often incursions of many lewed and disordered people, who kepe a good parte of

this countie (lienge next them) wast.[a] It is parte of the Englishe Pale, and berethe in contribution with th' other Englishe Counties, therefore I will say little thereof. Corporations in this Countie are these:—Drogida, Dundalk, Ardea, and Carlingford. Chife inhabitours there, are the Archebushop of Ardmache, the Lord Baron of Lowth (Sir Nicholas Bagnoll somtymes,) Sir Edward Moore, Sir John Bedlowe. The principall Sirnames in the Shire are these:—the Plunkettes, Clyntons, Taathes, Moores, and Verdons.[b]

MONACHAN.—The Countie of Monachan conteyneth these countreis;—Iriell, Dartrey, Loghtie, and Trow. The chife Capten therof is one Sir Rory McMahon, who hath ben sometyme contributory to Tur. Oneyle, and nowe is left to the government of the Earle of Tyron, yet of him selfe is very desirous to yeld onlie to the Quene, and to be governed after the Englishe manner. He is able to make of his owne nation, and other his followers, 100 horsemen and 400 footemen. Buildings in his countrey are none, save certeine olde defaced Monasteries.

FARNMANAGH.—The Countie of Farnmanaghe conteyneth all Farmanaghe, Tyrmingraghe, and Tyrmyn Omungan. The Capten of all this Countie is Sir Conohour McGwyre, left alwaies to the commandment and rule of Tur [logh] Oneyle, and yet he very desirous to depend on the Quene.[c] He is able to make (and moste of his owne nation) 80 horsmen, 240 shot, and 300 kerne

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[a] Lord Delvin, in a tract written two years previously, on the "Reformation of Ireland," observes that "the Irish neigbours, when the nights waxeth long, as from Michaelmas to Candlemas, do usually spoil the Pale by stealth and robberies in the night time." [*MS., S. P. O., 26 March*, 1854]

Attorney-General Sir John Davis, writes, on the holding of a sessions at Monaghan, and execution of two notorious malefactors, one a notable thief, and the other a receiver of thefts, that their execution "struck some terror into the best men in the country; for the beef which they eat in their houses is for the most part stolen out of the English Pale; and for that purpose every one of them keepeth a cunning thief, which he calleth his caterer." He adds that two of the principal gentlemen were indicted as receivers of such stealths, but pardoned:—"however," observes he—"I believe stolen flesh will not be so sweet unto them hereafter." [*Vallancey's Collect.* I, 149.]

[b] The following list of residents in this county, about this time, is given in "a Perambulation of Leinster, Meath, and Louth," in the Carew MS., No. 600.

THE COUNTY OF LOUTH.

Drogheda, the chiefe towne, is situated upon the river of Boyne, at the hither or southern part or end of the county. Ardee lyeth from it viii myles north and by west. Dundalk, xvi myles north.

THE PRINCIPAL GENTLEMEN AND THEIR DWELLINGS.

Christopher Tath, of Ballibragan, x myles by n. & w. of Drogheda.
Robert Tath, of Cookestowne, by n. xii myles.
Tath of Steamston, by n. x. m.
Tath of Rathclane, n. v. m.
Verdon of Clonmore, descended of Theobald Verdon, High Constab c of Ireland, n. viii myles.
Clinton of Dromcashel, by n. vii m.
Tath of Clintonstown, by n. viii m.
Rice ap Hugh, Provost Marshall, at Ardye.
Sir John Bellew, at Castleton, less than a myle beyond Dundalk.
Dromgole, of Dromgolstown, vii m. n. from Drogheda.
Dowdall, of Newton, 3 m. east.
Dowdall, of Glaspestell, n. e. iiii m.
Lord of Lowth, a Plunkett, at Tallanston, n. x m.
Plunkett of the Newhouse, 3 m. n.
Gernon, of Gernonston, x m. n.
Gernon, of Drumoghan, 3 m. n.
Babe, of Dervor, n. x. Stanley, of Merlinston, viii m. n.
Warren, of Warrenston, viii m. n.e. Hadsyor, of Kepogh, vii m. n.
Barnewall, of Rathesker, v. n. Garret Fleming, of Crownston, n.e.
Talbot, of Castlering, n. xiii.
Sir Edward Moore, at Mellifont, 3 m. w.
Lord Primate, at Termonfeghan, 3 m. c.
The Marshall's Towne of Carlingford, viii n. beyond Dundalk.

BOWNDES.

By west, part of the Brenny; by n. w., Ferney, and Clancarvile; by n. the Fue's and O'Hanlon's country."

[c] Con Maguire writes to Colonel Sir Nicholas Malby, from Inyshkellyn, 25 March, 1583, that he dares not forbid any Scot or other rebel to pass through his country, since Sir Henry Sidney granted O'Neill to be his sovereign, and declares that he pants to see the time when he may serve the Queen. During the heat of Tyrone's rebellion, 1594, the then Maguire would not suffer any man to pass through his country, who wore an English hat or cloak. [*S. P.*, 10 *Feb.*]

His countrey for the most parte is very strong of wood and bogge, especially nere the great lake called Earne, wherein is divers Ilandes full of woodes. Buildinges in this contrey non of importaunce.

TYRON.—The Countie of Tyron [d] conteyneth all the land from Blackwater to Liffer; the chife Capten there is Tur. Oneyle, (save) that of late the halfe thereof and more, by a composition made by the nowe Lord Deputie, is let to the Erle of Tiron for certen yeres, for which he shold paie to Tur: a 1000 marckes by yeare, which hath ben deteyned by the said Earle. Where throughe it is like that some troble will arise betwene them or it be longe. Turloghe desireth from Her Matie to his sonne that porcion of Tyron wherein he dwellethe, and is the remotest part from th' Englishe Paleward. The grauntinge hereof in my opinion were very expedient, especially for 2 respects; the one, for extinguishinge their barborous costome of Tanestship, which is th' occasion of much mischife and disorder; th' other, that by this division it will weeken the force and greatnes of suche as shall succede, whereby they shall not be of power to do the hurt they were wont. The principall Septes of this countrey are these;—first the Oneyles, who most ar all horsmen; the Clandonelles, [e] all galloglas; the Odoonelles, a very stronge Sept and much affected to Shane Oneyle's sonnes; the Hagans and the Quyns; so as the whole force of this countrey may make 300 horsmen and 1500 footemen. But it is to be considered that allwaies the strengthe and greatnes of the Oneyles stoode chiffest upon bandes of Scottes, [f] whom they caused their Uriaghes to victuall and paie. Buildinges uppon Tur:

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[d] Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Cusack, in a remarkable letter dated 8th May, 1552, noticed by Ware, writes:—"Tyrone,—where the Erle of Tyrone hath rule, is the fayrest and goodlyest country in Ireland, and many gentlemen of the Neyles dwell therein. The same is at least 60 miles in length and 24 in bredth. In the midst standeth Ardmagh, pleasantly situated, and one of the fairest and best churches in Ireland, and round about the same the bishop's lands. Through occasion of the Erle and Countess his wife, they made all that goodly country waste; for, whereas, the country for the most part, within these three years past, was inhabited, it was within this twelve months made most part waste, through his making of preys upon his sons, and they upon him. So as there was no redress among them but by robbing the poor and taking of their goods. Whereupon my Lord Deputy appointed a band of English soldiers to lie at Ardmagh, and left the Baron of Dungannon in commission, with others, to see for the defence of the country and quiet of the people; whereby the country was kept from raven as before was used." [*S. P. Off.*]

Although the Marshal must have been tolerably acquainted with the countries and inhabitants of Tyrone, his description of that vast region is brief. According to Blaen's map, engraved from a survey of Elizabeth's time, that district was divided into "Upper" and "Nether;" this corresponds with the partition above mentioned. In the north of the latter are marked the woods of "Killetra," below these is the fastness of "Glenconcan," and southerly, "ye stone where Oniale is chose." A despatch in the S. P. O., dated 9th May, 1599, describes Slieve Gallen as "desert, craggy, and boggy, for forty miles round." It is strange that the Marshal does not notice the celebrated fort on the river Blackwater, which was so frequently gallantly contested on both sides. Lord Justice Sir William Drury writes to Walshingham, 17th September, 1579;—"Turlough Lenogh demandeth the fort at the Blackwater, which is an argument of his good meaning. I cannot blame him for desiring to be uncurbed by such a bridle." [*S. P. O.*]

[e] Gillaspick McDonyll is styled Constable of Lord Con O'Neill, in a treaty with that chieftain, for whom he acted as emissary, 1535. (*Printed S. P.*, 1535)

[f] Treasurer Brabazon writes to Crumwell in 1539:—"all the power that O'Donell and O'Neill trust in is in the Scots of the Out Isles, which be scant obedient to their King there; and also they trust in the Scots in Ireland. I do certify your lordship, that there is of Scots now dwelling in Ireland, above 2,000 men of war, as I am credibly informed, which Scots have as well driven away the freeholders, being Englishmen of that country as others, the Irishmen, and have builded certain castles there. The head captain of them is one Alexander Karrogh, otherwise called MacDonell; who, as himself saith, will take the King's part against all men, and so he promised me at our last being together; but under pretence to do the King's grace service, since he taketh the country to himself and others of the Scots. I have a farm of the King's majesty toward that country, called Lecale, where some of the King's soldiers under me do lie, and the Scots be daily at war with them. Some of the captains of the Scots say they will serve no man; but what they can get with the sword that will they have." [*Printed* S. P.]

parte is the Castle of Straban, [g] wherein he most comonlie dwelleth, and the Newe Castle. Uppon the Earle's part is Donganon, [h] and a defaced eastell built by Shan Oneyl uppon the Blackwater, ealled Benburbe. [i]

DUNEGALL.—The Countie of Donnegall conteyneth all Tereonell, [j] which is all the landes belonginge unto O'Donell and that sirname, and all Odohertie's countrey. Odonell is Capten and Governour of Tireonell, the chife strengthe of whome standeth most uppon two Septes of people ealled the Ogalloehelles and M[c]Swynes, who are all galloglas for the most parte. He is able to make above 200 horsmen and 1300 footemen. Betwene him and Oneyl hath ben contynuall warres for the Castell of Lyffer [k] and the landes there aboutes, lienge betwene bothe their countreis bordringe upon Loughe Foyle, which by meane of their dissention is kepte altogether waste and uninhabited, neither is there any dwellinge in the Castle.

O'Doghertie's Countrie is a Promontory almost environed with the sea, namelie with Lough Swylie, on the South parte and Loughe Foile [l] on the Northe. It is governed by a Capten called Odoghertie, who beinge not of power able to defend him selfe, is foreed to contribute bothe to Oneyle and Odonell, and *(alterius vicibus)* to serve them bothe. His countrey, lienge uppon the sea and open to the Isles of Ila and Jura in Scotland, is almost yearelie invaded by Scotes, [m] who take the spoile of it at their pleasures; whereby Odoghertie is foreed allwaies to be at their devocions. He is able of his owne nation and other his followers to make 60 horsmen and 300 footemen. Buildinges in his coun-

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[g] Srath-ban, i.e, the fair valley. It is mentioned first by the Four Masters, under the year 1583, as "the town of O'Neill," (Turlough Luineach), and as having been burned by O'Donnell.

[h] Dungannon is first mentioned in the Four Masters, at 1430, as the residence of Owen O'Neill.

The adjoining barony of Loughinsholin derives its name from a small lake near Stranagard, in a *crannog* or artificial island-house in which the Earl of Tyrone detained his rivals for the chieftaincy, the sons of Shane the Proud. *(Letters S. P. O.*, 9th May, 1599.) This island was called *Guard Island*, and, as a place of considerable strength, was successfully defended by O'Hagan, in the wars subsequent to 1641. *(See Dr. Reeves' notes to Colton's Visitation.)*

[i] Benburb is only once mentioned by the Four Masters, in their notice of Lord Mountjoy having been opposed in the pass there by a body of O'Neill's kernes in 1601, after which, that general did not venture further, but remained in the fortress. *Beann-borb* signifies the bold *ben* or cliff. A letter in the S. P. O., dated 30 September, 1595, notices that the stones used in building the little castle in the adjacent part of Blackwater, were brought from the ruins of this castle. The place is memorable as the scene of the great victory gained in 1646, by Owen Roe O'Neill, over General Monroe.

[j] Lord Chancellor Cusack writes in 1552:—"O'Donel's country, named Tyrconnell, is a country both large, profitable, and good:—a ship under sail may come to four of his houses. By mean of the war betwixt him and his father, the country was greatly impoverished and wasted. He did banish his father at last, and take the rule himself; and now the like war is between him and Callough O'Donel; so as their wars in effect wasted the whole country." *(S. P. O.)*

[k] Lifford.—Manus O'Donnell commenced the building of this castle in 1526, when he defeated O'Neill in an attack intended to prevent its erection. The place was called *Port-na-dtri-namhad*, the port of the three enemies, and is described by the Four Masters as "a perilous pass." O'Donnell completed the castle in 1527.

[l] There is a "Description" of Lough Foyle, and the adjacent country in the State Paper Office, dated 12 April, 1601. Lough Eske is mentioned as O'Donnell's "chief keeping" i.e. principal store-place, and refuge during war. M[c]Swyne Bane's tower, and the chief places in O'Dogherty's country are also noticed.

[m] The writer of a "Memorial for winning Leinster," anno. 1537, desires that example be taken "of the poor Scotts of the Out Isles, who, being but naked men, and having neither wages of any men, neither succour ne help within the land, have not only of late conquest in the north parts of this land, as great a portion in manner as this (Leinster) is, but also have builded there both great garrisons, and in manner made subject all the Irishmen bordering to them." *(Printed S. P., Vol. II.*, 417.)

try ar the Dery[n] which is defaced, and Greeneastle[o] and [ ] which ar wardable.

COLRAN.—The Countie of Colrane conteyneth all Oeahan's countrey, and lieth betwene Lough Foyle and the Bann; the Capten thereof is one Rory Ocahan,[p] allwaies left to the government and rule of Tur. Oneile, and therefore contributethe to him. The chife strengthe of this man is his owne nation, who are able to make 140 horsmen, and about 400 footemen. Yet beeause he borderethe so nere the Scottes, he is much affected to them, and at all tymes doth yelde them great relife and succour. He hath buildinges in his countrey upon Loughfoyle side, two stronge Castles, th'one called Anaghe, and the other Lymbevadie, and uppon the Bann nere the Samon fishinge[q] 2 eastles, th' one called the Castle of Colran,[r] somewhat defaced, yet wardable, th' other Castle Rooe, wherein Turloghe Oneyl kepeth a constable and a warde, to receve his parte of the fishing.[s]

ARDMAGHE.—The Countie of Ardmache conteyneth these countries, viz., Oriragh which is Ohanlon's countrie, Clanbrasell, Clancan, Clanawle, Mucknoe, Tireaughe, Fues, and Oneylan; most of these have severall Captens, to whom these countries do apperteine, but ar of late made all contributaries to the Erle of Tyron, tho' them selves be desyrous to take their land of the

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[n] The Fort of Derry was destroyed in May, 1567, by a fire which began in the smith's forge—the colonel and garrison then sailed away to Carrickfergus. (S. P. O., 12 May.)

[o] The Four Masters state it was in the new castle of Inishowen that Walter Burke was imprisoned by the young Earl of Ulster, anno 1332, and where he afterwards died of hunger. The learned editor of those Annals annotates that the fortalice was Greencastle :—but Friar Clyn, who lived at the time, declares Knockfergus was the place of incarceration. Grace says, the castle of North-burgh; a fortress he also mentions under the year 1315. However, Greencastle, near Carlingford, is a more likely place than the remoter one of the same name. Whichever it was, it is memorable as the scene of one act of a tragedy which was a primary cause of the loss of Connaught and Ulster.

[p] Dymmok adds that the captain of the county of Coleraine "is O'Chane, and no other of that name in yt but himself, saving his freeholders under him. O'Chane is cheefest of O'Neill's *Uraughts*, and createth him O'Neile by casting a shooe over his head, upon a hill in the county of Tyrone, a place allwaies assigned for that purpose." (Tracts, Irish Arch. Society, vol. II.)

O'Cahan, in a simple letter to Sir Arthur Chichester, declares he could not choose but join against the Queen, being between O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the Scots, and unable to defend himself against either of them.—21 June, 1602. (S. P. O.) His submission, which was considered that "of the greatest Uriaght in Ulster," was made the preceding year. As to the difficulty of his position, see Miscell. of the Celtic Society, p. 277. The beautiful altar tomb in Dungiven church, understood to cover the remains of a chief of this name, who died in 1385, is noticed in a note to the Annals of the Four Masters, under that date.

[q] The Bann appears to have been the most productive and famous river in Ireland for salmon fishing. If as much as 320 ton weight were taken in one year in Pennant's time, it may be believed the produce was not much inferior in earlier ages. There is an entry on the patent rolls of Henry IV's time, of permission to four merchants to import victuals to the fishers in that river. The Foyle was next in importance, and appears to have belonged to O'Donnell, who is stated in the Carew MS., 614, to be "the best lord of fishe in Ireland, and he exchangeth fishe allwayes with foreign merchants for wyne, by which his call in other countryes is the King of fishe." It was perhaps from this traffic also that Tirlough O'Donnell, who became chief in 1393, aequired the *soubriquet* of *an Fhiona*, "of the wine;" or it may have proceeded from deep potations. A certain merchant of Dublin, Henry Quin, writes, anno 1608, that he has abandoned the business of purchasing yarn and sending it to Manchester, the trade having decayed on account of the long civil war, and adds he has now taken to the trade of fishing. [*S. P. O.*]

[r] The L. D. and Council write in 1542,—"We had sent John Travers, Master of your Majesty's Ordnance here, with a company, in aid of McGreybyn, against a prowde obstynate Irysheman called O'Cathan, and assure your highness that the said John at this present is returned, having taken as well the said O'Cathan his castell from him, which standeth upon your river of the Ban, being an obstacle to your highness' farmers and other your English subjects to fishe there, as depredate and brent part of the said O'Cathan's lands." (*Printed S. P., Vol.* III., p. 408)

[s] In 1579 one "Mathias de Monte" proposed to take a castle from Turlough Luineaeh, and "bring in Spanish merchants to the fishing." His real name was Manus O'Cahan, and he produeed a letter from the King of Spain to the Governor of Castile, recommending him as having served in the Huntsman's and Body Guard. (*S. P. O.*, Feb., and 4 March.)

Quene. Ohanlon's countrey reacheth from the Newry, and from Dundalk to Armache. It is for the most parte without wood, but full of hills and boggs; it is able to make nere 40 horsmen, and 200 footemen.

Clanbrasell is a very woodie and boggie countrey, upon the great Loghe's side called Eaghe; it hath in it no horsmen, but is able to make 80 kerne.

Clancan is a very stronge countrey, allmost all wood and deep bog; it is invironed on th' one side with the aforesaid great Loghe, and of th' other side with a greate bogge and 2 decpe ryvers, th' one called the Blackwater, and th' other the Little Bann, both which in this countrey do fall into the foresaid Loghe. In this countrey are no horsmen, but about some 100 kerne, who lyve for the most parte uppon stealthes and roberies.

Clanawle is a peee of countrey which of right apperteinethe to the Archebushop of Ardmache and his freeholders,[t] and lieth betwene Ardmache and the Black Water. There is in it nere to the ryver much under woodes and boggs, but the rest being toward Ardmache is champion and fertill. Uppon parte of this lande is the bridge and fort of Blackwater built. Turloghe Bresolache holdethe this portion of land from the Erle of Tyron, to whom he paiethe his rentes and service. The said Tur: with his sonnes now is able to make 30 horsemen and 80 footmen.

Muckno and *Tireawh* lie between Ardmache and M^c^Mahon's countrey, not long since apperteyning to him, but now possessed by the Erle of Tyron, who hath placed there certen of his own waged followers, that yield their rents and services only unto him.

Fewes[u] bordereth upon the English Pale, within three miles of Dundalk; it is a very stronge countrey of wood and bogg, peopled with certeyne of the Neyles, accustomed to lyve much upon spoile of the Pale. It was of late appointed to contribute to the Erle of Tyron. They are able to make some 30 horsmen and 100 footemen.

Oneylam is likewise a woode land lienge betwene Ardmache and Clancann; this th' Erle of Tyron hathe and claymeth to be his enheritance. He hath placed there some of the Quins and Hagans, who fostered him,[v] and sometymes he dwellethe him selfe amongst them there, in a little Iland called Loch Coe.[w]

Buildings in the countie of Ardmache, none, save the fort at Blackwater, most needfull to be re-

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[t] The nature of ancient freeholds on church lands is shown in the appendix to Colton's Visitation, page 117. In Irish Coe.

[u] The Fewes, i.e. the *Fiodha* or woods in the south of the country.

[v] Henry O'Hagan was the Earl's Secretary, and probably his foster-brother. The great affection between foster-brethren in those times is well known. The Earl may have been preserved by his fosterers after the murder of his father by Shane the Proud. The custom of fostering secured children from the jealousy of a rival chief.

[w] Blaen's map places an island called "Enis Garden," off the Eastern shore of Lough Neagh.

Mr. Evelyn Shirley, in his interesting "account of the Territory of Farney," (the most original and valuable work yet published on Irish Topographical History,) observes that island-fastnesses in inland lakes formed the universal system of defence in the north. He notices that "the cabins (for they were no better) of the petty chiefs of Monaghan" sketched on the map made of that county in 1590, "*are in all cases surrounded by water*;" and also quotes the following passage from Phettiplace the pirate's answer to an inquiry from the Priory Council as to what castles or forts Shane O'Neill had, and of what strength they were:—"For castles I think it be not unknown unto your honors he trusteth no point thereunto for his safety, as appeareth by the raizing of

paired and better fortified, and Armaghe a small villadge,[x] having the chureh and other the Fricries there for the most part broken and defaeed.

DOWNE.—The Countie of Downe, eontcyneth these eountreis, the Lordship of the Newrie and the Lordship of Mowrne Evagh, otherwize called Maginis eountrey, Kilulto, Kilwarlyn, Kinalewrty, Clainbrasel, M^c^Goolcchan, Lccahull, Diffrin, Little Ardes, Great Ardes, and Southe Clandeboy.

The Lordships of *Newrie* and *Mowrne* [in ye County of Down*] are the inheritaunee of Sir Nicholas Bagnoll, who at h cominge thither founde them altogether waste, and Shane Oneil dwellinge within less then a mile to the Newrie, at a place called Fedom[y] suffringe no subjeet to travell from Dundalk northward. But sithence the fortifications and buildinges made there by the said Sir Nicholas Bagnoll, all the passages are made free, and muche of the countries next adjaecnt redueed to resonable civilitie.[z]

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the strongest castles of all his countreys; and that fortification which he only dependeth upon is in sartin freshwater loghes in his country, which from the sea there come neither ship nor boat to approach them; it is thought that there, in the said fortified islands, lyeth all his plate, which is much, and money, prisoners, and gages;—which islands hath in wars before been attempted, and now of late again by the Lord Deputy there, Sir Harry Sydney, which for want of means for safe conduct upon the water it hath not prevailed."

[x] Con, Earl of Tyrone, in certain "Articles of complaint of injuries done by Marshal Sir N. Bagenal," dated 9 Feb., 1552, writes of his "best mansion and dwelling-place" at Armagh.

[y] This is called by the learned editor of the Four Masters "the remarkable place called Fathom," in Glenree, or the Vale of the Righe. The boundary of ancient Ulidia was on the West side of that valley; it was protected by a fosse and rampart of great extent, the remains of which are still to be seen, and are known as "the Danc's Castle" and "the Valley of the Black Pig." *(Note sub anno* 1178.*)* Norden's map, engraved in the third volume of the State Papers, marks "Ca. Fedan" on the boundary line of the province, between Dundalk and Newry. Probably the name is derived from *Fiodh*, —woods, for the surrounding country is delineated on Blaen's map as a forest, and as containing "the Pass' into the North, which was thus jealously guarded three centuries ago, by the representative of the Kings of Ulidia, but through which passengers are now conveyed by railway. A glance at the map of Ireland will show how well Ulster was defended by nature from Southern invasion. Reaching half way across the island, the noble Erne and its spreading lakes, with the loughs and morasses of Monaghan, and the rivers which fall into the sea on the Eastern side, combined to form a chain of natural defences. The numerous decisive engagements fought between Dundalk and Armagh, prove that the district between those towns was the principal battle-field of Ireland. Thus, Sir John De Courcy fought a battle in Glenree, during his attacks on the North; Edward Bruce was defeated at Faughard, near Dundalk, in that victory which relieved Ireland from an army of marauders; and, subsequently, in 1344, when the viceroy, Ufford, who married the Countess of Ulster, entered the territories of her murdered husband "cum manu valida," he, as Sir R. Cox writes, "gained the pass;" and, according to Clyn, repaired and rendered passable the passage of Ymerdoylan. When Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, undertook his ill-judged enterprise, he opened ways, through the woods which covered the country, into Tyrone, Farney, the Brenny, and Mac Mahon's country; these he cut so wide that ten horsemen might ride abreast.—[*Devereux's Lives of the Earls of Essex.*]

Captain Lee, writing in 1590, observes that the passage by Cloonis Abbey was the only pass from Maguire's country and the backward regions where it was possible to check incursions into the Pale.

It was on the hill of Faughard that Tyrone and O'Donnell encamped in May, 1595, where they first joined their standards. The Annals of the Four Masters give interesting details, showing the importance of the pass by Newry, in the various conflicts which took place on this frontier during Tyrone's wars. When Lord Mountjoy marched Northward, in 1601, he found *Bealach-an-Mhaighre*, called by Tyner Moryson "the face of the Moyrey," defended by O'Neill's guards. As the annalists significantly write:—"Many men and troops of the English and Irish had been often lamentably slain and slaughtered about that pass between O'Neill and the English." Lord Mountjoy, having beaten off the enemy, then erected fortifications on the side of the road, which are marked on a map in the S. P. O., under the name of "The Castle and Forte of the Moicrie Pale," and a part of the road "The Causie (causeway) of Moierie."—[*Note to Four Masters.*] In evidence of the importance of the passages on this frontier it is sufficient to allude to the more recent famous actions of Blackwater and Armagh (at Twisser), in 1595, of Benburb, in 1646, and the battle of the Boyne.

[z] The admirable state of the Bagenal property is reported by Sir Henry Sidney, who visited Newry in 1575. "I found," wrote that admirable viceroy, "such good policy and order in the country where the Marshal

* Added by Burghley.

Evaghe, otherwise called McGynis countrey [in ye County of Down†] is governed by Sir Hugh McEnys, the cyviliest of all the Irishrie in those parts. He was brought by Sir N. B. from the Bonaght of the Onels, to contribute to the Q. to whome he paiethe an anuall rent for his landes, which he hath taken by letters patentes, to holde after the Englishe manner for him and his heires males, so as in this place onelie [amongest the Irishry‡] of Ulster is the rude custom of Tanestship put awaie. Maginis is able to make above 60 horsmen and nere 80 footemen; he lyveth very cyvillie and Englishe-like in his house, and every festivall daie wearethe Englishe garmentes amongest his owne followers. [a]

Kilultoe [b] is a very fast countrey, full of wood and bogg; it bordereth uppon Loghe Eaghe and Clanbrasell; the Capten thereof is one Cormock McNeil, who likewise was brought by Sir N. B. from the bondage of the Oneils to yeld to the Quene. He is able to make 20 horsmen and 100 kerne. This countrey (afore the Barons' wars in England) was possessed and enhabited by Englishe men, and there dothe yet remayne an olde defaced castle which still berethe the name of one Sir Miles Tracie. [c]

Kilwarlyn boundinge uppon Kilultagh is a very fast woodland, the Capten thereof by sirname is a McGenis called Ever McRorie, and sometymes did contribute and yeld to Clandeboye, but nowe reduced to have dependance onlie uppon the Quene. He is able to make some 12 horsmen and 80 footemen.

Kinalewrtie, otherwise called McCartan's countrey, is likewise a woodland and boggy; it liethe betwene Kilwaren and Lecahull. In tymes past some interest therein was geven to Sir N. Malbie, but never by him quietlie enjoyed: nowe the Capten thereof is called Acholie McCartan, and doth yeld onlie to the Quene. He is able to make aboute 60 footemen, but no horsmen.

Clanbrasell McGoolechan, is a very fast country of wood and bogg, inhabited with a sept called the Kellies, a very savage and barborous people, geven altogether to spoile and roberies, greatlie affected to the Scott, whom they often drawe into their countries for the spoilinge of the subject.

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dwelleth, his lands so well manured, his tenants so well cherished and maintained, the town so well planted with inhabitants, and increased in beauty and building, as he is much to be commended, as well that he useth his tenants to live so wealthily under him, as his own bounty and large hospitality and housekeeping, so able and willing to give entertainment to so many, and chiefly to all those that have occasion to travel to and fro northwards, his house lying in the open highway to their passage."—[Collins' Sydney Papers, vol. I., 75.] See also a letter of his in the same volume, p. 99, commending Sir Nicholas; and also, p. 189, "A declaration how the town of Newrie may be fortified by the Queen without charge, by the travail of Sir N. B., to the advancement and establishment of the peaceable government of the North,"—dated 1577. In a subsequent letter, Sidney recommends his godson, Sir Henry B., to Lord Grey, who became viceroy in 1580.

[a] This is a remarkable proof of readiness on the part of the Gaelic chieftains to brave the dislike of their clansmen to their adoption of English customs, &c.,—An anecdote is related in Sir John Perrot's Memoirs, from which it appears that when old Turlough Luineach donned the attire of the foreigner, on attending Parliament in 1585, he wished not to attract popular notice. For a chieftain to show himself conspicuously in favour of changes which were then generally and strenuously resisted, by wearing the Sassanach garb at home, was to expose himself to certain obloquy.

[b] The writer of a plan for the reformation of Ireland, anno 1515, recommends that the issue of Hugh Boy O'Neill be expelled out of all the lands from the Green Castle to the Bann, "and be assigned and suffered to have their habitation and dwelling in the great forest Keylultagh, and in the Pheux, which habitations and places they hath and dwelleth ofte before, now by compulsion.—[*Printed S. Papers*, Vol. II. 27.]

[c] The name of Tracy does not appear in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, nor in any of the ordinary printed sources of research. William Tracy was one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket, and may have settled here.

† Added by Burghley.

‡ Added by Burghley.

They do contribute, (but at their own pleasure) to the Capten of South Clandeboy. They can make no horsmen, but some 120 kerne and shott.

Lecahull,[d] is th' enheritance of th' Erle of Kildare, geven to his father and his mother by Quene Marie; it is almost an island, and without wood. In hit is the Bushop's Sea called Downe, first built and enhabited by one Sir John Coursie, who brought thither with him sondrie Englishe gentlemen, and planted them in this countrey, where some of them yet remayne, thoughe somewhat degenerate and in poore estate; yet they holde still their freeholdes. Their names are Savages, Russels, Fitzimons, Awdleis, Jordans, and Bensons.

Diffrin, sometymes th' enheritance of the Maundevilles[e] and nowe apperteyninge to one White,[f] who is not of power sufficient to defend and manure the same, therefore it is usurped and inhabited for the most parte, by a bastard sorte of Scottes, who yeld to the said White some smale rent at their pleasure. This countrey is for the most parte woody, and lieth uppon the Loghe which goeth out at the haven of Strangford. There are of these bastard Scottes dwellinge here some 60 bowmen and 20 shott, which lyve most uppon the praie and spoile of their neighbours.

Little Ardes lieth on the North side of the River of Strangford, a fertile champion countrey. It

[d] Lord Leonard Grey describes an expedition he made into this region in the year 1539:—"For so much as Mr. Treasurer was farmer of the King's country of Lecayll, and that Savage, chyeff capitayn of his nation, would not pay his farm unto the Treasurer; and besides the said Savage brought into the said country divers Scottys, which had much of the said country in their subjection, it was concluded betwixt the said Mr. Treasurer and me that we should have gone towards the said Lecayll. And so with the host, we set forward, and entered into the said country, and took all the castells there, and delyvered them to Mr. T., who hath warded the same. I took another castle, being in McGynous' countrey, called Doundrome, which I assure your lordship, as it standeth, is one of the strongest holts that ever I saw in Ireland, and most commodious for the defence of the whole country of Lecayll, both by sea and land; for the said Lecayll is invironed round about with the sea, and no way to go by land into the said country, but only by the said castell of Dundrome. * * I assure your lordship I have been in many places and countries in my days, and yet did I never see for so much a pleasanter plott of ground than the said Lecayll, for the commoditie of the land, and divers islands in the same, environed with the sea, which were soon reclaimed and inhabited the King's pleasure known."—*Printed State Papers*, Vol. III. p 155.]

[e] The Mandevilles seem to have been the first to rebel against their liege lords, the Earls of Ulster, and they were the assassins of the last De Burgh who bore that title, and whose tragic death caused the downfall of the feudal colonies in Ulster and Connaught. As early as 1275, Sirs Henry and Robert Mandeville, knights, with two more of their name, instigated Odo O'Neill king of of the Clan Eoghain, and Conmoy O'Kathan King of Kenacht, to ravage the lands of the Seneschal of Ulster; he and they were afterwards subdued by him aud Hugh Byset, assisted by several Gaelic chieftains. [*Rymer, in Lascelles' Liber Hib.*] No less than four magnates of this name were summoned to parliament upon Edward Bruce's invasion. Immediately after the decease of Richard de Burgh, the Great Earl, three of the Mandevilles were appointed to offices of high trust in the Ulster colony:—Richard M. being made *custos pacis* in the bishopric of Derry and Connor: John M. appointed Sheriff of the County of Down and of New Town (Ards); and Henry M. *custos pacis* in the bishopric of Down. [*Col. Rot. Pat.*] The Mandeville family had by this time become a clan, and it is not improbable that some of them were favourable to the conspiracy of the De Burghs of Connaught, to throw off tenure under the Earldom. According to the annalist, Grace, the young Earl was slain by Sir John Mandeville, whose wife, sister of the Earl's uncle, had incited her husband to avenge her brother's death. But the statement of Friar Clyn is most to be relied on, for that chronicler was living at the time. He writes that the Earl was assassinated on the 6th July, 1333, near Carrickfergus, by his own esquires, in whom he confided: the authors of this wickedness being John Logan, Robert, son of *Richard* Mandeville, and Robert, son of Martin Mandeville; but that they suffered for their crime before two months elapsed, though they joined themselves to the Irish, for that John Mandeville and some others of the country killed more than 300 of their party in one day. He adds that they had been instigated to this murder by the wife of Sir *Richard* Mandeville, in order to avenge the death in prison, of her brother Walter Burgh. By the patent rolls it appears that in 1334 Greencastle was taken from *certain felons* by Henry Mandeville, who was then made constable of that fortress:—and that *Richard* M. led a multitude of Scots into the Isle of Man, in order to conquer that island, 11th Edw. III., (1336).

[f] Rowland Whyte of the Duffren wrote in 1571 a tract on the "Reformation of Ireland," which is in MS. in the State Paper Office.

is th' enheritance of the Lord Savage, [g] who hath now for certain yeares farmed the same to Capten Peers. There are besides dwellinge here certeine auncient freeholders of the Savages and Smithes, able to make amongest them all, some 30 horsmen and 60 footemen. They are often harrowed and spoyled by them of Clandeboye, with whom the borders of their landes do joine.

Great Ardes is that countrey which was undertaken by Mr. Smithe; it is almost an Island, a champion and fertile land, and nowe possessed by Sir Con M^c^Neil Oige, who hath planted there Neil M^c^Brian Ferto, with sondrey of his owne sirname. But the auncient dwellers there are the Ogilmers a riche and stronge sept of people allwaies followers of the Neils of Clandeboy. The force of th' enhabitantes nowe dwellinge here is 60 horsmen and 300 footemen.

Southe Clandeboy, is for the moste parte a woodland, and reacheth from the Diffrin to the River of Knockfergus; the Capten of it Sir Con M^c^Neil Oig Onele, who in the tyme that th' Erle of Essex attempted this countrey was prisoner in the castle of Dublin, together with his nephewe Hughe M^c^Phelim, capten of North Clandeboy, by meane whereof Sir Brian M^c^Phelim (younger brother to Hughe) did then possesse bothe the countries. The Southe parte is now able to make 40 horsmen and 80 footemen.

ANTRIM.—Antrim, stretchinge from the haven of Knockfergus to the going out of the Bann, conteyncth these countreis,—North Clandeboy, Iland Magye, Brian Caraghe's countrey, Glynnes, and the Rowte.

Northe Clandeboye is for the most parte a plaine countrey, lienge in lengthe from the River of Belfarst and Knockfergus to the Rowte, and in bredthe from the Glinnes to the great Loghe called Eaghe. All this land is geven by letters patentes to Sir Brian M^c^Phelim's sonnes, the Quene's pensioners, notwithstandinge by a newe division latlie made by the nowe Lord Deputie, the one moietie thereof is allotted to the rule of Hugh M^c^Phelim's sonnes, whereby great dissension dothe depende betweene them, and greate slaughter on bothe partes often commytted. The principall followers in this countrey are these:—the M^c^Gies, M^c^Onulles, Onulchalons, Durnam, and Tarturs. The force which they are able to make is 60 horsmen and 300 footemen, but by meane of their domestique dissention the countrey is for the most parte waste and depopulate; so as yet it is able to yeld litle or nothing to Her Matie.

Iland M^c^Gye is a portion of land within 3 miles of Knockfergus, almost environed with sea, the head land thereof makethe the haven of Olderfleete; it is five miles longe, but little more then a mile brode, all plaine, without any wood, very fertile. It is almost all waste; suche as be there be the M^c^Gyes, and contribute to the Lords of Clandeboy, but doth of right belong unto the Quene's Castle of Carikfergus.

Brian Caraghe's countrey was a porcion of Northe Clandeboy, won from it by a bastard kinde of

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[g] The Lords Savage appear to have been hereditary Seneschals of the *County* of Ulster, from the time it was an Earldom. Robert S. married Christiana, dau. of John, Lord of the Isles, 10, Rich. II. [*Exchequer Records*, memb. 218.] In latter times Lord Savage m. daughter of Con, 1st Ear of Tyrone.

Scottes, of the septs of Clandonells, who entred the same and do yet holde it, beinge a very stronge pece of lande lienge uppon the North side of the Bande. The name of the nowe Capten thereof is Brian Caraghe,[h] who possessethe likewise another pece of a countrey of Tyron side upon the Band for which he doth contribute to Onele, and for his landes on the North side to them of Clandeboye; by reason of the fastnes and strengthe of his countrey, havinge succour and frendes on each side the Band, it is very hard to harme him, which maketh him so obstinate and careles as he never yet wolde appeare before any Deputie, but yeldethe still what relife he can to the Scottes. His force in people is very smale; he standethe onelie upon the strength of his countrey, which in dede is the fastest grownde of Ireland.

The *Glynnes* so called because it is full of rockie and woodie dalles, it stretchethe in lengthe 24 miles (on the one side beinge backed with a very steepe and bogie mounteyne and on th' other parte with the sea) on whiche side there are many small ereekes betwene rockes and thickets, where the Scottishe gallies do commonlie land; at either end are very narrowe entries and passages into this countrey, which lieth directlie opposite to Cantire in Scotland, from which it is 18 miles distant. The Glynnes conteyne 7 Baronyes, whereof the Ile of Raghlins[i] is counted half a Barony; the names of the Baronies are these:—

Larne, Park, Glanarme, Redbaye, } Lade, Cary, Mowbray.

These were some tyme th' enheritance of the Baron Myssett,[j] from whom it discended to a daugh-

[h] "The King of Scots hath this year (1539) twice sent for Alexander Carragh, captain of the Scottes of this land, who hath gone thither, and by his return it is not perceived what business he had there; but only it appeareth he was well entertained in the Court of Scotland; though of truth hitherto there was no amity but mortality betwixt them, the King of Scot's ancestors having killed and put to death the said Alexander's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and exiled him out of the isles, whereby he was constrained to inhabit here." [*Alen to Crumwell, Printed S. P., Vol.* III., p. 136.

[i] The Cottonian Library contains the following papers:—a grant of the forfeited lands of Hugh Byset, in the Isle of Raughery, to John de Atye, 12 Edw. II. [*Titus B. XII*]—"A declaration that the Isle of Rauchlins hath been for the space of two or three hundred years possessed by the Clan-Donald and other Scots subjects, and is now claimed by Geo. Crawford." [*Do.*, p. 29.] "Arguments to prove that the Island of R. is part of the kingdom of I. and not of S." [*Titus B.* x., pp. 298, 304.] "An inquisition taken at Carrickfergus, concerning some royal domain in the Isle of R." 1604. [*Do.*, p. 171.]

[j] Wildelm de Miset is one of the witnesses to a charter from Lawrence, Archbishop of Dublin, dated 1178. [*Chartæ*, &c., *Hib.* p. 2.] Peter Misset was Baron of Lune, in Meath, and of the Glynns, in Antrim, anno 1213, and left three co-heiresses, married to Talbot, Lord Verneuil, and Loundres. [*Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus.* 4814.] In the 14th century Sir Thomas Vernoyl and Sir William Loundres held lands in the barony of Lune. [*Rot. Pat.* 5. *Ric.* II.] A male branch of the family, however, appears to have resisted the feudal right of females to inherit, and adopted Gaelic customs of succession so that the estate in the North remained in their name, which became to be spelt Bissett. It was in Sir Hugh Bissett's island of Rathlin that the heroic Bruce took refuge in 1305, and where he formed the resolution of re-conquering Scotland; and it was at Glendun, in Sir Hugh's manor of Glenarm, that Edward Bruce landed with the victors of Bannockburn Upon the news of that invasion parliamentary summonses were issued to no less than five magnates named De Byset, John, Hubert, William, and two named Hugh. One of these latter was the traitor Baron, who, like Hugh de Lacy, Walter de Say, and Michael of Kylkeoran, also summoned as peers on the same occasion, adhered to the Scots. [For their forfeiture see *Rot. Pat.* 13, Edw. II., p. 28.] May not the Bissetts have persuaded the Bruces to attempt the conquest of Ireland? Dowling the Chronicler states that John Bisshett accompanied the invading force from Scotland, and leaves it doubtful from a subsequent paragraph, whether Sirs Hugh B. and John Logan defeated or *commanded* a large body of the invaders. Sir Hugh's hereditaments in Rathlin and Glenarm were

ter who was married to one of the Clandonells [k] in Scotland, by whom the Scotts nowe make their clayme to the whole, and did quietlie possesse the same for many yeares, till now of late (beinge spoyled of their goodes) they were totalie banished into Scotland; but againe the countrey, by instructiones from Her Matie, is let to be helde from Her Highnes to Agnus M[c]Konell, Lord of Cantire, in Scotland, and to his uncle Sorlie Boye. The force of this countrey is uncertaine, for that they are supplied as nede requireth from Scotland, with what numbers they list to call, by makinge of fiers upon certeine steepe rockes hanginge over the sea.[1] The auncient followers of the countrey are these—the Myssetts some fewe remayninge, but in poore estate, the MacKayes, the Omulrenies, the Mac y Gilles, the MacAwnleys, the MacCarnocks, and the Clanalsters, who are most desirous to lyve under the Scottes, because they do better defende and lesse spende them then the Irishe Lorde dothe.

The *Route* [m] a pleasaunte and fertile countrey, lyinge betwene the Glynnes and the ryver of the Band, and from Clandeboye to the sea. It was some tymes enhabited with Englishe (for there remayneth yet certaine defaced castles and monastaries of ther buildinges). The nowe Capten that makethe clayme thereto is called M[c]Gwillim, [n] but the Scott hath well nere expulsed him from the

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afterwards given away by Edward II. [See *Note by Very Rev R. Butler, to Grace's Annals.*] Hugh, son of Walter B. obtained a general pardon from Edward III., excepting any share in the murder of the Earl of Ulster. [*Rot. Pat.*, p. 53.] Some of the family had thrown off their allegiance altogether and became a clan, their chief assuming the title of MacEoin, i.e. the son of John, from whence the surname Mac-Keon is derived. John B. married a daughter of O'Neill, and MacEoin was at deadly feud with the Savages. [*Four Masters sub annis* 1383-7.] One branch, however, continued under the feudal system for some time longer:—Sir Hugh Byset was regularly summoned as a baron to parliament by Edw. III. and Rich. II.; and, in the year 1400 Richard Savage obtained, in consideration of his important place, as seneschal of the liberty of Ulster, and guardian of the Cross lands therein, the wardship and marriages of Elizabeth and Marjory, heiresses of Sir Hugh. [*Rot. Pat.*, p. 146.] Blaen's map names a mountain in their country "Slew Meset."

[k] Marjory Bissett married John Mor MacDonnell, second son of John, Lord of the Isles, by a second marriage. On the rolls of Scotland in 1400, there is a safe conduct "pro nobili viro Johanni de Insulis, Domino de Dunwage et *de Glynns*." [*Note to Four Masters, anno* 1590, in which a pedigree of the Mac-Donnell's of Antrim is given.] This marriage of the heiress of Missett gave the Mac-Donnells that feudal title to Irish lands which they afterwards fought manfully to maintain, and which was at last fully recognized in the Patent of the Earldom of Antrim. Elizabeth in 1560 ordered "Sourley-boy, the Scot, to be admitted tenant of such lands as he claims *by inheritance*, with reservations of service."—[*Desid. Cur. Hib.* I. 3.]

[1] The following inscription appears on Norden's map of Ireland, (made about the year 1610), indicating a hill lying inland of Fair Head:—"Att this marke the Scottes used to make their warning fires." Sir William Cecil writes to the Lord Deputy, 25th February, 1566-7:—"The Queen of Scots, now an unfortunate widow, I cannot tell how, hath privily made assurance to the Queen's Majesty that she hath prohibited the coming of any more Scots into Ireland, and will speedily worke those that be there. My Lord of Argyle promiseth to execute her commandment." [*State P. Off.*] "The Irish Scots, after sowing their barley in their own barren crags of Scotland, come to Ireland, and return home in the winter." [*Sir N. White*, April, 1580.] Sir Nicholas Malby writes, 28th Oct., 1582, that Turlough Luineach retains 2,400 Scots; and Dr. Hanmer (the chronicler) writes to Lord Burleigh, 23d March, 1593-4, that the Earl of Tyrone's power in the field was at that time 700 horse, and 3,000 foot, adding that he has only to make a signal fire on the coast, when within seven hours he can be joined by an endless supply of Scots.

The biography of Hugh Roe O'Donnell describes the Highlanders who came over with Donald Gorm, and McLeod as clothed in "a mottled garment of divers colours, hanging in folds to the calf of the leg; with a girdle round the loins. Some of them were armed with large horn-hafted swords, hung over the shoulder. A man when he had to strike with them was obliged to apply both hands to the haft. Others carried bows, well polished, strong and serviceable, with long twanging leather strings, and sharp-pointed arrows that whizzed in their flight." [*Translation of O'Clery's Life of O'Donnell*, British Museum.]

[m] The Cottonian MS. *Titus B. XI.*, p. 456, contains a letter dated 15 Aug., 1556, at Carrickfergus from Geo. Stanley and others to Lord Fitz Walter, Lord Deputy, reporting the steps they had taken for seizing the country called the Rowte.

[n] A MS. Journal of the Earl of Sussex's progresses, anno 1556, notes that "in the monastery of Colrahcen is buried the ancestor of M[c]Guillim, on the left hand of the altar, and on the tombe lyeth the picture of a knight armed." Shane O'Neill in a letter to the Queen mentions "Magwillen" as "a mere Englishman."

whole, and dryven him to a small corner nere the Bann, which he defendeth rather by the mayntenaunce of Turloch Oneil then his owne forces; and the said Scottes did inhabite the rest, which is the best parte, till likewise they were by Her Maties forces banished as aforesaid; but nowe come back and possesse all in usurped manner, as before. The chiefe auncient followers of this countrey are—the O'Haryes, and the O'Quyns, who dwell upon their lands and yeld rent and service to the Scott; they are able to make 60 stronge and well-furnished horsmen and about 200 footemen. Townes in this countie is onelie Carifergus. Castles wardable are onelie Belfast,[o] Edenduchar, and Olderfleete; and castles defaced are these: Portmucke in Hand Magy, Glanarme,[p] and Redbaye[q] in the Glyns, and Castle Martyn[r] in the Rowte.

It may easlie be perceaved by this slender and brief description of Ulster, what hath ben and ar the reasons why this Province hath ben from tyme to tyme more chargeable to Her Matie then any other, as namlie, the want of good townes and fortified places, wherewith other places are better replenished.

2. And next the sufferance of the Oneils to usurp the government of the severall Captens and freeholders, and by little and little to excede the bowndes of their owne and so encrease uppon the possessions of other; wherby they were made stronger then otherwise they colde have ben, and abled thereby to wage and mainteine the greater number of Scottes.

3. Thirdlie, the confininge so nere to the Iles of Scotland, and the contynuall comerce which the Irishry have with the people of those partes, occasionethe the often cominge in of them, to the greate hurt of this Province and the subjectes which dwell there.

4. Fourthlie, and lastlie, the want of due exercises of religion and justice, of sacred and civill in-

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[o] The Earl of Kildare in a despatch of 1523, relating the particulars of his expedition against Hugh McNeill, who retained a force of 1,500 Scots besides his own troops, states that he "toke a castle of his, called Belfast, and burned 24 myle of his contre, and toke and burnt two other piles that Scots kept there." [*Printed S. P.*, vol. II., 100.]

An ancient map in the S. P. Office, has the following inscribed near the site of Belfast:—"Along the River for the space of 26 miles groweth much wood, as well okes for timber as other wood." Belfast castle is described in a letter dated September, 1591, as almost surrounded by woods.

[p] King John, while at Carrickfergus, granted to Duncan Fitz Gilbert and his heirs, the town of Wulfrichford, (*fiord*) and all the lands which Roger de Preston and Henry Clemens held near W., viz., Innerth, and all the land from W. to Glynarm, with the town of G :—so that he might possess 50 plowlands, to hold by the service of a knight's fee. [*Cal. Rot. Pat. Jac. I.*, p. 354.]

[q] A despatch dated 5th March, 1567-8, remarks that forty men may keep the Red-Bay against five hundred.

[r] Castle Martin does not appear on the old maps. Dunluce, one of the most remarkable places of strength in Ireland, is not noticed by the Marshal, although it had recently been besieged and taken. *Dun-lis*, i.e., the Strong Fort, is mentioned twice by the Four Masters.—There being a dispute between the clans descended from Garrett Mac Quillin and Walter Mac Quillin, Dunluce was taken, in 1513, from the former, by O'Donnell, and given to the latter, to whose claims he was favourable. A despatch in the S. P O., of 1584, states that the "impregnable" fortress of Dunluce was kept against the Queen; however, its claim to that adjective quality was disproved the same year by Sir John Perrot, who, in order to banish the Scots leader, Sorley Buoy McDonald, marched into the Route; the Gaelic chief retreated into the valley of Glanconcan, between Slieve Gallion and the Banagher mountains, taking with him his *creaght* or herd of cows, his women and people, but leaving warders in Dunluce, which, "although," as observed by the annalists, "the strongest fortress in the Province, was, nevertheless, taken by the Lord Justice, after he had besieged it for two days and nights; and he placed the Queen's warders in it."

structions, is the occasion of much impietie and barboresnes; which two are the mother and nurse of all their disobedience, disorder, and disloyaltye.

Remedies.

1. For a remedie to the first: thoughe it be a thing greatlie to be wished, that the example were folowed by K. Henry the Second, of K. John, and of others since ther tyme, of famous memorye, who havinge great desire to reforme that countrey, did make sondrie fortifications, as well there as in other places of the realme; yet considering Her Maties excessive charge nowe bestowed, as well for the defence of this her realme as in other partes beyond the seas, for the necessarie strengtheninge of her whole dominions: it is not convenyent to desier Her Maties greater expense, but onlye that such revenues as this Province may be made to yelde Her Matie may be employed upon fortyfications in places most needeful, for certaine yeres.

2. And to the second: lyke as in former tyme of good government it was a thinge most regarded in all treaties to weaken the force of the Oneiles by withdrawinge from them their Uryaghes, as was done by K. H. th' Eighte with Con O'Neil, who when he had made him Earle of Tyron, gave him no more by patent than the bare countrie of Tyrone, and specyallye provided that he should not intermedle with anie on this side the Blackwater; soe is it most needful to take the oportunitie which now the people and the time doth better offer then it did then. Thearfore the way is, to aportionate both to Tur. Lenoghe and the Earle of Tyron (beinge both of one sirname) landes on the North side of Blackwater to them and their heirs males,[s] indyfferently bounded by some well acquainted with those countries, whearwith they should only deale, and medle no further, but leave the govern-

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[s] With the objects of abolishing that potent chieftaincy which had so long wielded rule in the North, under the magic title of O'Neill, and of creating two noble houses, which should each own an hereditary estate, instead of a chiefry for life and a leadership of clans. In 1583, (June 7th) the Lords Justices wrote to the Secretary of State, desiring directions as to "Lord Dungannon," who, when, with his own, he should obtain O'Neill's chieftainship and country, "will be able to command all Ulster, and as far South as Dundalk." In 1584, (Aug. 31,) Sir John Perrot was ordered to establish a President in the Province, in order "to curb the proud barbarous people." But, instead of obeying this order, he divided the North into three lieutenancies, to be governed by Sir Turlough Luineach, the Baron of Dungannon, and Marshal Bagenal.—[S. P. O., 25 Oct., 1584.] Fynes Moryson writes that the Baron petitioned the parliament, which sat in 1585, for the title of Earl of Tyrone, in virtue of the patents to his grandfather and father; this could not justly be refused, and was granted him; but his claim to the inheritance, which had been vested in the Crown by the attainder of Shane O'Neill, was referred to the Queen's pleasure. Sir John Perrot, upon promise of a large rent to be paid to the Crown, gave the Earl letters of recommendation to the English government that the country governed by him should be granted to him; and, on going over to England, "so well," says Moryson, "did he know how to humour the Court," that he obtained letters patent for the Earldom, without any reservation of rent. The conditions of the grant, dated 1587, were—that the bounds of Tyrone should be distinctly defined; 240 acres should be reserved, adjoining the river Blackwater, for the use of a fort to be erected there; that the sons of the late chieftain, John the Proud, and those of the present nominal chief, Sir Turlough Luineach, should be provided for; that the Earl should challenge no authority over the bordering chiefs, and that Sir Turlough should continue chieftain of Tyrone, with a right of superiority over Maguire and O'Kane, two subordinate lords or *uriaghs* to the O'Neill. [*Note to Four Masters*, 1590.] Moryson adds that such were the young nobleman's endeavours in the Queen's service, and such his protestations of faith and thankfulness, that old Sir Turlough was induced, by royal intercession, and upon certain conditions for his own maintenance, to surrender the county to him, with all command in those parts.

mente of the rest for Her Matie to the cheef commissioner, or other Her Highnes' offyeers in that Province.

3. To the therd: as there is noe way soe good as to fortefie the coast neere their landinge place, soe me thinketh that will seeme too chardgeable, and thearfore will not lyke Her Matie soe well. In which respect a second way should be thought upon, and that may be this :—

It is evidente that the people which most anoy us from Scotland are the Clandonells, who are ever in contynuall warre with another secte of people of the Iles named McAlans.[t] And yf on McAlan Her Matie would bestowe some convenient pension,[u] he will I thincke undertake to kepe the Clandonells soe contynually occupied, as they shalbe hable to sende none of their people to disturbe Her Highnes subjectes in Ulstar, whearof will aryse to Her Matie a treble commoditie with a single chardge; for she shall bothe prevente the myscheef which is now wrastled with rather than redressed, and save the chardge which is allmost yeerelie in this frutelesse labour spente, amountinge oft to above ten thousand powndes a yeere, together with the loss of manie mens' lyves, and also assure herself of a good frend and instrumente in the backes of the Scottes, to afflicte them and worke diversion of their forees when they shalbe aboute to attempte any thinge against us.

4. As for the fourth: it might doubtelesse be remedied yf these countries weare as well broughte to the nature as to the names of Sheeres; that is, that the Sheeres beinge perfectly bonded, Sheryffes of Englysh education may be appointed in everye countie, and in certaine convenient placees some Preachers and Free Schoolcs. And for the whole Province a Counsaile weare established, of the wysest, gravest, and best disposed, dwellinge within the same, havinge some other joyned with them that were not possessyoners thearein. That alsoe Assizes, Quarter Sessions, and such other lyke tymes should duely and orderly be in every countie observed; which all require not soe great chardge and travaile in the beginninge, as they yeeld both proffitt and honour in the ende.

Since the writinge of the premises I doe perceave by letters lately receaved out of Ireland, that the Earle of Tyron hath taken upon hym the rule of Sir Hugh McEnys, Sir Con McNeyle Oge, the

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[t] The Mac-Leans, known in Gaelic as the Clan Gillian; one of whose war songs is admirably translated by Sir Walter Scott :—

"Clan-Gillian is to ocean gone;
Clan-Gillian, fierce in foray known;
Rejoicing in the glory won
In many a bloody broil:
For wide is heard the thundering fray,
The rout, the ruin, the dismay,
When from the twilight glens away
Clan-Gillian drives the spoil."

[u] The Scots of the West paid but slender allegiance to their own monarch, and were often subsidized by the English crown. The curious agreement by which one of the Lords of the Isles accepted pay from Edward IV. is printed in a note to Sir Walter Scott's fine poem. In 1545, Donald McConell, Lord of the Isles, accepted a pension of 2,000 ducats yearly from Henry VIII.—[S. P., Vol. III., p. 525.] The supposed natural son of the last-named King, the hot-headed Sir John Perrot, writes to the Privy Council, 21st August, 1584, when viceroy, that his "intention to consider Ulster a fit receptacle for all the savage beasts of the land" has been altered by Mac-Lean's sons' invasion with the Scots, against whom he is about to march.—S. P. O.

Capten of Kylwarlyn, and sundry others, who at my cominge thence depended only upon the Queen.

(Indorsed by Lord Burghley) "20 Dec., 1586,
"Sr. Henry Bagnalls
"declarat. of ye Pv̄yce
"of Ulster in Ireland."

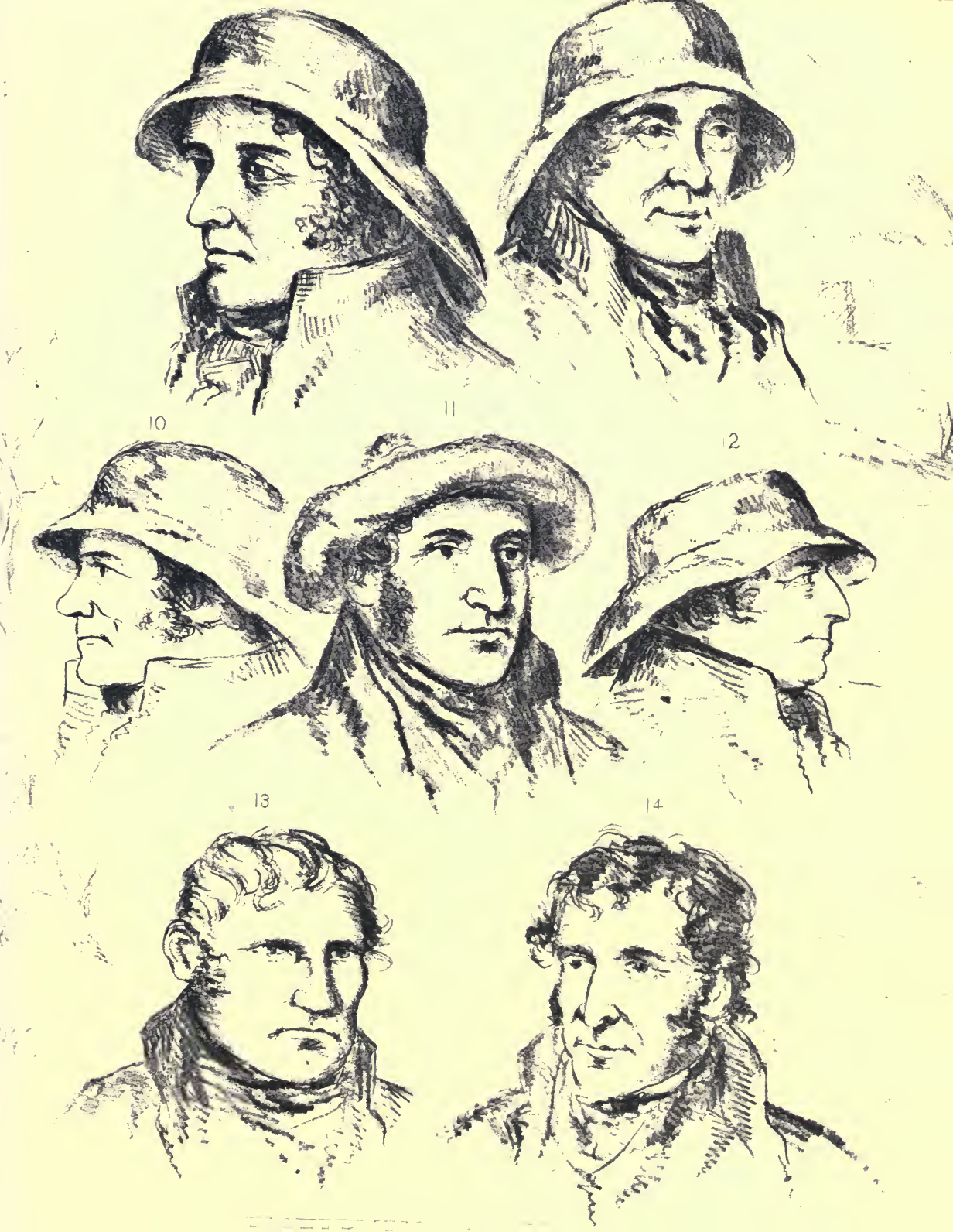
ETHNOLOGICAL SKETCHES.—No. 1.

THE FISHERMEN OF THE CLADDAGH, AT GALWAY.

The village of the Claddagh is one of the most important fishing stations in Ireland. It is situated contiguous to Galway, on the bank of the river, commanding a view of the splendid bay, and near it is a little island called *Mutton Island;* at low-water mark a person may wade over to this island. Here is the projected site of the break-water and American packet station; so that the present village of Claddagh may, at some future day, become one of the great commercial cities of Europe, and the connecting link between the Old and New Worlds. It is, therefore, very desirable that a record of this ancient village and its primitive inhabitants, should be preserved for the future merchant princes, who may spring up from the men now living in thatched cottages.

The people of the Claddagh, are, in my opinion, purely Irish, of the most ancient Celtic type. The village at the present day is like any ordinary Irish village; and, that it was a mud city when Rome was founded, is more than probable. I am indebted to my esteemed friend, Mr. Hardiman, the eminent antiquarian, for the following extract from an ancient Irish author, clearly referring to it.

Mr. Hardiman says:—"The Claddagh is supposed, with every probability, to have been occupied as a fishing station, since the first peopling of this island. That it was so, in the fifth century of Christianity, appears from the life of *St. Endeus*, compiled from ancient authorities by A. MacRaiden, about A.D. 1390, and published by Colgan, A.D. 1645. [See *Acta. SS.*, p. 709, s. xxiv.] "Post hæc venit S. Endeus in terram quæ *Medraighe* dicitur." This place is now called *Mááree*. It is a peninsula running about five miles in a direct line into the Bay of Galway, to the south of the town.—Again, [s. xxv.] "Veniens post hæc S. Endeus ad mare, videns ibi *piscatores* quæsivit ab eis pro se et suis pisces. Qui respondentes dixerunt: pisces ad nos a mare de *Arann* venerunt, et tibi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concedimus illos prope *Arann* capere et habere, et tu nos hic permitte maris nostri habere pisces. Audiens hoc responsum malorum, unus puer motus spiritu Dei dixit, unum habeo piscem quem mihi Deus ministravit, et tibi eum concedo. Exiens inde S. Pater Endeus pervenit ad portum qui dirigit ad stagnum nomine *Orbsen*, et rogavit Deum ut propter merita istius pueri *ibi nati* qui piscem dederat copia piscium ibi esset."[1] A harbour *which directs* to the lake named *Orbsen*, (the modern Lough Corrib) accurately points out the site of the Claddagh fishing village, where the boy who gave his fish to S. Endeus was born,—*ibi nati*. This is the oldest known reference to it extant. The language, and most probably the manners, of this singular colony have undergone no change since the adventure of St. Endeus, now nearly 1400 years ago.

Society on the shores of Galway bay was in ages past much the same as we find it now. But are we, therefore, to conclude that the race is unprogressive? Certainly not—for the present state of the Claddagh men, and the condition of Galway, is just the counterpart of Glasgow a century ago; and the populations of Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, and Galway, I believe to be of the very same race. The great bulk consists of the primitive Celts of these islands. In the upper classes there is an infusion of continental Celtic blood; and the lower orders have in Galway, as round the coast of Ireland generally, a tinge of the Dane and the Saxon. The *names* of the "tribes" of Galway city still remain, but their *blood* has long since been lost in the Irish current. In any case it is difficult to distinguish the so-called Norman from the dark, tall Celt of Connaught; but the descendant of the pirate Dane or the Saxon slave is easily distinguished, not so much by the fair complexion as by the heavy gait, blurred features, and dark eye. I could remark about one Dane or Saxon in fifty of the population, especially in those who come from the Island of Arran—a very peculiar people, whom I may describe at some future period. That the Claddagh men are not Spaniards any one might see at a glance; and it is astonishing to me how the theory of their Spanish origin could have kept ground so long;—especially as the Claddagh women do not wear red cloaks. The country women of Galway county generally wear the madder-dyed garment; but *blue* is the Claddagh colour:—I shall speak of the dress presently. The *physique* of the people is exactly the same as that of the peasantry in Connamara and Clare. It is not within the compass of this essay to describe the distinctive characteristics of the Celtic and Gothic types of men, and the causes that have conduced to these peculiarities. I give some accurate portraits, however, of the Claddagh men, and two of fishermen from the South Arran Isles. I may, in a future paper, enter into the peculiarities of the physical development of races. It is enough in the present instance to prove that the Claddagh men are not Spanish, which a glance at these portraits is, in my

[1] Translation.—(S. xxv.) S. Endeus coming after this to the sea, and falling in with some fishermen, he requested of them a fish. They answering said, "the fish came to us from the sea of Arann, and we concede to you those near Arann to catch and keep; and do you allow us to keep the fish of our own sea. Hearing this answer of the wicked men, a certain boy, moved by the spirit of God, said, "I have one fish which God hath sent me, and I give it unto you." Going thence the holy father Endeus came to a sea-port which directs to the lake called *Orbsen*, and he besought God that on account of the merits of that youth *born there*, who had given the fish, that there might always be abundance of fish there."

opinion, sufficient to do. Like the Celtic peasantry in the South generally, they have variety of complexion, although the features are of the same type.

The commerce between Galway and Spain was, no doubt, at one time very extensive and important. The Spanish style of many of the fine houses now in ruins—the traditions and the authentic records—prove that Galway was in old times a very thriving, busy, gay, and luxurious city, when the rich aromatic wines of Gascony and Languedoc, and of the Spanish vineyards, were as abundant and cheap in our road-side inns as small beer is now. No doubt many Spanish merchants lived in Galway, and intermarried with the natives long before the stern old Warden condemned his own son to death for slaying a Spanish rival. A Spanish face may still be seen in and about Galway—once in a week or so; but it appears to me quite certain that the Claddagh, above all other people, had no intermarriage with Spaniards. In proof of this their present names are nearly all Irish: such as Connolly, O'Connor, O'Flaherty, O'Donohoue, Murphy, Mullaly, O'Halloran, O'Donnell, Griffin, Grainey, Tierney, Rainey, Moran, Bradley, O'Rourke, O'Brien. There are some English and Welsh, as Jones, and Brown, and Barrett; those first mentioned, however, form the great majority.

The Christian names are generally Scriptural: as John, James, Peter, Luke, Michael, Mathew, Paul, Joseph; also Patrick, William, Dominick, Austin, &c.; Catharine, Mary, &c. But they have this remarkable peculiarity, that there are so many persons of the same name that they are distinguished (in the Irish language) by the names of *fishes*:—as thus, Jack the *hake;* Bill the *cod;* Joe the *eel;* Pat the *trout;* Mat the *turbot*, &c.; or, Jack the *trout;* Jack the *salmon;* Jack the *whale;* Jack the *sprat*, &c.

The native dialect of the Claddagh does not differ in any essential particular from the Irish, or Hiberno-Celtic language of Connaught; though they have peculiar phrases and words which naturally sprout out among a people of a peculiar calling. They talk their Erse with extreme rapidity and energy, curtailing their words and sentences so that "a stranger" can scarcely follow them. They nearly all understand English; but they never by any chance speak to each other in the tongue of the "Sassenach."

So far as I can ascertain they have preserved no important traditions nor poems: their songs are the same as we may find in the West generally. Many of them have fine voices; and they are celebrated as dancers. A Northern has no idea of the extraordinary activity, grace, energy, and 'bashful assurance' that characterize a set of dancers on the earthen floor of a Claddagh hut—and they may indeed dance well if the ejaculatory sympathy of the company has any magnetic influence on their movements. The men and women of the Claddagh, and indeed of Galway county generally, are very fond of gay dress and bright colours. The country women often wear red cloaks; but the Claddagh women wear *blue* cloaks and *red* petticoats. The fishermen wear jacket, breeches, and stockings, home-made and *light blue*. The women often go bare-foot, and wear the short blue cloak, bed-gown, and red petticoat. The head dress is a kerchief of bright colours.

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The fish-market is not on the Claddagh side of the river, but in Galway. It is remarkable that the *men* take nothing to do with the sale of fish in the market, where you see only *women* carrying baskets and bargaining with the customers, all in Irish, some sitting quietly, or asking, with a joke and a smile, if you want to buy. At another place you see half-a-dozen scolding and vociferating at the top of their voices in pure Hiberno-Celtic. Their baskets are placed on the ground, as they have no stalls. I believe, until lately, they used to hawk the fish about, like the celebrated Musselburgh fisherwomen in Edinburgh at the present day. Here are to be seen the town's people, the country folk, and the Claddagh women, in physical appearance like the people in most other Irish towns, with a sprinkling of Danes, and a few, who may or may not be, of Spanish blood. The girls, and children especially, have a sweet expression of countenance; the country people are taller and generally better-looking than those of the Claddagh; many are strikingly handsome; and the peasantry in general are dark-haired, tall muscular men, with aquiline nose, and in general a slight protrusion of the mouth. The men in this part of Connaught are among the finest in Ireland. God knows where the wretched creatures live whom we see going annually to the harvest in England!

The Claddagh men are not remarkable for the warlike spirit which characterises their inland neighbours. As a mob they are anything but formidable, being particularly nervous at the sight or report of fire-arms. They run helter-skelter into their little huts if but half-a-dozen red coats make a charge on them. I cannot attribute this to deficiency of courage, but to the want of that dogged ferocity which has so often and fearfully shewn itself in the excited mobs of Britain. The Claddagh men are Connaught Celts, and we know that the "Connaught Rangers" stand A. 1. in the British service. Yet the Claddagh men are comparatively timid on land. They are not boxers, not fond of personal encounters;—but touch one and you hurt them all: they will not scruple to join together to beat an offending "stranger." This want of the spirit of fair play and manly courage among this people is one of the many proofs that a warlike spirit is not necessarily an inherent quality in race; because we find, in parishes beside the Claddagh, faction-fights and single combats as regular pastimes among peasantry who are decidedly of the same race, the same physique, language, family names, and religion. If the Claddagh men were trained to it they would be "crack" boxers: they are just the build for the exercise of the noble art. I have known some of the best boxers in England who were Connaught-men. I think that Dr. Knox[2] made a great mistake when he conceived that boxing was a peculiarity of the Saxon race. There are no braver men at sea than the Claddagh fishermen, when they go forth with the priestly benediction, and the blessed salt and ashes. On land, too, they can shew courage when it is called forth and sustained by the consciousness of right. A few years ago they completely routed a considerable body of dragoons, by casting showers of heavy stones from their slings. By the way, casting pebbles from the sling is an amusement and a mode of warfare peculiar to the Claddagh men at the present day. Since the famine, this and other sports have been held in abeyance; but it was formerly usual

[2] "Races of Men."

for them to have "slinging-matches;" and when a man was able to strike a shilling as far it could be seen, he was considered a good shot. Certainly they have long been celebrated for their skill in this ancient exercise. Whether the sling was introduced into Ireland by the Phœnicians, or whether it was in use all over Europe at one time, is a question for the Archæologist. At all events there are many points of similarity between these poor men who lately drove back English troops with the sling, and the race of that youth who slew Goliath with a pebble.

There are no particular customs or ceremonies at births or deaths, differing in any essential particular from the usual formalities of Irish peasantry. I may mention, however, that when a man is lost at sea and the body has not been cast ashore, after a reasonable time the relatives hold a "wake" over his *clothes*, which are laid out on the bed, and the sheets spread, and the candles lighted, and the Litany recited; while the shrieks of the women, and the deep moans of the men issue from the cabin door, and the midnight is disturbed by the *coronach* for the dead. The memory of him that lies beneath the wave is recalled, and every neighbour within hearing breathes a prayer for the soul of the faithful departed.

It must be refreshing to a Christian of any sect who has seen much of the despairing infidelity and brutalized wretchedness of some parts of England, to witness even the superstitions of this simple, patient, and joyous people. They believe in the actual presence of God amongst them, and they do everything in his name. It is worthy of remark that they never, by any chance, salute or speak to each other without the name of God. I almost regretted to learn that the priests are discountenancing their old amiable superstitions. I may be excused for these allusions to the religion of this race, for certainly the thoughts and feelings of men form the most interesting phase of human study; and it might be a question with the social reformer whether these people in their ignorance and poverty, are not happier than the rich, in whom the emotional element is comparatively dull, and who feel less acutely the joys and sorrows of the battle of life. Here in this remote West the historian also may see, in fine preservation, much of the life and feeling of the middle ages, while all is changed in the "go-a-head" world around.

Like seamen everywhere, the Claddagh men have their lucky and unlucky days, and woe to him who dares to cast a line on an unpropitious morning. Formerly they would not, on any account, commence the fishing season unless the priest went out along with them, and in regular form pronounced a blessing on the bay; the boat with the priest sailing out at the head of the fleet. Some of the "old hands" will not put to sea if a hare appears to them; and the whole fleet has been known to return home without dropping a line, because a boy called out that he had seen a hare. Even as I write, no boat goes to sea without oat-cake, salt, and ashes. They consider that there is a blessing in these things. They believe that anything that has passed through fire is blessed.—This must certainly be a remnant of the old fire-worship, which prevailed when the glowing "sun-burst" was the standard of Erin.

I may mention an anecdote illustrating the unsuspecting simplicity and goodness of these men, as also their faith in salt and ashes. Since the famine it has been customary for masters of boats to employ and share profits with one or two men more than are absolutely necessary. This they do to assist their their brethren who are unable to emigrate. On one occasion one of these poor men, having had no breakfast, was tempted to steal the oat-cake, while the rest of the crew were asleep during the middle watch. The master on coming to get the materials for breakfast, and seeing that the oat-cake was gone, asked his son who it was that had baked it.—"It was Molly of course."—"Oh! smothering and drowning to her then: she put no salt nor ashes in the bread, and the *good people*" (that is the fairies) "have carried it off."—The good people, or fairies, of the Claddagh, are in every respect the same as their kindred sprites throughout Ireland. Here, as elsewhere, they are the heroes of many a wonderful tale.

The Claddagh men have a belief, which, I think, prevails in other parts, that if a crow flies over the boat, and croaks as he passes overhead, it is a good omen. The crow says in Irish—"fish I give ye—fish I give ye."—When a boat comes in with fish, the boatman gives a fish to every beggar who may be there to ask: it would be most unlucky, in their opinion, to refuse charity out of what God sent to the net. But this time-honoured custom, like many other things, has been dying out with the increase of pauperism, the opening of the poor-house and railway, the many mouths that must be filled with fish in Dublin, and the ready cash. This old custom of giving a fish to every one who chose to ask, is, in my mind, a proof that in old times there could not have been anything like the present amount of beggary in the district.

In appearance the Claddagh men are as lounging and phlegmatic as Dutchmen;—a peculiarity I think, of seamen generally. I suspect, however, that the inland Dutch are not so slow as their seafaring brethren.

The Claddagh boats are of peculiar build, and have admirable sailing qualities; and the trawl is now in general use, although its introduction was obstinately opposed. The men all now confess that they were much to blame. They go out in the morning about two o'clock, and often work till five or six p.m.

The appearance of the village is dirty, but the houses are clean enough inside; and, be it known, that before the famine, their houses were models of cleanliness: and we must recollect that those manure-heaps which frequently offend the eye in Irish villages have no offensive odour, on account of the deodorizing power of the peat which forms a large portion of the compost. The men and women have generally clean linen, although often covered with rags. It is a general fact worthy of note, that in Ireland a dirty outside generally covers a clean heart.

Except in the matter of dress, the Claddagh men and women have had no ideas regarding the disposal of their savings. Before the famine many of them had large sums of money concealed.

Their courtships do not differ much from the usual custom of the Irish peasantry as described by

Carleton[3] and others. Still there are little peculiarities even in this everlasting sphere of human sympathy. When "a boy" goes to pay homage at the shrine of some clear-eyed sweet-lipped girl, he seats himself, "when the coast is clear," at the fire-side, opposite to the object of his affections. He never says a word: this is the invariable rule—to sit in silence. He commences the siege by throwing sparks of fire at her from the hearth,[4] She is thus kept busy for some time shaking the live coals from her dress. If she disdains the suitor, she allows him to fire away, or she rises up from the fire-side: but if she desires to carry on the war, she tosses back sparks at the loving foe. Then they get the use of speech, and there is a remonstrance, and parley, and negociation, and amicable arrangement. Ultimately the lover goes to the father of his bride-elect, and addressing him in all bashfulness says, "will you marry your daughter to me?" The father, if agreeable, replies in this set form of speech—(in the vernacular)—"May I be smothered and drowned if I marry my daughter until she marries herself;" thus indicating that he would give his daughter, but that she is perfectly free to choose for herself.

It may be asked how did the Claddagh men become so exclusive, if they be of the same race as those of the surrounding county? They call every one not of their own community a "*stranger.*" A man in the next parish is a stranger, and it is the rule that they will not intermarry with strangers. Perhaps this peculiarity originated at the time of the Norman invasion. When the "tribes" got possession of the town of Galway the Normans were treated as strangers, and made to pay tribute to the haughty O'Flaherty. The Claddagh men being an associated "craft," would naturally, in those troublesome days, stand more closely together for their common rights, and, in the course of time, treat all "outside their pale" as strangers.

Here is a useful lesson to the Ethnologist and Historian. The necessity of circumstances, which have long passed into oblivion, probably created a division in a people ultimately leading to complete alienation, distinct habits, and peculiarities of language. Finally, they have come to regard their native countrymen, of the same blood, as "strangers;" and these strangers—not in the vicinity, but at a distance—at length look upon the parties as totally distinct races. Certainly we should be cautious in our classifications of men.

Judging from what I have seen of the Claddagh, and the people of the West, I would say, that they have within them the elements of a great people. They are the same race as are found in Belfast and Glasgow. Galway may expect to rise when the higher classes manifest a less contempt for industry. A great deal has certainly been done already, and even Claddagh men—the representatives of society two thousand years ago—are beginning to accept of new ideas, and to stir abroad into the world. A gentleman from Galway was walking down Broadway, New York, not long since, and he saw a stal-

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[3] "Traits and stories of the Irish peasantry."

[4] Can this be another remnant of fire-worshipping usages?

wart Irishman swaggering down the street, giving an occasional flourish, and shouting at top of his voice "Hurrah for Galway! Hurrah for the Claddagh! Hurrah for the ould heap o' stones!"

J. M^c^E.

Names of the Fishermen whose portraits are given in the plates :—

1. Murphy.
2. O'Donnell.
3. Mullaly.
4. O'Flaherty.
5. Tierney.
6. O'Hanlon.
7. Rainey.
8. Bradley.
9. Murphy.
10. Moran.
11. Barrett.
12. Grainey.
13. Arran man (Danish type).
14. Do., (Celtic type).

THE FRENCH SETTLERS IN IRELAND.—No. 3.

THE HUGUENOT COLONY AT LISBURN.

(Concluded from vol. 1, p. 294.)

DUBOURDIEU.

(Additional particulars.)

The ancestor of the Dubourdieu family, Godefrey de Brius, a French knight, was created Lord of Bourdieu in Languedoc, by Philip, King of France, on account of the eminent services rendered by him to that monarch in the Holy War; hence the Turkish scimitar was adopted as his crest, and his family name was laid aside for that of the title. The Dubourdieu family early adopted the principles of the Reformation, and were distinguished supporters of its doctrines; several members having become ministers and elders in the church, and taking a prominent part in its management. We find that, in the year 1637, Armand Dubourdieu was pastor of the Sanoctal at the Synod of Alençon, and in 1644 at the third Synod of Charenton. James, Lord Dubourdieu, was elder in the church of Blangar at the same Synod. In answer to an appeal to the Synod, from the church of Bergerac, a resolution was passed: "That this assembly determines—first, the province of Guyenne hath exceeded the stated rules in removing Monsieur Dubournieu from the church of Bergerac without consulting that church; second, that whereas Bergerac is a church of no small importance, and its necessities very great and urgent, and M. Dubourdieu is exceeding successful in his ministry there, this Synod doth approve of his being in that station. and confirms him in the pastoral office of that church."—

In 1659, at the Synod of Londure, among those representing the Province of Lower Languedoc w a Isaac Dubourdieu, pastor of the church of Montpellier, and it was resolved that, " In pursuance of an order of the same Synod, Messieurs Guilton and Dubourdieu are sent to Saumur to pacify some differences between the members of that church and Messieurs Amyrant and D'Huission.—The nobles of the Dubourdieu family intermarried with those of De Saumarez and De Lavalade; and it was while holding this high position that it experienced the first shock of the fearful tempest which burst with such violence in the year 1685. At that time a judgment given by the parliament of Thoulouse against Isaac Dubourdieu, the pastor of Montpellier, and his son, obliged him to fly from France and take refuge in London. There he became a minister, and preached with so much zeal and effect that an author [a] writes of him :—" Among them M. Dubourdieu, the father, holds a primary rank. You know that he was one of the best heads of our French Presbytery; what he was he was in Montpellier, that he is in London; wise, laborious, and entirely devoted to the refugee church, which he instructs by his frequent preaching, and still continues his exhortations though upward of ninety-five years of age." His declining years were cheered by the presence of his two sons, the elder of whom had lingered at Montpellier some months after his father's departure; and the danger to which he was exposed in so doing is thus mentioned in a letter from the Cardinal Archbishop Bonzi to the Duke de Noailles. [b]—" From Montpellier, the 23d of January, 1683. * * * In the stay which I have made here, I have pursued the projects known to yon to obtain conversions; I have discovered that Bordieu (Dubourdieu) the son, a minister here, has some connections and attachments here which will facilitate his conversion, if he can be made to fear either a distant banishment or an order to depart out of the kingdom. If you think proper to send me a 'lettre de cachet' for that purpose, I am in hopes that upon showing it to him he will be disposed to listen to proposals, and that eventually, by an offer of an appointment of Counsellor to the presidial court (of Montpellier) with which the King will gratify him, having secret agents, it will not be impossible to gain him. He has merit, and will be a good acquisition." Notwithstanding these attempts he succeeded in escaping to England, where he became rector of Sawtrey Maines, in Huntingdon, where he died in 1728, at the age of seventy-two. His brother, John, still remained in France, and he, together with the widow of Lord Bourdieu, and her infant son, were the only members of the elder branch who escaped after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Their subsequent history has already been been given; but the following particulars (since obtained) relating to that son, may be given to complete what is known respecting the family. He was the Rev. Jean Armand Dubourdieu, and his piety and ability were so much esteemed among his countrymen in London, that on all occasions of vacancies occurring in their churches, he was requested to select ministers for them. He was also so distinguished as an orator, that he was called on to preach before the Judges at the Summer Assizes

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[a] Apologie des Réfugiés, pp. 98, 100.

[b] Family Papers of De Noailles in the library of the Louvre, quoted in the " Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.—Tom. I., p. 114.

of Chelmsford in 1714. Amongst his countrymen his benevolence was so well known that a refugee had only to come to him to find relief; in him his persecuted brethren had a warm advocate: and his faithfulness in the ministry was such that he did not hesitate to raise his voice against the corruption of the time. He did not fail to allude (though in a Christian-like manner) to the apostacy of one of the Saurin family. His gratitude for the kind reception given him by the English Protestants was sincere and lasting; and, though belonging to the French church, his appreciation of the English is manifest from the sentiment expressed in the following passage:[c]—"That this church, which hath hitherto been the bulwark and glory of the Reformation, and with which all the other churches abroad must stand or fall, may survive future ages, outlast this visible world, and never end but with commencing eternity!"

DE LAVALADE.

This family possessed large estates in Languedoc, the head of it having the title of Count de Lavalade. During the persecution of the Huguenots in France, they, like hundreds of their co-religionists, were tortured in the most cruel manner. Laval mentions the case of one lady of this family who, "having patiently suffered many exquisite pains, had at last her clothes turned up and was laid bare on a chafing-dish of coals!"[d]—So much did the various members of the Lavalade family become dispersed that we can now trace the history of only three, viz.; the widow of James Seigneur du Bourdieu of whom mention has been already made, and the Rev. Charles, and Mdlle. de Lavalade: the two latter escaped into Holland, where they resided for many years under the protection of the Prince of Orange. Here Mdlle. de Lavalade married Alexander Crommelin, brother of Louis, the founder of the linen colony at Lisburn,[e] who, when inviting over a number of his countrymen to settle in Ireland, selected M. de Lavalade as their pastor, and brought him with himself for that purpose. On his arrival in Lisburn, M. de Lavalade was installed in his new office, and held it for a period of upwards of forty years. He resided with his only daughter, Anne, who married Mr. George Russell in 1737.

ROCHÉ.

Louis Roché was another of the French refugees who settled in Lisburn at the same time as Louis Crommelin, (being induced through his connection with him,) and was an extensive merchant there. His family consisted of two daughters, Mary and Alice: the former married Val. Jones, jun., Esq., and their descendants are now among the first inhabitants of Belfast.[f] The latter married Edward

[c] Dubourdieu's Sermon, preached at the Chelmsford Assizes, in 1714.
[d] Laval's History of the French Reformation, Appendix, p. 7.
[e] See *ante*, vol. I., p. 214.
[f] Bruces, Bristows, &c.

Masslin, Esq. These unions occurring in the same year appear to have been hastened by the declining health of their father, as he died immediately after, in the year 1726.

GENESTE.

This family possessed large estates in Guienne, in France, at Agenois. The title held by the head of the family was Seigneur de Melromez, as stated in a MS. document entitled "Agreement to be made, 9th Nov., 1570, between Noble Gerard de Geneste, Signeur de Melromez, of the town of Sarlat, so much in his name as being husband to Marguerite Paraiziare, living in the seigniorial house of Melromez in Agenois;" as also in another entitled, "Declaration of lands and lordships of Melromez given to the King, 18th June, 1645, for the sake of his possessions in Guienne, to the Treasury of France, by Jacob de Geneste, Lord of Melromez, and for the possession of the three-fourths and the other one-fourth belonging to Gabriel de Geneste's father.[g] Of the several members of this family, Louis alone adhered to the Reformed faith, thereby forfeiting his large estates at Beargues, about five or six leagues from Cajare, from which he took the name Louis Geneste Pelras de Cajare. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes he fled to Holland, and entered into the service of William, Prince of Orange, in whose army he held a commission, and whom he accompanied to England and thence to Ireland, where he served in the regiment of Lord Lifford at the battle of the Boyne and the other engagements of that time. After the pacification of Ireland he settled at Lisburn, where he resided for some years. In 1724 he went to the Isle of Man, and remained there for seven years; but again returned to Lisburn with his family, consisting of two sons and a daughter; namely, Louis, Daniel, and Marguerite, the grand-daughter of whom was married to Jean Baptiste Shannon, Esq., of Belfast, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Colbert. Louis Geneste was too far advanced in years to undertake a journey to his native land, but his feeling of affection for it was still strong, and he wrote to his younger brother (who had saved his life and property by recanting) to inform him of his son's intention of visiting France. This led to an affectionate correspondence between them, part of which is still extant. The letters from France are signed "Pelras."—His eldest son settled in the Isle of Man, and although he made many efforts to proceed to France, for the purpose of inquiring respecting his property, he was unable to accomplish it. However, after the Decree of the National Assembly professing to restore their forfeited estates to Protestants, his son went to France to prefer his claim; but found many difficulties in the way. In June, 1792, he thus wrote to hi family:—"All matters relative to the fugitive Protestants are enveloped in darkness, and the clerks and persons attending at the different offices seem disinclined to draw aside the veil. Indeed it appears to me, as well as to my friends here, on making the needful inquiries at the offices, that it is

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g "Registry of the confiscated estates of the Religious Fugitives," in the Rue de Clerü, near the Gros Cheret.

their wish to suppress such nformation as would tend to throw light on the subject." Hoping, however, that he might be the means of "opening a door for the benefit of the heirs of Protestant refugees, which, by the chicanery of those vipers in office, has been closely barred up, and that in direct contradiction to the liberal terms of the Decree," he wrote to the President of the National Assembly, mentioning the difficulties he had met with at the different offices, and his inability to obtain the Table of Forfeited Estates, agreeably to the intention of the Decree, 19th Article. This letter was transmitted to the Minister of Justice, and he subsequently wrote to that official himself, and then waited on him, when he was received with politeness. The Minister apologised for the neglect of his predecessors in office in not obeying the Decree, and mentioned that he had given orders for printing the list of Forfeited Estates; but that this being a voluminous document it would require a fortnight to complete it: and, in the meantime, handed him a written order for access to the manuscript. By means of this he was able to ascertain the situation of his father's estates; and his anxiety to visit them was so great that he left Paris for Bordeaux before the expiration of the fortnight, with the assurance that the list would be forwarded to him. He had hardly reached Cajare when he was arrested on suspicion of being a spy, and it was not until after a minute inspection of his papers and letters of introduction that he was set at liberty. M. Pelras and his son, an Abbé, chanced to be present during the examination, and to his great surprise the latter accosted him thus:—"We are your nearest relations. The late M. Pelras of Cajare was brother to my father, and, consequently the same to your grandfather, of whom I heard that he had left this country, as well as another brother." He dined with the Abbé and met several of his nearest connections. "After dinner," he continues, "the Abbé proposed going with me on the following day to Beargues, the ancient estate of the family, a moiety of which was in possession of his father, and mentioned that the remaining part of the paternal inheritance had been held by the late M. Pelras of Cajare, and, being sold by him, had passed through several different hands. The Abbé promised to procure at Beargues (as they could not be obtained elsewhere) every document I might require relating to the estate and family of my ancestors. I accordingly arranged to accompany him; but in the afternoon he excused himself, saying his attendance in his parish was indispensably necessary, and that he was sorry it so happened. I told him my time would not admit of any further delay, and that I must return the following morning to Figeac on my way back to Bordeaux." At last, finding all endeavours to procure further intelligence fruitless, he returned to England, and died there leaving many descendants, among whom we may particularize the names of Stowel and Geneste, well known to the Christian world.

DE BLAQUIÈRE.

The estates of this family were situated in Guienne, and the title borne by the head of the family was that of Seigneur de Blaquière. One individual settled in London, and became an eminent mer-

chant; and his sons held a high position there. Another branch of the family was induced to settle in Lisburn, in consequence of the marriage of a Mdlle. de Blaquière to John Crommelin, nephew to Louis.

PERRIN.

Little more can be gleaned of the early history of the Perrin family than that they held large possessions in the fertile district of Nonère, in France. A few mutilated fragments of old French MS. papers are all that now remain among its representatives in Ireland, and these afford but scanty information. The following passage translated from one of these would seem to indicate that the MS. when complete had contained various interesting particulars. It commences thus:—"In a sunny vale, not far from the banks of the Garonne, surrounded by swelling hills, the first steps of the great barrier between France and Spain, was situated a small and picturesque village. There was the residence of the Curé, there the village church, with its well-proportioned spire gracefully shooting towards the sky; while the residences of the villagers, clustering around, bore an appearance of neatness and comfort which, at the epoch we are speaking of, the traveller would have elsewhere vainly sought, for many a long mile through France. A little sparkling mountain stream danced gaily down the main street, if indeed the expanse between the two rows of cottages could be called by that name; and at the middle of its course deepened into a pool, beside which, from a broad stone pedestal, sprung a massive cross. It might be three o'clock, one Autumn day of the year 1725, that this pedestal was occupied by a man of striking and impressive appearance. Above a massive forehead waved long locks of silvery hair, the only covering it had; the form was large and well-proportioned; the deep chest and broad shoulders indicated one whose earlier powers must have been of no common order. He was speaking in grave, earnest, and, occasionally, impassioned tones, to a groupe of the villagers which was every moment increasing; and he again and again referred to a small volume which he held open in his hand, and from which he quoted long passages in a manner that showed he held its words in deep reverence. That volume was the Bible; the speaker was Délas the celebrated Huguenot preacher. On one of his missionary journeyings he had reached and spent some days in this remote district. Among the listeners was one whose wrapt and earnest attention was not less striking than his personal appearance. He was in the vigour of early manhood, of thirty years, or thereabout; his form stalwart, yet lithe and graceful; his black hair clustered under a small hunting-cap, which from time to time he reverently touched, when a name or a word uttered by the preacher claimed such an act of homage. His dress was that of an ordinary country gentleman of the age and place; the respectful bearing of the villagers towards him marked that his station was more exalted than theirs; while the air of proud affection with which, from time to time, some aged sire

among them gazed upon him, showed that the relation between them was not the too common one of tyrant and slave. He was indeed the representative of a family whose boast had always been the love of their tenantry. Amongst all the traditions of the Comtes de Perrin scarce was there a murmur of ill-will or strife subsisting between them and their retainers; while many noble deeds of self-devotion on the one part are related from the time when all his band fell one by one around the prostrate corpse of the old crusading lord, which they unanimously refused to leave, as still recorded in the great tombstone dedicated to their memory, in the churchyard; and on the other part of uncalculating munificence, and of resolute resistance to every invasion of their rights by King, or Church, or neighbouring Seigneur. Everything bore witness to the unbroken traditionary love, handed down on both sides from sire to son as their most precious heir-loom.—Yes, such was the station, such were the advantages, which to thy ardent soul, in its pursuit of truth, weighed but as dust in the balance, O! Louis Perrin, when, resigning rank and honours and wealth, thou wentest forth from thy ancestral home, and cheerfully became a penniless exile: amid the scorn of the worldling and the wonder of the careless, thou, and all thy house in thee, bade an eternal farewell to the land to whose glories they had contributed, and whose" * * * * * * [Here the manuscript becomes illegible.]

It appears from some fragments of the Comte du Perrin's correspondence that many enticements were held out by the King to induce him to change his religion; but all without effect. An unrelenting persecution then commenced, to which he makes frequent allusion in his letters: one of his friends was sentenced to the galleys for three years. He at length contrived to escape from France, and settled in Lisburn for several years; subsequently removing to Waterford. His descendants have become honoured members of the Irish Bar. One of the family was long known as an excellent French teacher in Lisburn, and the author of a good grammar of that language.

GUILLOT.

The Guillots were officers in the navy of Louis XIV., but, being driven from France by the religious persecutions, escaped into Holland, where they were kindly received by the Prince of Orange, and presented with commissions in his navy. On more than one occasion they performed important services. Some members of the family settled in Lisburn, and two of the ladies married sons of Samuel Crommelin, brother of Louis.

Another family, named Jellett, which resided for many years near Moira, (a few miles from Lisburn,) is also of French extraction, but of different origin from the Guillot family above mentioned: having settled in Ireland previous to 1685. The first of the name of whom the present representa-

tives have any record is William Jellett, who was born in England about 1632, and settled at Dromore, Co. Down, before 1687; in which year he married the daughter of Captain James Morgan, one of Cromwell's aides-de-camp, a Welsh settler from Garth, in the parish of Llandovery, in Cacrmarthenshire, and proprietor of Tully-ard, in the County of Down. It is thought possible that he may have been a relative of the Protestant clergyman of the same name who preached in the Cathedral of Durham in 1656, on which occasion there appears a charge in the Church Books of three shillings "for sack for Mr. Jellett."—[See Quarterly Review, January, 1829, p. 386.] A little incident which occurred while King William III. was at Hillsborough, may be mentioned in connection with the Jellett family settled at Moira. Being Protestants living in a district surrounded by Roman Catholics, Mr. Jellett the elder being then in feeble health, and his son probably serving in the army under Sir George Rawdon, his wife presented herself to King William., and requested him to leave her two soldiers as a protection to her house. The King received her graciously; but, perceiving a great tankard, of fully a quart measure, attached to her girdle, he humorously asked for an explanation. He was informed that this vessel was one highly prized in her family, and handed down as an heir-loom, being formed of "blood-stone," mounted in silver-gilt, and believed to be of great efficacy in curing hæmorrage; and that she was afraid to leave so valuable an article behind during her absence. His Majesty thereupon called for wine, filled the tankard, and drank the lady's health: then presented it to her to drink to his success, and afterwards kindly granted her request. The two soldiers accompanied her home, with orders to remain until required; but, as they never were called on, they eventually became settlers on the property, and were long the only Protestants there. The tankard is still preserved, and in the possession of the Rev. John H. Jellett, F.T.C.D.—it had no doubt been brought from Wales along with the Morgan family. A Captain Henry Jellett served in General Monk's army in Ireland, in 1642, and was one of three who were deputed by the General Officers of the army to demand from Monk his reasons for not signing promptly the "Solemn League of Covenant" which had already been signed by all the officers but himself. One of the originals of this League and Covenant, now in the Belfast Museum with a number of signatures attached, was presented to that institution by the late Morgan Jellett, Esq.,[h] and was believed by him to have come into the possession of his family through this Captain Jellett.

In England there are numerous families who write their name Gillett, and Gillot, all of French extraction: the former at Glastonbury, Exeter, and Banbury, the latter at Birmingham and Sheffield. It is probable that these names, as well as Jellett and Guillot, have all been originally the same, namely, Gillot, the diminutive of Gilles, the French form of Giles.

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[h] In a MS. autobiography of this gentleman he mentions a little trait of his youthful days, illustrative of the manners of the time. When he went to serve his apprenticeship in 1785 to a solicitor in Lisburn, the boys wore hair-powder and a cue!

SAURIN.

The family of De Saurin resided in Languedoc, and was strongly attached to the Reformed church, ranking among its members many individuals distinguished for their piety and learning. At an early period we find them taking a prominent part in the affairs of the church, the names of two appearing in the Synod Roll of Alençon, viz.,—Saurin, pastor of Aymarques, and Peter Saurin, pastor of Uxeaux. The branch of the family settled in Ireland derives its origin from the noble Charles de Saurin, of Calvission, in the Diocese of Nismes, who served for a long time in the army. He had two sons, John and James.[i] The eldest, John, was page to the Constable de Montmorency, Maitre de Camp of a regiment of Infantry, and subsequently appointed Governor of the Castle of Sommières by Letters Patent dated at St. Germain's, the end of October, 1597. He left three sons, Antoine, N——, and Daniel.[j] The eldest succeeded his uncle, James, in the governorship of the town of Sommières, and his appointment was accompanied by a letter from the Constable and the Duc de Vandadour, expressing their high sense of his father's merits. He left two sons who embraced the military profession, and died without issue: and three daughters, two of whom became nuns, and the third married. N—— de Saurin became Captain of the Guard to the Duc de Royan, and was killed in the service, leaving a very young son who settled at Nismes, and went to the Bar. He became an advocate of great reputation, and a member of the Royal Academy of Nismes. He had three sons Jacques, Louis, and a third (name unknown) who became Captain of Cavalry, in the service of England. The father, notwithstanding his high position in Nismes, retired to Geneva at the first outbreak of the "Revocation," where he died. Jacques Saurin, his eldest son (born at Nismes 1677) entered, at the age of fifteen, a regiment raised by the Marquis De Ruvigny, for the service of the Duke of Savoy, then engaged in the European coalition against Louis XIV., and on that prince's defection retired to Geneva; where, having resigned a profession for which he never was designed, he resumed his theological studies, under the direction of the celebrated Turretin

[i] James, after the death of his brother, was appointed in 1601 to the same offices which he had held. On resigning the Governorship he retired into Lorraine, and there occupied several offices of distinction. He was deputed by the Duke on a mission to the Court of France to negotiate some important matters. He had two sons, who were both captains of cavalry, and lost their lives at the battle of Seness. His widow inherited all his property, and subsequently married the Marquis of Courcelles.

[j] Daniel de Saurin was a Minister, and it is probably his name that appears in the Synod of Alençon. He had two sons and a daughter, who were educated in the Reformed faith. Louis, the eldest, received his education at the Academy of Saumur: but, after the Revocation of the Ediet of Nantes, having occasion in his flight from France to pass through Moulins, he could not resist the desire of calling to see his relations there, two of whom had become nuns, and at the same time of visiting the Duchess de Montmorency: and he was so influenced by their solicitations to change his religion that he subsequently returned to France from Lausanne and embraced the Roman Catholic faith. He performed the duties of an Abbé for some time, but was obliged by weak health to relinquish the office. He went to Paris "where his bright parts, and his great skill in Natural Philosophy and Mathematics procured him a pension from the King, and a place in the Royal Academy of Sciences. He is partly the author of the elegant and learned Journal of Paris."—[Dubourdieu's Appeal, p. 144.] He was frequently employed by the King in secret negociations with the Princes of Germany. During one of his journies in Italy he was received into the Academy of Padua: he was also a member of the Royal Academy of Nismes. He wrote several French poems, among the rest one addressed to the Dauphin on the Campaign of 1690.

Pictet, and others, he soon became distinguished for his oratorical powers. Numbers flocked to hear him, and on one occasion it was found necessary to throw open the cathedral to accommodate the crowd that pressed for admission. On receiving orders, he was nominated Minister to the French Protestant Church in London, and here, taking the celebrated Tillotson as his model, he perfected the admirable talents bestowed on him by nature. It was then perhaps, that Abbadie [k] having heard him for the first time, exclaimed:—"Is this a man or an angel who speaks!"—After five years' residence in England he was summoned to the Hague with the title of "Minister Extraordinary" to the French community of nobles, and preached there with immense success, in the chapel belonging to the Prince of Orange. He possessed all the qualifications of a great orator and preacher, extensive knowledge, fervour of imagination, powerful argument, and luminous arrangement of thoughts, with a purity of style, which, combined with the physical advantages of a noble countenance, and a sonorous and thrilling voice, rendered him one of the most remarkable men of his time, and attracted crowds of enraptured auditors. His sermons, some of which have been published, abound with the noblest specimens of modern eloquence. Among his admiring hearers were the Prince of Orange, and the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline. So deeply impressed was the latter with his character and his abilities that on her return to England she ordered Dr. Boulter (preceptor of Prince Frederick, father of George III.) to write to him, with a request that he would draw up a treatise on "the Education of Princes." This work was prepared, though never printed; but the author received a handsome donation from the Princess, and afterwards a pension from George II., to whom he dedicated a volume of sermons. He died in 1730.

Louis Saurin, second son of N. de Saurin, and brother of the celebrated Jacques, also entered the church. He became Dean of St. Patrick's, Ardagh, in March 1726, and also Chanter of Christ's Church, Dublin. Previous to his leaving France he had married a daughter of the Comte de la Bretonnière, a Norman Baron, and had a son and four daughters. He died in 1749, in Dublin.

James Saurin, his son, became a Minister of the established church, and was appointed Vicar of Belfast in June 1747, where he continued for 26 years. His memory was so respected that, 50 years afterwards, when St. George's Church, (Belfast) was being built,[l] the workmen engaged in making the foundations, on meeting with their former pastor's grave, arched over his remains, which now rest under the communion-table. He married a Mrs. Duff, and left four sons, Louis, Mark Anthony, William and James: of these only the two latter have left issue, viz., the Right Hon. William Saurin, and James, late Lord Bishop of Dromore.

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[k] James Abbadie was born at Nay, in Béarn, in 1654. He was educated by the distinguished La Plucette, and afterwards studied at the University of Sedan, whence he went to Holland and Germany, where his fame as a divine led to his appointment as Minister of the French Church at Berlin. In 1690 he came to England, and after officiating for some time in London, was appointed Dean of Killaloe, in Ireland. He afterwards returned to London, and died in 1727, at Mary-le-bone, at the age of 75.

[l] St George's church was built on the site of the old parish church of Belfast, which was taken down in 1775, as being unfit for public worship; the ground on which it stood had been converted into a burying-place.

The Right Hon. Willliam Saurin was born in 1758, received his early education at the school of the Rev. Mr. Dubourdieu (in Lisburn), and entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1775, where he obtained the highest academic distinctions. In 1780 he was called to the Irish Bar; but for several years experienced the fortune of many able men whose "moral and intellectual tendencies being strictly professional withheld them from all irregular and indiscreet short cuts to notice." It was during this interval that he married Mary, relict of Sir Richard Cox, Bart., niece of the late, and sister of the present, Marquis of Thomond, by whom he had a large family. The marriage took place in 1786. He was engaged in the election contest in the County of Down, in 1790, when Lord Castlereagh was one of the candidates; and he made his début on behalf of Mr. Ward, another candidate, in so successful a manner as to obtain at once a reputation for ability. He was soon extensively employed, and he rose steadily to the highest professional distinction. In 1796 he was elected, by the members of the Bar, Captain-Commandant of their corps, which affords ample proof of the estimation in which he was held. In 1798 the office of Solicitor-General was pressed upon him with much earnestness, but declined; as it was his determination to oppose the measure of the Union, then in agitation. In 1803 he was again urgently solicited to take the same office, but peremptorily refused. In 1807 he was once more applied to by the Government, and at length yielded to the influence of his attached friend, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Downes, and accepted the office of Attorney-General for Ireland, which he held for 14 years. Previous to this he had been elected a member of the House of Commons, and soon became distinguished as a speaker. On the retirement of Lord Downes from the Bench, the Government wished to raise Mr. Saurin to the vacant seat, but he refused the promotion. A peerage was added to the offer but it was still declined. He continued "in great Chancery practice, till at length having become father of the Bar, and beginning to feel the weight of years, he took leave of the profession in 1831." His death took place on the 11th January, 1839.

The Right Rev. James Saurin, Lord Bishop of Dromore, was born in Belfast, 18th December, 1759. He was the fourth son of the Rev. James Saurin, rector of St. Ann's; and in early life was for a short time at the school of the Rev. Mr. Dubourdieu, in Lisburn. On the death of his father he left Belfast, and entered Trinity College, Dublin, at the age of 14: unusually early in those days. He was a distinguished classical scholar, obtained a scholarship, and read for fellowships; but the close application necessary for this having injured his health, he was obliged to relinquish the pursuit, and was ordained in 1783 to the curacy of St. Doughlass, where he continued 17 years. In 1800 he was nominated to the rectory of Rosenallis, in Queen's County, and in 1807 to that of Donaghmore. He was appointed Dean of Cork in 1812, Archdeacon of Dublin, in 1813, and Dean of Derry, in 1817. In 1819, when about 60 years of age, he was consecrated Bishop of Dromore. He presided over that diocese for 22 years, and died the 19th April, 1842, in his 83d year. He had thirteen children, of whom twelve are living. On leaving each of his preferments, he

received complimentary addresses; and, when resigning the Archdeaconry of Dublin, he was presented with a service of plate. During his residence in the Diocese of Dromore he maintained a cordial intercourse with all denominations of Protestants. He was one of the Irish prelates deputed to wait upon George IV., at the period of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, in 1829, and voted against that measure in the House of Lords. It is creditable to his memory that he evinced a strong desire to sacrifice a portion of his income, in order that the Rectorial titles of four parishes appropriate to the Bishopric might be transferred to their respective incumbents. For this purpose a bill was to have been introduced into parliament, and he was willing to bind himself never again to renew the leases of the aforesaid tithes; but unforeseen obstacles, over which he had no controul, baffled the design.—A monument to him is erected in the cathedral church of Dromore.

Of the other French families who joined the settlement at Lisburn all that can now be ascertained is their names. The following have been collected from various authorities, chiefly from the old Vestry-books, and the lists of deaths, marriages, and baptisms at Lisburn. The dates subjoined to some of the names are those at which they appear in these Registers.

Brethet,
Bulroy
Birrel
Bonace
Burto
Bourto
Blosset
Bonley
Comière
Colbert
Covart, (1728)
Quavert, (1727)
Chartres, (1703)
Chaters, (1799)

De Bernière
Druet, Drewet, Drued, Druid (1723)
Drufan
Defou
Darele
Dufore
Dela Hyde
Deluze
Driffet
Treufet
De Armine
Duliez (1718)
Duard
Denmar, (1738
Dalton, (1722)
Domville, (1753)
Dumvill, (1662)
Dumbill, (1664)
De Lap, (1698)
Dulap, (1671)
De Vanny

Foguy
Gornal
Garran
Gothard
Higuet
Labady (L'Abbadie?)
Lefevre
La Briol
Labrel, (1727)
Ledrue
Languel
Lascelles, (1698)
Leroy, (1675)
Maskue
Marret
Merret
Morrell
Merron
Martine (1698)
Maslin

Nebur
Nois
Noblet
Prorié
Petticrew, (1722)
Purdee, (Purdue) (1662)
Rothell, (1718
Réné
Stalliard
Touchamp, (1723)
Trimullete
Tremmule
Treufet
Taverner (1723)
Vandas
Vagieux
Valentin

[There is a possibility that several of the above names may not be French.]

The foregoing particulars, relative to the French Protestant families settled at Lisburn, scanty as they may appear, are all that can be now collected, and have not been obtained without much trouble; so completely have the descendants of these settlers become incorporated with the population of the district, or disappeared amidst the eventful changes of the last hundred and fifty years. That their settlement, however, exercised a powerful influence on the character of the locality, there can be no question. They added one energetic element to a population already strongly Protestant in its tendency; and, as many of the original colonists were of high family and liberal education, and all of them of industrious and peaceful habits, they contributed in no small degree to the respectability for which the neighbourhood of Lisburn is now so deservedly noted. From the time of their arrival the Linen Trade began to assume a new importance. Its elements had of course existed in a crude form for a long time previous; but the improvements and systematic arrangements introduced by them led the way to that wonderful expansion of the manufacture which has since rendered the Province of Ulster celebrated throughout the world. The factories and bleach-works of the present day are no doubt infinitely superior to the infant establishments of Crommelin and his colonists; but we must remember their own French proverb, "C'est le premier pas qui coute," and acknowledge that, if political events had not driven these unfortunate men into exile, our Linen Trade might still have been rude and unimportant, or might even have been extinguished by the competition of other countries.

Many of the Huguenots of Lisburn long cherished hopes of recovering their properties in France, and of returning to reside in their native country; but their expectations gradually declined, and their descendants, losing the *amor patriæ* of the first settlers, intermarried by degrees with the natives. They joined the Established Church in numbers, so that by this means, as well as by the removal of many to other districts, the French Chapel, which was at one time numerously attended, became almost deserted. Finally, the Rev. Saumarez Dubourdieu, the last of the French pastors, was appointed to the neighbouring parish of Lambeg, and the Chapel was closed. It continued so until the year 1798, when it was converted into a guard-house. After the country became quiet its occupancy was again changed, and it became, what it still is, the Court-house of Lisburn. The only memorials that now remain of this colony are some tomb-stones in the church-yard, and a few vague traditions and kindly recollections among the old inhabitants.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

THE ardent desire felt by the Huguenots to return to their own country, and the sacrifices they were willing to make for that purpose are illustrated by the following incident, the account of which we transcribe from the *Belfast News-Letter*, January, 1797. It is there given on the authority of the Count de Maisonville who, thirty years before, had been Plenipotentiary and Envoy from the Elector of Treves to the Court of France and elsewhere, and was intimate with the Dukes of Bellisle, Estrées, and Choiseul, Ministers at Versailles.

In the reign of the late French King, when France was groaning under the weight of taxes, and the people struggling against the complicated horrors of tyranny and heavy exactions, Mareschal de Bellisle, then Minister, was one day informed that a person solicited the favour of an audience with all possible eagerness. The request was acceded to. A man wrapped up in a cloak appeared before the Minister, whom he thus addressed: —"My lord, deign to listen to me. I am a Protestant and a preacher, nor am I ignorant of the danger to which the latter quality exposes me; but I own it because I know that your closet must be an asylum for those who are admitted to it."—"Your confidence pleases me," answered the Mareschal, "and it shall not be deceived: speak to me candidly, and tell me what you want."—"Deputed by my brethren, the Refugees, who, notwithstanding the rigorous edict of Louis XIV., still regret their banishment from France, I come in their name to offer you the pecuniary assistance of which the country stands so much in need."—He then opened a pocket-book, and showed the Minister notes, to the amount of 40 millions of Livres, on the best banking-houses in Europe; and then continued his address:—"This is only an earnest of the sacrifices we are ready to make to France, if she consent to re-admit us into her bosom, and annihilate the "Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," which hypocrisy and avarice extorted from the King. Seventy years of exile have not been able to eradicate from our hearts an affection for this country which our fathers ordered us ever to cherish. There are still alive some venerable witnesses of those days of horror and desolation, when wives were torn from their husbands arms; when tender infants were snatched from their mother's breasts; when methods equally repugnant to nature and reason were employed to force them to abandon the religious tenets of their ancestors. These evils, the work of barbarous prejudices, have not effaced from our hearts the desire of returning to France. We were obliged to export our industry and talents along with us: we now petition to bring them back improved by the assiduous exertions of seventy years. All we want is liberty of conscience, and a civil existence. Deign, my lord, to lay our proposal at the foot of the throne and become our protector."

The minister, astonished and flattered, answered the deputy with much kindness, and left him alone in his closet, while he went to acquaint the King with what had taken place. An Extraordinary Cabinet Council was summoned immediately, where the subject was debated with much warmth. Pride and Hatred were opposed by Reason and Humanity; but Pride and Hatred triumphed. The Minister was scouted for having even listened to a proposition which, according to the apostles of intolerance, was a crime against religion. They alleged that to grant such a request would be the signal for a civil war and all its attendant horrors, and that it would be selling France to heresy. Louis XV. signed the decision: and then for the first time, in an affair of importance, did he exhibit proofs of a weakness which served as a pledge for the other evils he afterwards hurled on his wretched subjects The Mareschal, having returned, answered the preacher:—"The King does not consent to the proposal of his refractory subjects. He will never grant a residence in France to those who stubbornly profess and propagate error. Go away; and be grateful for the King's clemency, which allows you 48 hours to quit the kingdom."—The honest man retired without a murmur; for the "Bastille" was then in existence, and so were "lettres de cachet."

This occurrence, which is little known, took place about 40 years ago. What a progress has reason made since that period!—[*Belfast News-Letter*, January, 1797.]

In the old Vestry-book of Lisburn, at 18th June, 1699, there is a sum of £24 10s voted for the relief of the distressed Vaudois.

The following is a copy of a certificate to two Huguenot ladies (who afterwards joined the Lisburn colony) from the minister and elders of a church in Holland, on the occasion of their leaving the place; a precaution probably usual in those times:—"Nous soussignéz, Pasteurs et Anciens de L'Eglise Walonne de Lejde, certifions, que Mesdemoiselles Judith et Louise de la Cherois, natifues de la Ville de Ham en Picardie, après auoir abandonné en Franee toutes choses pour la cause de l'Eglise, et auoir passé quelques années à Boisleduc, d'où elles ont remporté un auantageux témoignage, se sont rétirées a Lejde, où elles demeurent depuis quatre ans; pendant lesquels elles se sont conduites d'une manière très-chrétienne et très-édifiante, donnant des marques de leur piéte et de leur zèle en fréquentant auec assiduité nos saintes assemblées, participant à toutes les occasions au sacrement de la Sainte Cène du Seigneur, et faisant paroistre, dans toute leur conuersation, une sagesse, une humilité, et une modestie, qui leur ont acquis l'estime de tout le monde.

" C'est le témoignage que nous rendons á la vérité, afin qu'elles puissent s'en seruir en temps et lieu. Fait au Consistoire le 5 de Juillet, 1693. Et pour tous.

" Godefroy van Kempe, Pasteur.

" Guerin, Pasteur.

" Jean Bonvla, Aneien.

" Jean Carlier, Ancien.

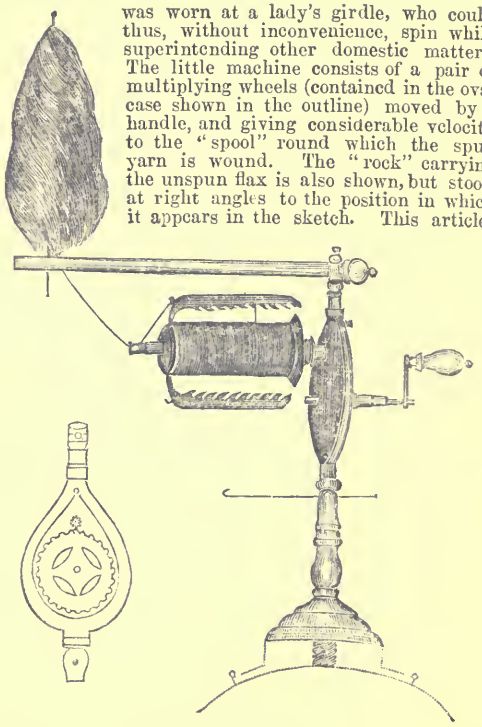
" Elie Del Tombe, Ancien.

[translation]

" We the undersigned, Pastors and Elders of the Walloon Church of Leyden, certify that the ladies Judith and Louisa De la Charois, natives of the town of Ham, in Picardy, after having given up everything in France for the sake of the Gospel, and having passed several years at Bois-le-Duc, from whence they brought a favourable certificate, retired to Leyden where they have lived these four years; during which period they have conducted themselves in a most Christian and edifying manner, giving proof of their piety and zeal by frequenting assiduously our holy assemblies, participating on all occasions in the Sacrament of the Lord's Holy Supper, and exhibiting in all their conversation a degree of wisdom, humility, and modesty, which have won for them the esteem of every one.

" This testimony we give in all truth, in order that they may be able to make use of it in due time and place.

" Done at the Consistory, the 5th July, 1693; and in the name of all."



Among the few relics preserved by the descendants of the Lisburn Huguenots is a little portable spinning-wheel, of which we annex a wood-cut, one third of the actual size. It is neatly made of polished brass, and was worn at a lady's girdle, who could thus, without inconvenience, spin while superintending other domestic matters. The little machine consists of a pair of multiplying wheels (contained in the oval case shown in the outline) moved by a handle, and giving considerable velocity to the "spool" round which the spun yarn is wound. The "rock" carrying the unspun flax is also shown, but stood at right angles to the position in which it appears in the sketch. This article was brought from France by one of the ladies of the De la Cherois family, and is still preserved as a relic of old times.

[Errata.—Owing to the difficulty of reading the M.S. documents which contained some of the foregoing particulars, several names of places, &c., have been erroneously printed. In page 167, for "Godefrey," read "Godefroy," for "Sanoctal," read "Sauvetal," and for "Blangar," read "Blanzac." In page 168, for "Londure," read "Loudure."]

RECENT DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS AND OTHER ARTICLES NEAR COLERAINE. (CO. DERRY.)

In the month of April, 1854, the following appeared in the *Coleraine Chronicle*, and was copied into several other newspapers:—

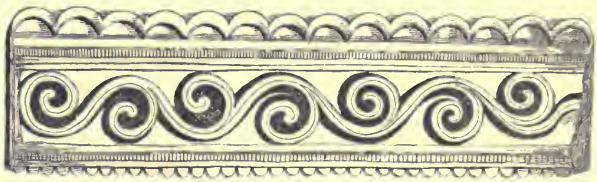
"EXTRAORDINARY DISCOVERY OF COINS.—A very extraordinary discovery was made by a labouring man the other day, while cleaning out a ditch. He found an urn containing 1937 coins, together with 341 ounces of silver, in pieces of various sizes. The coins are Roman, in the most perfect state of preservation, of the most antique description; and what is very singular, no two coins appear to bear the same superscription. The silver is composed of a large number of ingots, and ornamental pieces supposed to have been used on armour for horses. There are also several battle-axes, marked with Roman characters. The whole is now in the possession of Mr. James Gilmour, watchmaker, Coleraine, where they may be seen by any one curious in the science of numismatics."

A natural feeling of interest in a discovery which promised to throw some light on the ancient condition of Ireland, induced me to write to Mr. Gilmour, recommending that, before the articles thus fortunately discovered were dispersed, means should be taken for having a careful description of them put on record in the pages of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*:—and Mr. Gilmour, fully concurring in this desire, soon afterwards placed the entire collection of coins in the hands of my friend, James Carruthers, Esq., the well-known numismatist, who has undertaken to prepare a detailed catalogue of them; the other articles he intrusted to me for a similar purpose. Mr. Gilmour has also explained to me more fully and more correctly than was possible in a hastily written newspaper paragraph, the circumstances connected with their discovery. From his statement it appears that the article in the *Coleraine Chronicle* contains some inaccuracies, such as are almost unavoidable in accounts prepared in haste by persons who have not paid much attention to the subject of antiquities: such, indeed, as have sometimes crept into the statements of experienced archæologists.

It is true that the discovery was made in the neighbourhood of Coleraine; viz., in the townland of Ballinrees, parish of Macosquin, and county of Londonderry; about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles West of Coleraine, and upon the estate of Lady Emily Richardson. It was made, as was stated in the newspapers, by a labouring man, but not "while cleaning out a ditch." Had it been so, the inference might have been raised that the hoard had been *deposited in a ditch*, and, consequently, *since* the formation of the existing land-divisions; but, from a sketch-map of the field, since furnished to me, it is manifest that the deposit had no reference to any of the present boundaries. Neither was it found in "an urn:"—there was no trace of any vessel or covering; although, from the closeness with which the whole lay packed together, it is highly probable that the collection, when deposited in the earth, had been contained in some case, bag, or box, which has utterly decayed, so that no trace of it remains. It was found at such a depth below the surface that it must have been carefully buried in the place where it was discovered; not simply dropped on the surface, and afterwards accidentally interred by the spade or the

ANCIENT SILVER ARTICLES FOUND NEAR COLERAINE.

1.



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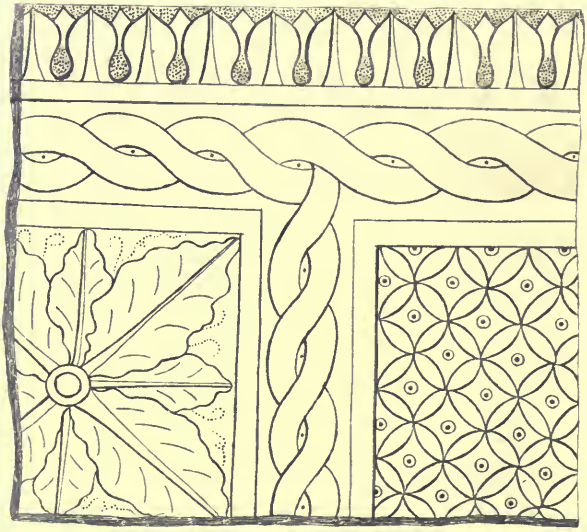
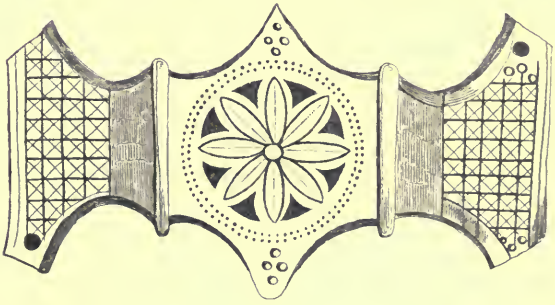


3.

5.



6.

J. Scott Porter Delt.

SIZE OF THE ORIGINALS.

plough. The soil is "moory," but seems not to have been covered with water at any time since the deposit of the treasure. The coins in the collection amount to 1506, not 1937, as stated in the paragraph; they are all Roman, and of silver, but small; few being larger than a sixpence, and many considerably less;—far from being "all in the most perfect state of preservation," many are clipped, defaced, and otherwise injured;—they certainly are not "of the most antique description,"—as there is not a single *consular* coin in the heap; all are of the lower Empire: and there are many duplicates. On these points, the Catalogue prepared by Mr. Carruthers will give more detailed and satisfactory information.—The silver articles found along with the coins, and placed in my hands, weigh altogether, as ascertained by my friend Mr. Gray, of Castle-Place, Belfast—not 341 ounces as stated,—but 200 oz., 15 dwts., Troy: to which, however, must be added 2 or 3 ounces, for the weight of one half of one of the ingots retained by Mr. Gilmour for the purpose of having it assayed. The fracture of this ingot shows the silver to be very fine. The pieces in the "find" are, briefly, 11 large, and 4 small ingots, or rudely cast short silver bars, *unhammered;* 7 ingots, or lumps of silver, of various shapes and sizes, (chiefly small), *hammered, and most of them broken; uninscribed:* 2 ingots, or rather fragments of ingots, *hammered, and bearing inscriptions;* 3 fragments of what Mr. Carruthers conjectures to have been a large but very thin silver cup, or other similar vessel, *rudely ornamented;* 5 fragments of the knobbed rims of broad silver dishes, or perhaps of one such dish, if we suppose the edge to have been divided into compartments ornamented in different patterns, though in the same style; and 25 other fragments of manufactured plate, most of them so bruised, broken, and contorted, that it would be difficult to assign to them any definite use. There is no article in the "find" which could suggest to any but the most inexperienced eye the idea either of "horse armour" or a "battle-axe." A battle-axe of silver would indeed be an anomaly. A few of the pieces deserve notice on account of the style of their workmanship; these are here enumerated. The reader is requested to refer to the Illustrative Plate.

1. A fragment of an ornamented silver cover for the lid of a box, or for some such purpose: there is a hole near the angle for one of the rivets by which it was fastened to the panel beneath. Only one compartment of the decoration is perfect: a small portion of a second remains, which had manifestly a different pattern. The remaining figure exhibits a floreated circle, enclosing two interlaced equilateral triangles, in the centre of which is a six-leaved floret. The whole was formerly gilt.—Work, Roman, and elegant.

2. An elegant strap or narrow plate of silver. The principal ornament consists of a waving double line, branched with alternate spirals, flanked by lines, inclosing a row of dots; surmounted by inverted festoons, and finished below with little knobs. This also was gilt;—work, Roman. The pattern was evidently impressed on this and the preceding article by pressure or by stamping.

3. A piece of very solid plate, which must originally have been costly, as it was carefully engraved by hand; it is now so contorted that it is impossible to determine its use. I have given the design

as accurately as I could obtain it by pressure on softened paper.—Work, Roman, or perhaps Greek.

4. One of the two hammered and inscribed fragments of ingots: it is probably a piece of one which had been issued from Constantinople to the mint-masters in some of the provincial cities which enjoyed the privilege of coining money;—or else one which had been purchased by the moneyers from some private refiner, who, to prevent fraud, was obliged to put his name on the silver which he sold to the treasury. This fragment bears the inscription EXOFPATRICII; i.e., *Ex Officinâ Patricii*:—"From the manufactory of Patricius."* The other inscribed ingot, which is nearly of the same shape, but larger, has only the last part of its inscription, shewing the letters CVRMISSI, i.e., *Curatoris Missi*,—or perhaps *Procuratoris Missi;* i.e., "of the Manager Missus:" it may have read when perfect "*from the Office of..... sent forth as Manager*," or *Procurator*.

5. A small fragment of a very solid piece of plate, apparently the lid of a flagon; as a part of the raised flange which closed against the side of the vessel, to shut in the contents tightly, still remains. It shews a human head seen in profile, with a few ornaments: the style of which, as well as that of the features of the face, and the manner of dressing the head, bespeaks the workmanship to be Egyptian. A trace of gilding is perceptible.

6. A very elegant silver ornament, which also was once gilt. The middle compartment, which is decorated with an eight-pointed star, (perhaps symbolical of the eight winds,) is raised above the plane of the two end divisions, allowing space for a belt or strap to pass beneath it:—the end compartments contain two of the rivet-holes by which it was fastened to the object to which it belonged. Work, Roman.

I have not thought it necessary to give any drawing of the decoration of the large silver article which Mr. Carruthers conjectures to have been a cup, as it is in the very simplest style imaginable: consisting only of lines, circles, and awkward imitations of foliage, formed by punching. Two punches were used; one to impress a plain dot, another a little circle, such as would be made by pressing the pipe of a small key on paper: the type is varied by punching occasionally the dot within the little circle. The silver is so thin, that if it really belonged to a cup or other vessel, it must have been merely the outer casing, which had been lined and supported by a wooden or earthenware one inside, as it is not thicker than good writing paper. Perhaps it may have been the covering of a helmet or small shield. The silver is so contorted that it could not now be flattened without the risk of breaking it into pieces; and I have not thought myself warranted in trying the experiment.

It has been already remarked that every article in the "find" was of *silver*. There was not a coin or article of gold or bronze, nor a specimen of jewellery, in the whole collection. This fact may assist

* A similarly inscribed ingot is mentioned in Camden's Britannia, (vol. II. p. 16). Speaking of the Tower of London, it is remarked,—"That it was both the Treasury and Mint of the Romans, appears from the silver ingot inscribed EX OFFICIO HONORII found, with many gold coins of Honorius and Arcadius, in the old foundations of the Ordnance Office there in 1777." [Edit.]

in determining the purpose for which the whole had been gathered together. It was not a merchant's money-box; nor the hoard of a miser; nor the booty of a robber; nor the spoils of a warrior; nor the treasury of a monastery: in any of those cases the hoard would, almost beyond a doubt, have contained some gold or brass, or both; and, beyond a doubt, some article of plate in a perfect state: whereas it does not contain, (with the exception of a portion of the coins), one unmutilated piece of wrought: silver all are bent, broken, and for every useful purpose destroyed: and nine-tenths of the whole consist of lumps, or rude castings, which, at the time when they were made, could have had no value at all except the intrinsic worth of the metal. The only use to which such a heap could be applied would be as *old silver*, intended to supply material to a silver-smith for the exercise of his art. I have little doubt that the hoard had been originally collected for this use; how or why it came to be buried in the earth it is impossible now to say with certainty. It may have been deposited there by its owner for safety in troublesome times; or it may have been stolen from him and buried by the robber for the purpose of concealment. But however it came there, its contents prove, to my mind convincingly, that *the art of manufacturing silver was practised, and perhaps extensively practised, in Ireland, at the time of its inhumation.*

It farther proves, as I conceive, that at that period, *there was some intercourse between Ireland, and the parts of Europe which had formerly been subject to the power of the Roman Emperors*:—for there can be little doubt, that the articles in this hoard had all been collected within the limits of the ancient empire; in Britain, Gaul, or Spain:—or possibly, in Greece, Africa, or Egypt. The coins are all Roman:—some of the ingots are impressed with inscriptions in the Latin language; and the workmanship of several of the pieces of plate is decidedly Roman. One is, as I judge, Egyptian; another may perhaps be Greek: but Egypt and Greece were included in the empire; and we can conceive numberless ways in which a silver vessel of Egyptian or Greek manufacture might find its way into the remotest provinces. A proconsul, a *publicanus*, an officer in the army, on shifting his quarters from one part of the empire to another, might easily bring such an article with him into Gaul or Britain; which, when injured by fire or other accident, might be broken up and sold for old silver. I do not think it necessary, therefore, to argue for the existence of a commerce between Ireland and Egypt, or Greece, at the time of the formation of this hoard. I apprehend we ought not to push an antiquarian inference further than is absolutely necessary to explain the facts. These, however, leave no doubt, that there was some kind of intercourse, direct, or indirect, between Ireland and the Roman Empire, involving a reciprocal interchange of commodities, at the time when this mass of silver was gathered together, and imported into this country. That it was not an intercourse of war only, is evident, from the dilapidated condition of the plate and the silver coins.

And when was this?—It is not easy to solve this question precisely. It must have been since the reign of Honorius the latest Emperor (as I have learned from Mr Carruthers) whose inscrip-

tion occurs on the coins; and, probably before the erection of mints, and the issuing of silver money by the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, the Franks in Gaul, and the Visigoths in Spain. Had Saxon money been in common use in the neighbouring island, it is probable that some specimens would have occurred in a gathering so promiscuous as this. These limits would place the date of the formation of this hoard between A.D. 423, and A.D. 600.

It would therefore appear to be proved, that between the dates, the art of the silversmith was exercised in Ireland; and, that old plate, and disused or damaged coins, were then commercially imported as the materials of that trade. No doubt the articles of plate which were manufactured in this country were also used and worn in this country. Silver cups, flagons, and other utensils, *fibulæ*, and other ornaments, were to be seen in the houses of the chieftains, and on their persons, and those of their families; and there was also some foreign trade. By means of this commerce the Irish merchants became acquainted with the use of coined money; they met with it abroad and imported it into their own country; but they brought it to Ireland (and this is a curious fact) only as old silver for manufacturing purposes. The Irish people never used the Roman coinage as a circulating medium; nor did they, for ages after the time of which we are speaking, strike money of their own for the purposes of trade. Down to a comparatively recent period, the chief standard of value was black-cattle: payments in gold or silver were also made occasionally; but when such payments are recorded in the Annals, the *weight* is always specified in ounces, which proves that coined money was not employed. There was therefore a mixture of rudeness and refinement in the social state of the country. The upper classes were enabled to indulge in splendour; but there was little profitable industry by which the people generally could attain to wealth. A country which carried on any considerable internal trade would, infallibly, have either adopted a foreign coinage, or established one of its own, as a medium of exchange.

The occurrrence of this clear example of the importation of wrought silver, though damaged, from the limits of the Roman Empire, may enable us to explain the resemblance which is found between the Roman style of decoration and that which may be seen in some undoubted specimens of Irish art. The interlaced triangle, the star of eight points, and the wave and spiral, of which there are specimens in this collection, are also found, though seldom so beautifully executed, on *fibulæ* and other ancient ornaments made in Ireland. This seems to me to be the chief point in which this discovery has any important bearing on the history of native art. The question, *how, and how far, the early state of the arts in Ireland was influenced by the contemporary condition of Roman art*, is one of considerable interest, which it would be very desirable to see discussed by some one having learning, leisure, and opportunity, to follow it out satisfactorily. For the solution of that question, the articles which have now been described, injured and imperfect though they are, will undoubtedly contribute some help; and, in this point of view, are interesting to the archæologist. Hence it is to be hoped that means will be taken for preventing them from being dispersed, or perhaps con-

signed to the melting pot. They ought undoubtedly to be purchased for some public collection or museum, in which they would be carefully preserved and catalogued, so as to be always available to aid in the researches of the student.

Belfast, May 5th, 1854. J. Scott Porter.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY."

Sir,—Having carefully examined the Roman coins recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Coleraine, I now beg to send, for insertion in your Journal, a Catalogue of them arranged chronologically. The discovery is a remarkable one, and particularly interesting to numismatists, as Roman money has been very rarely found in Ireland—the only instance, known by me, of a large discovery of them being that of about 300 Denarii discovered about thirty years ago in the same part of the country, (near the Giant's Causeway,) all of which were coins of the Upper Empire.*

The Catalogue commences with the coins of the Emperor Constantius the Second, son of Constantine the Great, who assumed the imperial purple in the year of our Lord 337; and terminates with those of Constantine III., who, when a private soldier, was proclaimed "Augustus" by the Legions of Britain, and acknowledged by those of Gaul A.D. 407;—thus including a series of fourteen Emperors. The hoard consists of 1506 silver coins,† all of the Lower Empire; 657 of which have the legends entirely clipped off, and 199 partially so: the remainder are in a high state of preservation.

James Carruthers.

Belfast, 6th May, 1854.

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* Soon after the present discovery of Roman coins, we wrote to a gentleman residing in the district, who has paid much attention to local antiquities (Mr. James Bell, Prospect, Ballymoney) requesting him to give us any particulars he knew of the previous discovery here referred to. He has favoured us with the following reply.—"I could not at the moment give the dates of the finding of Roman coins in this neighbourhood, until I had made some inquiry. I have now ascertained that in the year 1827, Alexander McKinlay found in the townland of Ballyclough, (in the part called Flower-hill, near Bushmills,) three hundred Roman coins all silver; but he concealed them for a long time, and at length parted with them by sending some to London, others to Dublin, and selling to individuals as opportunity offered. At present, I believe, there are only two of them remaining. In 1830 James Quigg found, in the townland of Tonduff, about one mile from the Giant's Causeway, five hundred Roman coins all silver; these he sold to strangers visiting the Causeway, and, as I have heard, rather under their value. Subsequently the same person found large hoards at two different times; but never permitted any person to know how many. He took part of them to Dublin, and has since emigrated to Australia. None of these were buried at any great depth, as they were discovered while planting potatoes; and Quigg's first "find" of 500, were contained in a bag which appeared to be of thin leather."—James Bell.

We have learned that a considerable number of the coins found in 1830 were purchased by Capt. Thomas Graves, R. N., who now holds a public appointment at Malta. [Edit.]

† Since the present article was written a further discovery of 195 similar coins has been made near the same place. These, we understand, are of the reigns of Gratian, Honorius, and Valens. [Edit.]

CATALOGUE OF COINS.

CONSTANTIVS II. (A.D. 337-361.)

Obverse.		*Reverse.*	*Exergue.*
DN CONSTANTIVS PFAVG			
7	Denarii ...	Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX, ...	SCON.
2	... ...	Victory, VICTORIA DD NN AVG, ...	LVG.
7 Clipt	... ...	Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX	——
6 Partially clipt	...	Victory, VICTORIA DD NN AVG,	——

JVLIAN II. (A.D. 361-363.)

JVLIANVS AVG			
6	Denarii ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	TR.
1	Denarius ...	Victory.—Clipt.	——
2	Denarii ...	Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX.	——
4	JVLIANVS PFAVG ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	SLVG.
1	Denarius ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	LVG,
1	... ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	CON.
1	... ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	TCONST
1	... ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	TCON.
1	... ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	SCON.
4	Denarii ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	——
3	... ...	Wreath, VOTIS X MVLTIS XX, ...	——
4	... ...	Wreath, VOTIS X MVLTIS XX, ...	CONST.
1	Denarius ...	Wreath, VOT X MVLT XX, ...	SCONST.
1	... ...	Wreath, VOT X MVLT XX, ...	PLVG
1	... ...	Wreath, VOT X MVLT XX, ...	TCONST.
30 Clipt	Denarii ...	Wreath, VOTIS X MVLTIS XX, ...	——
6 Do.	Do. ...	Wreath, VOTIS V MVLTIS X, ...	——

JOVIANVS. (A.D. 363-364.)

DN JOVIANVS PFAVG			
1	Denarius ...	Wreath, VOT V MVLT X, ...	TCONST.
1	Medallion ...	The Emperor standing under an arch, GLORIA ROMANORVM	——

VALENTINIAN 1. (A.D. 364-375.)

DN VALENTINIANVS PFAVG			
5	Denarii ...	Rome seated, holding a victory, VRBS ROMA, ...	TRPS.
3	... ...	Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	TRPS.
4	... ...	Rome seated, holding a victory, VRBS ROMA, ...	LVGPS.
3	... ...	Rome seated, holding a victory, VRBS ROMA, ...	RP.
3	... ...	Wreath, VOT V MVLT X, ...	RT.
1	Denarius ...	Wreath, VOT V, ...	GPR.
1	... ...	The Emperor standing, holding the labarum, and a victory, RESTITVTOR REIP, ...	LVG
1 Clipt	... ...	Rome seated.	——
13	Denarii ...	Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, partially clipt. ...	——

VALENS. (A.D. 364-378.)

	Obverse.		*Reverse.*	*Exergue.*
DN VALENS PFAVG				
32	Denarii	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	TRPS.
7	...	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	—
1	Denarius	...	Wreath, VOT V MVLT X, ...	RB.
1	...	...	Wreath, VOT V, ...	CC.
1	...	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	MOPS.
1	...	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	PLVS.
1	...	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	RQ.
1	...	...	The Emperor standing, holding the standard of the Cross, and a Victory, RESTITVTOR REIP, ...	SMAQ.
2	Denarii	...	The Emperor standing, holding the standard of the Cross, and a Victory, RESTITVTOR REIP, ...	PLVS.
1	Denarius	...	The Emperor standing, holding the standard of the Cross, and a Victory, RESTITVTOR REIP, ...	TES.
23	Partially Clipt Denarii	...	Roma victrix seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	—

GRATIAN. (A.D. 367-383.)

DN GRATIANVS PFAVG				
22	Denarii	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	TRPS.
11	Quinarii	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	TRPS.
15	...	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	—
5	Denarii	...	Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	—
2	...	...	Rome seated, VRBS ROMA, ...	MOPS.
6	...	...	Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	TRPS.
2	...	...	Wreath, VOT X MVLT XX, ...	—
2	...	...	Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV, ...	P*R.
1	Denarius	...	Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	MOPS.
9	Denarii	...	Roma victrix, VRBS ROMA.	—
10	...	...	Rome seated holding a globe and spear, VIRTVS ROMANORUM.	—

VALENTINIAN II. (A.D. 375-392.)

DN VALENTINIANVS JVN PFAVG				
3	Denarii	...	Victory marching, holding garland and palm branch, VICTORIA AVGGG, ...	TRPS.
2	...	...	Rome seated, holding a Victory, VRBS ROMA, ...	AQ.PS.
11	Clipt ...	...	Victory marching, ...	—
1	Clipt Denarius	...	Rome seated, holding a Victory.	—

THEODOSIVS MAGNVS. (A.D. 379-395.)

DN THEODOSIVS PFAVG				
7	Denarii	...	Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	—
23	...	...	Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	TRPS.
6	...	...	Clipt, various.	—

Obverse.		*Reverse.*	*Exergue.*
2	...	... Wreath, VOT X MVLT XX, ...	MOPS.
1	Denarius	... Roma victrix, VRBS ROMA, ...	LVGPS.
1	...	... Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	MOPS.
1	...	... A woman seated, her right foot on the prow of a vessel, holding a spear and cornucopiæ, CONCORDIA AVGGG.	TRPS.

MAGNVS MAXIMVS. (A.D. 383-388.)

DN MAG MAXIMVS PFAVG

35	Denarii	... A helmeted woman, holding a globe and spear, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.	TRPS.
17	Partially Clipt Denarii	... A helmeted woman, holding a globe and spear, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.	——

VICTOR. (A.D. 387-388)

DN FL VICTOR PFAVG

4	Clipt Denarii	... A helmeted woman holding in her right hand a globe and in her left a spear, ...	TRPS.
4	Clipt ...	... VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	——

EVGENIVS. (A.D. 392-349.)

DN EVGENIVS PFAVG

8	Denarii	... Roma victrix seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	TRPS.
29	...	... Roma victrix seated.	——

ARCADIVS. (A.D. 395-408.)

DN ARCADIVS PFAVG

39	Denarii	... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	MOPS.
8	...	... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	TRPS.
1	Quinarius	... Victory marching with garland and palm, VICTORIA AVGG,	M.
28	Partially Clipt Quinarii	... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	——
3	Quinarii	... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	——
2	Denarii	... Wreath, VOT V MVLT X, ...	MOPS
3	...	... Rome seated, VRBS ROMA.	——
3	...	... Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV, ...	MOPS.
1	Denarius	... Wreath, VOT V MVLT X, ...	——
2	Denarii	... Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV.	——
3	Partially Clipt Denarii	... Rome seated.	——
47	Denarii	... Roma victrix, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, ...	——
2	Partially Clipt Denarii	... Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV.	——

HONORIVS. (A.D. 395-423.)

DN HONORIVS PFAVG

45	Denarii	... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.	MOPS.
3		... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.	TRPS.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*	*Exergue.*
14	Quinarii	... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.	TRPS.
30	...	... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.	——
3	Denarii	... Rome seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.	——
8	...	... Wreath, VOT V MVLT X, ...	MOPS.
8	Quinarii, Clipt	... Rome seated, ...	——
1	Denarius	... Wreath, VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX.	——
1	...	... Wreath, VOT X MVLT XV.	——
28	Denarii, Partially Clipt	... Roma victrix seated, VIRTVS ROMANORVM.	——

CONSTANTINVS III. (A.D. 407-411.)

USURPER OF BRITAIN, GAUL AND SPAIN.

DN CONSTANTINVS PFAVG

Denarii ... A helmeted woman holding a victory, and hasta, VICTORIA AAA GGGG, ... LDPV.

557	Denarii	Legends Clipt off.
127	...	Partially Clipt.

For the information of readers who are not familiar with the Roman Coinage, the following explanation of the Legends occurring on these specimens is here subjoined in alphabetical order.

AQ P S,—*Aquileiæ Pecunia Signata ;*—"Money struck at Aquileia."

AVG,—*Augustus ;*—"The August:" a title always assumed by the reigning emperors.

CC,—*Cæsares ;*—"The Cæsars:" a title bestowed on the *successors* to the reigning emperors.

CONCORDIA AVGGG,—*Concordia Augustorum Trium ;*—"The Concord of the Three Emperors."

CON. (or CONST,)—*Constantinopoli ;*—"At Constantinople."

D N.—*Dominus Noster ;*—"Our Sovereign."

G P R,—*Genio Populi Romani ;*—"To the Tutelary Genius of the Roman People."

JVN,—*Junior ;*—"The Younger."

L D P V,—*Londini, Decuriones Pecuniæ Quinque ;*—"The Five Officers of the Mint at London." Other interpretations may be given of this legend.

LVG,—*Lugduni ;*—"At Lyons."

LVG P S.—*Lugduni Pecunia Signata ;*—"Money struck at Lyons."

M... (perhaps,) *Mopsi ;*—"At Mopsus."—The other letters being lost the interpretation is doubtful.

P F.—*Pius Felix ;*—"Pius and Successful."

P LVG,—*Pecunia Lugdunensis ;*—"Coinage of Lyons."

P LVG S,—*Pecunia Lugduni Signata ;*—"Money struck at Lyons."

R B,—*Romana Moneta 2da ;*—"The Second Mint at Rome."—When there were several mints in any city, they sometimes distinguished their coinages by the letters A, B, &c., respectively.

RESTITVTOR REIP,—*Restitutor Reipublicæ ;*—"The Restorer of the Republic."

R P,—*Res-Publica ;*—"The Commonwealth."
R P R,—*Res-Publica Romana ;*—"The Commonwealth of Rome
R Q.—*Romana Quæstura ;*—"The Roman Exchequer."
S CONST,—*Signata Constantinopoli ;*—"Struck at Constantinople."
S LVG,—*Signata Lugduni ;*—"Struck at Lyons."
S M AQ,—*Signata Monetâ Aquileiensi ;*—"Struck at the Mint of Aquileia."
TES,—*Thessalonicæ ;*—"At Thessalonica."
T CON, (or T CONST,)—*Tribunus Constantinopolitanus ;*—"The Tribune [of the Treasury] at Constantinople."
TR,—*Treviris ;*—"At Treves."
TR P S,—*Treviris Pecunia Signata ;*—"Money Struck at Treves."
VICTORIA AVGGG,—*Victoria Trium Augustorum ;*—"The Victory of the Three Emperors."
VICTORIA DD NN AVG,—*Victoria Dominorum Nostrorum Augustorum ;*—"The Victory of our August Sovereigns."
VIRTVS ROMANORVM,—"The Valour of the Romans."
VRBS ROMA,—"The City of Rome."
VOT, (or VOTIS,) and MVL (or MVLTIS,) with numerals annexed, refer to *pro formâ* renewals of their own authority, which the emperors procured from time to time ; usually for five, ten, twenty, or thirty years.

ANCIENT ENAMELLED COPPER VESSEL,

FOUND IN THE COUNTY OF DOWN.

The elegant little vessel represented in the accompanying lithograph was found in the townland of Church-walls, parish of Bright, barony of Lecale, County of Down. It was discovered, about 12 years ago, in ploughing up the ground. The spot seems to have been at some remote period a burying-place, as several ancient graves of peculiar construction were met with at about three or four feet from the surface. These graves appeared to have been formed by placing long narrow flag-stones, edgewise, along the sides and at the extremities; and to have been covered at top by similar stones, somewhat in the manner of slating. The name by which the place is known (Church-walls) indicates that it had been connected with some ancient ecclesiastical structure, which most probably adjoined the cemetery. It is singular, however, that no notice is taken by Reeves, or other writers on the local Ecclesiastical Antiquities, of the existence of any such building. This, together with the absence of all local tradition on the subject, and the unusual formation of the graves, seems to prove the high antiquity of its foundation.

The vessel here represented measures five and a-half inches in height, and weighs about nine ounces. It is formed of copper, in two halves, soldered or cemented together longitudinally. It has evidently had a lid, as the hinge remains perfect: and two perforations on each side indicate that there must have been a handle and a spout nearly in the positions shown in the outline restoration.

ENAMELLED AND GILT COPPER VESSEL
FOUND IN THE COUNTY-DOWN.
SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL.

The remains of solder on the bottom render it probable that some kind of stand or base was attached to it, but of what form it is impossible to say. The elegance of design and beauty of workmanship in the ornamentation are very striking: the floral scroll surrounding the globular part of the vessel is especially remarkable for the elegant freedom of the style. A careful examination by practical persons has clearly determined that the entire of the ornamental work has been carved by hand. The surface has originally been overlaid with burnished gold, as in several spots small portions yet remain, which are considerably thicker than ordinary gilding. But the peculiar beauty of this antique vessel is the *enamelling*, which was of three colours, tastefully arranged. Many portions of the enamel remain in astonishing preservation, and give a faint idea of the elegant effect produced by the entire design when perfect. The ground of the portion beneath the lid, and of the scroll work surrounding the lower part, is of a *deep blue*, above which the floriated pattern appeared in bright gold. The same blue ground is used at the centre of the vessel under gold net-work, which had a very elegant appearance. Enamel of a *pale green* colour formed two plain bands, which are seen (about one inch and two inches respectively) below the floriated mouth, and the same green colour appears as the ground of the figure representing a winged cherub. A *yellow* enamel seems to have formed the glory round the head of this figure, and likewise appears on some other spots. All the portions of enamel which remain on the vessel retain their colours and hardness in a wonderful degree; while the copper is corroded and decomposed in several places, and the gold has nearly disappeared. This interesting relic is now the property of the Rev. Charles Archbold, of Minerstown, Clough (Co. Down), who obligingly permitted the present drawing to be made.

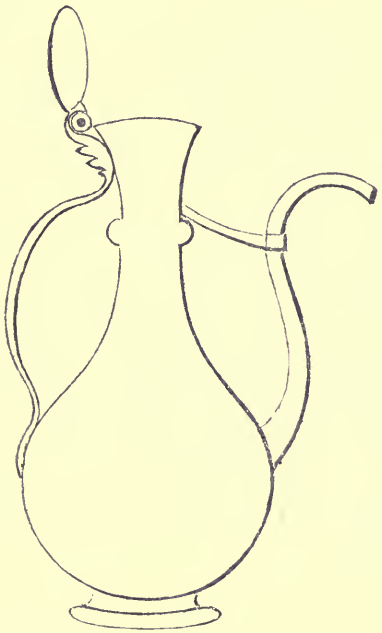
Various opinions having been offered as to the probable date and use of this vessel, we thought it advisable to forward a copy of the drawing to a gentleman peculiarly well qualified to give information on the subject, Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., London. He has kindly replied to our inquiry; and his remarks, which we annex, show that this vessel is of considerable antiquity, and is one of a description rarely if ever found in Ireland.

" The beautiful enamelled vessel found near Belfast, unfortunately not in a perfect state, is one of a pair of *amulæ*, *phialæ*, or cruets, used for the wine and water for consecration at the altar. It is of the work of Limoges, of the kind of enamel technically termed *champ levé*, from the copper being chiselled out, forming cavities in the field to receive the vitrified colour. A *phiala* of the same period and beautiful workmanship, similar in form, and differing only slightly in size, is in the Cabinet of Antiquities in the Imperial Library at Paris. This example is perfect, having its lid and spout. I gave a representation of it in the *Archæological Journal*, (vol. II., p. 168,) in 1845. In place of a winged cherub within a round compartment on the lower part, as seen on the example found in Ireland, the *phiala* found in Paris has a demi-angel. The foliated ornament and general character of the work are the same, and the date of both is about A.D. 1200. Objects 'de opere

Lemovitico,' or wrought by the 'Enamellers of Limoges,' were much esteemed for sacred purposes. The field was mostly of a very rich blue, (cobalt,) and enamels were termed *smalta*, whence probably their actual name. I do not remember to have seen any other examples of Limoges enamel discovered in Ireland.

"Albert Way."

From a sketch of the more perfect vessel at Paris, which Mr. Way sent with the preceding note, we are enabled to give an outline restoration of the present one.



REVIEWS.

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for the year 1852 : Vol. II., Part I. —Dublin, John O Daly, 1853.

There is not in the United Kingdom a local association for literary or scientific purposes which prosecutes its useful labours with greater zeal, ability, or success, than the Kilkenny Archæological Society. The very list of its members, filling *fourteen goodly pages* of large octavo, is a cheering sight to the eye of an antiquary. Very pleasant it is to behold such and so many names in the same catalogue, representing persons of every rank and section in the community, enrolled as fellow-labourers in the same cause, encouraging and assisting each other to unfold the ancient history of their common country, and acting up to the spirit of the admirable motto prefixed to these transactions,—"If any there bee which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile and forrainers in their owne citie, they may soe continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines nor taken these paines."* Former volumes have shown the ability of the gentlemen who have "taken the paines" to write such "lines" as no archæologist would willingly see blotted out; and the present *fasciculus* fully sustains their reputation and that of the society. We regret that our space only allows room for a very brief enumeration of its contents.

First we have a paper "on the Ancient Tapestry of Kilkenny Castle," from the pen of the Rev. James Graves; which gives all that can be gleaned of the history of these curious works of art, and must have been extremely interesting to the society before which it was read; though we must regret the want of illustrative drawings and detailed descriptions, which would have increased the value of the paper to the general Archæologist.

The next paper is an "Authentic Account of the Death of Wallenstein, with a Vindication of the Motives of Colonel Walter Butler," by Francis Prendergast, Esq. As a careful exposition of the facts of the extraordinary case to which it relates, we hold this essay in high estimation. It goes a great way to prove that Wallenstein deserved a traitor's doom; and it establishes, beyond all dispute or question, the cowardice, meanness, and falsehood, of the Emperor Ferdinand II., and his court. But it can scarcely be said to vindicate the motives of Butler, and the other assassins of Wallenstein. True, Mr. Prendergast shows that they were not urged on to slay their chief by the immediate *promise* of reward; but, he also shows that no imperial proclamation, or other legal act, had doomed Wallenstein to die: and thus removes almost the only semblance of excuse which could be pleaded for the bloody deed. He farther admits that Wallenstein fell an *unresisting* victim, under

* Camden.

the partisan of Geraldine. The slaying of him, when it would have been so easy to have made him prisoner and brought him before the tribunals, was therefore a piece of gratuitous villainy. We cannot but regard it as a foul murder. The actors in it were a parcel of Irish and Scottish soldiers of fortune, serving under Wallenstein's command. Butler showed no care for his own reputation, by accepting rewards which can only be regarded as *the price of blood*. He was "made a Count, and an Imperial Chamberlain; and received a golden chain, and several of Terzka's estates:" (Terzka was one of Wallenstein's officers, who refused to join in the conspiracy against his leader, and was slain with, or rather before him, *at an entertainment to which he had been invited for the purpose:)* "and he married a Countess Phondana; by whom, on his death soon after, he was interred with great pomp at Prague:"—where all who wish well to his memory will let him lie undisturbed.

The next communication, by Mr. O'Kearney, on "Folk-lore," is justly characterized by its author, as one which "invents a system of worship for our ancestors *on the slightest possible evidence:*" but we willingly allow him the benefit of his apology, that "he is not singular in this respect."—We hasten to an admirable paper "on the Rock Monuments of the County of Dublin," by Henry O'Neill, Esq.—Mr. O'Neill is evidently no mere book-antiquary; he has seen, drawn, and measured, the structures which he describes, and well understands their significance and value. The following remarks are worthy of a corner in every Archæologist's memory.

"These remains are known in the County of Dublin by the name of *Druids' Altars;* sometimes, but rarely, by that of *Cromleac*. In examining this, or any similar topic, the investigation must be conducted irrespectively of any name, which is often but the expression of some olden theory, lost to literature, but preserved orally. Any one who has attended to the way in which the peasantry catch up the stray opinions of learned disquisitionists, will see the truth of this observation, and estimate its value. * * * How little regard is to be paid to mere names, may be known from the fact, that, besides the two very opposite ones, of Cromleacs and Druids' Altars, by which they are known in the County of Dublin, similar monuments have various other names in other localities: for instance, in the County Kilkenny, one is called "*the stone of the Champion*," another "*the Goat's Stone*," another "*the Ass's Manger:*"—names purely local, and indicating no opinion as to any common object which their founders may have had in erecting them."—P. 40.

And the Editor of the Transactions remarks in a Note:—

"The appellation *Cromleac* is never applied to the primitive rock monuments of this country by the unsophisticated amongst the Irish peasantry. By them they are almost universally termed *Leaba*, "beds" or "graves:"—or *Leac*, "stones" of memorial. The word *Cromleac* was introduced from Wales, by Vallancey and his school; and when merely used as a conventional term is unobjectionable. The name *Druids' Altar*, is founded on the baseless theory entertained by some writers, that these structures served as altars for the human sacrifices said to have been offered by the Druids to the Pagan deities of Ireland; and should be studiously avoided."

The rock-built tombs now existing and visible in the County of Dublin, (no doubt many are yet hidden under *tumuli*), are seven; and are found at Howth, Shanganagh, Brennanstown, Kilternan, Mount Venus, Glencullin, (this was discovered by Mr. O'Neill himself,) and the Phœnix Park. Of all these we have drawings, accompanied by exact measurements and accurate descriptions. This paper will henceforth be referred to as *the* authority on the subject. Viewing it in this light, we have only to regret that the author has contented himself with referring to the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. I., pp. 189—90, for an account of the Knock-Mary tomb, in the Phœnix

Park, more ample than his own. We can understand his reluctance to swell his paper with details which are already in print; but on such a point everything is of interest: and many may see the Transactions of the Kilkenny Society who may not have it in their power to consult those of the Academy. His own description is extremely good, and the illustrative drawings beautiful.

We must pass over with brief notice, a paper "on Ancient Irish Bells," by T. L. Cooke, Esq., who is possessor of no fewer than seven of these curious and interesting reliques:—the bells of St. Molua, St. Cummin, St. Camin, and St. Ruadhan; a small one (of *bronze*) found in Scattery Island, near the mouth of the Shannon; with the *Barnan Coulawn* or bell of St. Culanus; and the bell of Kilshanny, otherwise called that of St. Cuana. The writer referring to the term "Barnan," applied to several Ecclesiastical Bells, and which signifies "a little gap," mentions only two to which he is aware of the epithet being prefixed, the Barnan Coulawn, and the Barnan Evin; Coulawn (Culan) and Evin being the names of two saints. He gives an explanation of the term different from the one proposed by Dr. Petrie; considering it as descriptive,—not of an accidental fracture—but of "a little gap," intentionally left in the protecting casing, "for the person swearing on the bell to introduce his thumb by." This may be correct; but we may mention that, in the Great Exhibition of Irish Antiquities, at Belfast, in 1852, during the Meeting of the British Association, amongst a large number of ancient Irish Bells, there was one called the "Barnan Brighde," or "Gapped Bell of St. Bridget," which had a fracture on one side; and that the tradition representing it states that this injury was caused by the bell being thrown violently by the Saint on a certain occasion, to disperse a body of evil spirits. [See *Descriptive Catalogue of the Belfast Exhibition*, Appendix, p. 12.]—We have next a historical paper "on the Cross-legged Effigies of the County of Kilkenny," by Mr. Graves; who has laudably exerted himself in preserving from destruction several of the monuments which he describes and ably illustrates:—then, an essay by Mr. Cooke "on an Ancient Irish Boat;"—and one by Mr. Graves, "on the Ancient Fabrick, Plate, and Furniture, of the Cathedral of Christ Church, Waterford."—This is succeeded by a memoir "on the Local Antiquities of Buttevant, in the County of Cork," by R. R. Brash, Esq., who has taken considerable pains in repairing and restoring the remains of the Abbey Church of the Franciscan Convent in that town, so as to arrest the progress of destruction and decay.—We are next presented with a paper "on Folk-lore," by Mr. P. Cody, and one by Mr. Prim, "on the Family of Cowley, of Kilkenny,"—with which it is well known the noble house of Wellesley is genealogically connected;—and with "Architectural Notes on Kilkenny Castle," by Mr. J. G. Robertson, Architect, who superintended the recent repair of that building, the noble baronial residence of the "*gens inclyta Butlerorum.*"

These are succeeded by one of the most archæologically curious and interesting papers in the volume:—"Notes" by Mr. Prim, "on the excavation of a Rath, at Dunbel, in the County of Kilkenny:"—"a circular earth-work, having concentric ramparts and fosses," which has lately been trenched for agricultural purposes; and in which many objects have been discovered, showing that

the Rath was once, and probably for many generations, used as a dwelling-place; and throwing much light on the condition of its inhabitants. Enormous quantities of the bones of animals were everywhere met with;—the remains of red and fallow-deer, oxen, *(the bos longifrons)*, horses, swine, and domestic fowl, being manifestly the remains of animals which had for centuries been slaughtered for the food of the inhabitants of the Rath. No human bones were discovered. The cooking-places were also found;—*round pits in the earth*, about a foot and a half in diameter, and two feet deep,—quite full of charcoal, burnt stones, and calcined bones. Slags, or clinkers, were dug up; showing that the inhabitants had forged the rude implements of iron, of which fragments were found in the Rath. Querns, hones, and sharpening-stones; piles of round pebbles, evidently intended for sling-stones; —"fairy mill-stones" in the incipient stage of their formation; a child's toy of stone, some fragments of "Kimmeridge coal-money," and a stone button without the shank, were also discovered: together with pins, a piercer, beads, combs, and a knife-handle, all of bone. One of the combs had its connecting strips rivetted with iron. Bronze pins, and two fibulæ of the same metal were dug up; and *a small square iron bell*, (the bearing of this discovery on our ecclesiastical antiquities we need not point out), iron fibulæ, a javelin-head, several knife-blades, (of which one was only in the process of formation, showing that they were forged on the spot), a goad, chisel, reaping-hook, horse-shoe, and various other articles of the same material; together with many pieces of coarse pottery, *both baked and glazed*, which had formed portions of the household utensils of the dwellers in the Rath. Lastly were found a halfpenny of William and Mary, 1692, a soldier's button, of brass, of the same date, apparently; a tradesman's token, issued by John Beaver, of Kilkenny, about the same period; and a brass ear-ring of the fashion of the last century. These last, of course, are modern deposits.

Next we have "Gleanings from Country Church Yards," by Mr. Hitchcock, who is always original and interesting; though we think we could help him to better interpretations than he has adopted for some of the inscriptions he has copied; and a curious paper by the same gentleman on "Dingle in the Sixteenth Century."—After a memoir by Mr. Prendergast "on Hawks, and Hounds in Ireland," the volume is closed by two notices of "Kilkenny Tradesmen's Tokens," from the pens of Dr. Aquilla Smith, of Dublin, and Mr. Prim, the Secretary of the Society; who have laudably and successfully co-operated in elucidating a point which is of more importance to the history of commerce and society than might at first sight appear.

No Table of Contents is given with the volume (or portion of a volume) now issued; an omission which is unusual, but which will, no doubt, be supplied in the portion yet to appear. This, however, is of less importance than a copious *Index*, which we hope the Society proposes giving with each volume. Works on Archæology, of all others, require a minute and easy reference to names; and in most modern publications of the kind this is carefully attended to.

We have now given a rapid and imperfect sketch of the contents of these Transactions: enough, we hope, to show their value to the Archæologists of our common country, and to recommend the

Society, from which such papers emanate, to the support of all who have it in their power to promote its objects. We heartily wish it success.

Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ Illustrata.—The Episcopal and Capitular Seals of the Irish Cathedral Churches Illustrated.—By Richard Caulfield, A.B., Trin. Col. Dublin. Part II., *Waterford, Lismore, and Cork.*—Dublin, M'Glashan, 1854.

We had some time since the pleasure of noticing the first portion of this curious and interesting work: *(See Ulst. Journ. Archæol.*, I., p. 94) it is now our agreeable duty to recommend the second part to the attention of our readers. It appears to be fully equal to its predecessor in point of accuracy, and superior to it in the quantity of historical and miscellaneous information which it contains. The study of seals may appear to some persons a frivolous occupation; but the careful investigator of history will view it in a very different light. He knows that by their aid he is often able to test the accuracy of pretended deeds and charters; to detect the spurious, and authenticate the genuine; and, thereby to ascertain historical facts, which would otherwise remain doubtful, or be erroneously understood. He knows that by their aid he can often trace the succession of prelates, deans, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, and thus complete the history of many ancient churches and cathedrals, which would without them remain imperfect. He knows that they often give pictorial representations, by which the state of the ancient ecclesiastical buildings may be traced from age to age; as well as the vestments of the clergy, the ecclesiastical *supellex*, and some points connected with the ritual of the sacred offices; and, he knows that the seals, by their form and style of execution, are frequently in themselves authentic documents of the condition of the arts of design at the time when they were engraved. In all these respects, curious facts may be ascertained or verified from Mr. Caulfield's publication. We add, that he performs more than his title-page promises; as he gives not only the Episcopal and Capitular Seals, but the seals of the *Deanery* and *Archdeaconry*, in several cases; and, in *all*, the Verge of each cathedral church; and the ancient Crozier of the See, if it be in existence.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

FORMER POSSESSIONS OF THE MACDONNELLS, OF TENNEKILLE, QUEEN'S COUNTY.—The two papers contributed lately to this Journal on the old estates of the MacDonnells of Tennekille, (by Sir Erasmus D. Borrowes, Bart., and J. Huband Smith, Esq.,) were especially interesting to all who are acquainted with that locality. I would beg permission to offer a few additional observations on the subject, which a personal acquaintance with the neighbourhood enables me to do with some confidence.

Mr. Smith states that "the lands which were the property of the MacDonnells of Tennekille are situated in the united parishes of Ardea, Coolbanagher, and Lea." The parish of Lea, however, is not united with the others, and the name of the parish of Ardea or Ardree is now rarely heard. What were formerly the parishes of Coolbanagher and Ardee (or Ardree) have been for a considerable time united, but the union is generally known as the parish of Coolbanagher. The parish of Lea and the parish (or union) of Coolbanagher make up the barony of Portnehinch, in the Queen's Co. The site of the castle of Lea, and some lands adjoining, became the property of the Fitzgeralds, Earls of Kildare. Until the reign of Charles I., the rest of the parish of Lea (excepting, perhaps, the townland of Ballycarroll) was the property of the Irish family of O'Dempsy. If Ballycarroll be the townland called in the old records Ballycale, this formed part of the property of the MacDonnells. There is another townland now called Ballycarroll, near the Rock of Dunamase, in the barony of Maryborough East; but this is quite disjoined from the other townlands comprised in the possessions of the MacDonnells, and therefore not likely to be the Ballycale stated to have been part of their property. Indeed Ballycale *(Baile Cathail)* is not properly rendered Ballycarroll at all. According to the customary mode in the South of Ireland, it would rather be written *Ballycahill*. The rendering, *Ballycale*, is according to the custom adopted in the North; just as we see the ancient *Leith Chathail*, (Co. Down) now written *Lecale*.

Another townland first included in the MacDonnell property, was Derryguile, or, as it appears in old leases, Derrygyle; and, in Mr. Smith's paper, Derrygill. The name in Irish was (I believe) *Dair-mhagh-ghaill*, signifying "the oak field of the stranger. To this day, a portion of the townland is called "the Wood Hill." In one of the Leinster Inquisitions, *Derryill* is given as the name of the townland. Derryguile, or Derrygyle shows an approximation to the Southern pronounciation of *Dair-mhagh-ghaill;* and Derryill nearly the Northern. Four successive MacDonnells, lords of the manor of Tennekille, are named in the Leinster Inquisitions. These are Callogh, Hugh, Fergus, and James. In the Inquisitions taken after the deaths of Callogh and Hugh, Derryguile is named (in one or other of the old forms) as included in their possessions. In the Inquisition taken after the death of Fergus, however, it is distinctly specified as having been separated from the rest, and assigned to a Captain Hanson. It becomes a question, then, whether this townland was comprised in the patent granted to James MacDonnell in his nonage. It is now the property of Sir Charles H. Coote, M.P., who purchased it from the late Lord Rossmore, who was proprietor, until about that time, of other townlands extending from it, and comprised in the parochial union of Maryborough, barony of Maryborough East. A tradition which has come down to the present inhabitants of Derryguile, indeed, would indicate that the townland returned into the possession of a MacDonnell:

but this would appear to be rather through a matrimonial alliance with the family of Captain Hanson. The tradition speaks of a gentleman called Hanson MacDonnell, at some period proprietor of the townland. He resided on it at a place called "the Pass," and, in accordance with old Irish hospitality, kept 'open house' for the entertainment of all who passed that way, more especially all of the name and blood of the MacDonnells.

Adjoining Derryguile, to the N. or N.W., is Derrycloney, which is bounded on the opposite side by the little river, Own-yas (*Amhain dheas*, —'South river'), falling into the Barrow by Mountmellick. Adjoining both Derryguile and Derrycloney, and separated from Mountmellick proper by the Own-yas, is the townland now called Irishtown. This, and not Cappakeel. I believe to be the townland called in the old documents Derrycappagh, or Derrrycappie. Mr. Joseph Beale, a member of the Society of Friends, and a gentleman of distinguished acquirements, who has evinced a peculiar taste for restoring old Irish names, gave to a mansion which he built in Irishtown, some years ago, the name of 'Derrycappagh House,' in conformity, I understand, with the original name of the townland. Adjoining Irishtown, and forming a part of the present town of Mountmellick, is Ballyculleenbeg. This was most probably the townland named Ballycowleyne, in the old documents. The road from Mountmellick to Portarlington, passing through Ballyculleenbeg, through Debbycot, and Kilmainham, leads to the place called "the Commons of New Church." I am not aware what was the old name of this spot, but I believe it to have been included in the lands of the MacDonnells. The 'Commons' probably formed "the Lord's Waste," extending from the demesne-lands of Tennekille.

Whatever was the number of townlands which the patent of Charles I. granted or confirmed to James MacDonnell, the Inquisition declaring his forfeiture (from his having taken part in the insurrection of 1641) names only a few as forming his property. In the Inquisition he is himself named as James MacDaniel, of Coolahy, and only three or four townlands are mentioned as having belonged to him. The Inquisition states that his mother, Margaret MacDaniel, still living, claimed exemption from the forfeiture, to the amount of her dowry. In 1641, James MacDonnell himself was but a young man of 24 years of age. Before the forfeiture of the remnant of his property, it would seem that the greater part had been alienated from him in some way. Coolahy, named as his residence, was probably the place now called Coolagh.

Some descendants of the MacDonnells of Tennekille, now reduced to the rank of peasants, may still be found resident in Strahard, and other parts of the lands which were once their own, as well as in Portarlington and elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Several of them are blacksmiths. JAMES MACGRADY.—Limerick.

OLD PATRICK.—In the "Annals of Ulster" (published with No. 4 of this Journal), at the year 457, the following passage occurs:—"The rest of Old Patrick, as some books state:"—on which the following note is given:—"There can be no doubt that there were *two* early promulgators of Christianity of this name in Ireland, and that their acts and dates have been confounded."—*Patricius*, being a common Roman or Latin name, was of course borne by many persons, and doubtless by many pious Christians, in the early Latin Church; but it is not correct, as the note would imply, that there were two Irish *Apostles* named Patrick. On reference to the passage in the original, in which this note occurs, the position and ecclesiastical character of this "Old Patrick" is placed beyond doubt. The following is a transcript from O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres." Annales Ultonienses, Vol. IV., p. 3.—"Anno 457. Calcedonensis Sinodus congregata est. Quies senis Patricii ut alii libri dicunt." [Note on this passage by O'Connor.] "Hunc Patricium confundunt cum Patricio Hibernicorum Apostolo Giraldus Topog. Hib. Dist. c. 17, et alii. Distinguendi sunt ambo a Patricio Glastoniense, Usser. Primord. p. 107, ex Annal. Conaciæ, et p. 875. Vid. Not. in ann. 493, et Catalog. Episcopor, Ardmach, in

Append."—And again, O'Conor, Vol. II., p. 100. Hiatus in Tighernacho suppletus," Anno 458.—Senex Patricius Glastoniæ obiit.—'cujus obitus et locum et tempus, ad magnum nostrum Patricium, cui ille Domesticus erat, alii *temerè* transtulerunt,' De eo in Catalogo Domesticorum Patricii vetustissimis versibus Hibernicis exarato, hoc refertur elogium :

Sean Padraic sochla slogach—Ceand a sruithi sonorach.

Senex Patricius mitis, multos (ad Ecclesiam aggregans),—Caput sapientum seniorum ejus."

Here is his true character distinctly mentioned. He was a pious *domestic* of the great Apostle of Ireland; yet he has been elevated to the rank of an Apostle himself. Though O'Conor distinguishes the "Old Patrick" of the Annals of Ulster from "Old Patrick" of Glastonbury, of the "Hiatus in Tighernaeh" at 458, they must have been one and the same person; also the Annals of Connaught, at the year 454, as quoted in the note, p. 7, Annals of Ulster, (Journal, No. 4) evidently point to one and the same individual. Various similar misconceptions have arisen from words and passages in our ancient annals not properly understood. C. McSweeny.

Omission in the Crystal Palace.—"On visiting lately the Crystal Palace, on its new site at Sydenham, I enjoyed a rich Archæological treat in gazing on the various groups of restored ancient buildings, representing accurately the diverse forms of national architecture in remote ages of the world. The idea is grand, and admirably carried out. Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, seem to rise from their ashes before our eyes, and to live again in sober reality. But I could not avoid observing that one architectural phase of the olden time was wanting. Like the sorceress in the Arabian tale, I saw that one object was required to make the palace complete;—not a Roc's egg, indeed, but an *Irish Round Tower*. Might we hope that a hint given to the proprietors of the building would lead to the filling up of this one blank in the historic restorations of the world's architecture; and that a model of one of our most perfect Round Towers (such as Devenish or Antrim), will yet complete the noble series. Fergus.

Your learned correspondent, Mr. Dawson, to whom we are indebted for the interesting Memoir of the immortal George Walker, in your last Number, appears from the blanks which he has left in p. 133, to have been unable to decipher fully the entries in Mr. Walker's handwriting of which you have given a *fac-simile* plate; a little experience, however, in the writing of the period, will satisfy him that the entries are perfectly legible, and read as follows, *ad literam*, viz. :—

I. "Ann ye daughter of Nicholas Smyth souldier in his Excelleney ye Lord Liet. Comp was baptized ye 7th of June 1675, by me Geo. Walker."

II. "Robert ye sone of Robert Prestone, souldier in his Excellency ye Ld L^et Company was baptised ye 8th of June 1675 by mee Geo. Walker."

III. "Mary ye daughter of Gaun Houlson was baptized by me ye 22^d of 8^br 1678, Geo. Walker.—Y^e Godfathers Thomas Houlson Clk. Robert Taylor: G^dmothers, Mary Corbet, Jane Stoorle."

The last name in the third entry is quite new to me; and I suspect some mistake, and if so the mistake must have been made by Mr. Walker himself, as the letters read exactly as above.

It is probable that the Registers of the Diocese would supply some information respecting the clergyman whose name is given as *Lawson* by Mr. Dawson, but is, in my opinon, *Houlson;* it is the only name in the whole about which I feel any degree of uncertainty; the determination of it would also determine that of the child's father: as they are evidently the same.

The Lord Lieutenant in 1675 was, I believe, the Earl of Essex; a part of his regiment, or "company" as it is called by Mr. Walker, appears to have been quartered in Dungannon in the year 1675: but whether his Excellency was in that part of the country, or, if so, on what occasion, I must leave to persons who have better means of information than—Yours, &c.,

Erigena.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

Your correspondent G. E. in the Queries to No. 4 of your Journal, expresses a wish that Mr. J. Huband Smith should bring out the work promised by him to the Irish Archæological Society, —"The Progresses of the Lords Lieutenants of Ireland," and a desire to know what road was the passable one between Dublin and the North, and why did King John, or John, Lord of Ireland, stop at Holywood, on his way from Dublin to Knockfergus. Joining your correspondent G. E. in the universal desire that Mr. J. Huband Smith may soon comply with the wish, from the knowledge of his great research and abilities, I beg in the meantime, to refer your correspondent to page 170 of "Reeves's Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore," where, in a note, it is mentioned that King John stopped at Holywood ("apud Sanctum Boscum") on the 31st July, 1210, on his way from "Karifergus" to Down, (Dun) and afterwards to Carlingford, there written "Kerlingford."

MacStephen.

Sir,—I do not observe that any of your correspondents has noted an inquiry made in the 3rd No. of the *Archæological Journal*, (vol. I., p. 230,) respecting the derivation of the name *Owen O'Cork*, applied to a property situated on the bank of the Con's Water, near Belfast. I would suggest that it properly designates the river or stream which washes its border; being, as I have no doubt, in its correct form, *Amhan na Cearc*, or, as it sounds to the ear, *Avon na Cark;* —"the Hen's River"—so called from the waterhens by which it is still frequented; and which must have been much more abundant before the increase of mills, machinery, and inhabitants interrupted that repose and solitude in which these birds delight. The present name of the stream —"the Con's-water"—is trivial and modern: being derived from Con O'Neill, of Castlereagh, an Irish chieftain of the reign of King James I., in whose territories it took its rise.

The transmutation of *Amhan* (or Avon) into *Owen* (Awan), in the mouths of persons not speaking the Celtic language is too familiar to topographers to require vindication. Let me refer to two examples in one locality, the *Owenreagh*, (brown river,) and the *Owenbeg*, (or little river,) both in the parish of Banagher, and neighbourhood of Dungiven, in the Co. of Londonderry.—Yours, &c., Psi.

Dean Swift.—In reply to "Stella" in the Queries of a late Number of this Journal, as to the existence of any record of Dean Swift's induction into Kilroot, it will be found in the Registry Office of the Consistorial Court of Down and Connor, now in Belfast; wherein there remains the record of his induction, dated 5th March, 1694, to the Prebend of Kilroot; and there is a Certificate signed by the Rev. Richard Dobbs, and the Rev. James Calhoon, dated 24th March, 1694, stating that they were present when the Rev. Jonathan Swift read Divine Service, and preached in the Parish Church of Templecorran. There is a second Certificate dated 21st April, 1695, and signed by Henry Clements, and Henry Ellice, who were present when the Rev. Jonathan Swift read Divine Service and preached in the Parish Church of Ballynure.—There is a further Certificate to the same effect, dated 28th April, 1695, in the Parish Church of Connor, in the presence of Alexander Stewart, Simon Fitzpatrick, Edward Sumarall, and Osborn Ketteringham. MacStephen.

The word "sept," concerning the origin of which "Senex" enquires, seems to be plausibly enough derived by Johnson from the Latin *septum*, as denoting a tribe *fenced* off from any foreign admixture, either of blood or manners.—It is, however, very strange that the illustrious lexicographer should have deemed it a word used only in regard or allusion to Ireland, when one of the examples of its use which he cites, applies it to the ancient Prussians. It is worthy of notice, that three authors which he quotes, Spenser, Davies, and Boyle, all flourished at a period when the "well of English undefiled"

was much sullied by the introduction of words derived from the Latin, and its various dialects; and this renders his derivation of the word very probable: besides the Irish do not appear to have adopted it, as they used the word *Kinel;* as in *Kinel-Owen, Kinel-Connell, &c.*

I conceive "Mether" to be a *dialectic variation* of the Anglo-Saxon *Mazer*, which Johnson derives from the Dutch *Maeser*, "a Knot of Maple;" but which may rather be commuted with the English *mead*, the Greek μεθ-υ, the Latin te-*met*-um, all denoting the liquor quaffed from such vessels. So the English "Pot" is probably from the same root as the Greek, ποτος.

The word "balderdash" is, most likely, of Saxon origin; as, at present, a pint of porter with a "*dash* in it," is often so called at the Dublin hotels; the "dash" meaning a glass of spirits. The compound probably denotes "a *bold* or strong *dash*." As, however, our Scandinavian ancestors were mighty drinkers, it may signify "a *dash* in honour of *Balder*," the favourite son of Odin.

"Bonny-clabber" seems also a pure English expression, the latter part of the compound is still used in Munster, for sour milk, when it has grown very thick and flaky. The preceding portion of it is an intensitive prefix, as in *Bon*fire, *Bon*ail, *Bong*ran, *Bonni*bell.

T. Waller Eyre Evans.

The engagement between Agricola and Galgaeus is stated by Tacitus to have taken place "ad montem Grampium" and "trans Bodotriam" (Frith of Forth); in the third year after the march of the Romans, "ad flumen Taum." Now, as no permanent conquests were effected by Agricola beyond the rivers Clota and Bodotria, the expedition to the Taus seems to have checked and chastised the natives, rather than to have produced any durable acquisition: in fact, it was rather a *raid* or *foray*, than a regular invasion. The river Taus rises on the confines of Argyleshire, not far North of Inver-Arnon, at the head of Loch Lomond; and flows in nearly a North-East direction through Breadalbane to Dunkeld, where it inclines to the South-East. and falls into the Frith of Tay, a little below Perth. The battle-field, then, is to be sought for not far from this river, and in a mountainous and wooded country. We might also expect the spot to be one adjacent to the Lowlands; so that the vicinity should present some attractions to Roman avarice, at least when compared with the rest of the country lying around their line of march; and our view would derive additional probability, if we knew that the region had been often the scene of contest between Gael and Southron, Kelt and Saxon. For these reasons (it may be fancifully) I place the last stand of "Callyddonian" freedom not far from

"Where Lubnaig's lake supplies the Frith,
Which, daughter of these mighty lakes,
From Venachair in silver breaks,
Sweeps thro' the plains, and ceaseless mines
Of Barhastle the mould'ring lines;
Where Rome, the mistress of the world,
Of old her eagle wings unfurled."

This spot possesses all the conditions above alluded to; it is not far South of the Tay; the district, level and fertile, on the banks of the Forth, and about Blair Drummond, rises gradually into wild hills about the Pass of Leny, until it at length confronts the invaders with the gigantic array of Ben Ledi, Ben Au, and Ben Lomond: the village and castle of Doune were the usual rendezvous for the Lowland chivalry when commencing a hosting against MacGregor, or Clan Ranald; while from the Castle of Stirling we can descry no less than thirteen battle-fields, among which the names of Bannockburn, Dumblaine, Kilsyth, and Falkirk, need only be named to prove that the counties of Stirling and Perth were, from the earliest times the "debateable land" of the two races.

The Roman legions must have crossed the Forth by a ford, as Tacitus makes no mention of boats or bridges, and this could have hardly taken place below the confluence of the Teith; neither would their sagacious general have turned westward into Fife, or Angus, leaving the mountain district of Menteith occupied by a vigilant and resolute enemy; and would rather have made a "proleptical" use of the moss-troopers axiom "Forth bridles the wild Highlander."—

He probably forded the Forth at Craig-Forth, and proceeded up the valley of the Teith, threw out detachments of his *auxilia* into "far Lochard and Aberfoyle," dislodged the clans from Lamick Mead, and Leny's Pass, and met the "mountain people" in the strengths of Glenfinlass and Drumcraggan.

The House of Colquhoun of Luss claims descent from Galgacus, this name being but the Roman corruption of Cailgach, or Galgahann, whose deeds of arms are the theme of the Welsh Triads, under Kymric, from Galam ap Liennaue, (Colquhoun of Lennox, or Luss?)

T. Waller Eyre Evans, Ex. S.T.C.D.

Hugh Earl of Tyrone.—In the Queries to No. 4 of the Ulster Journal of Archæology, Mr. Herbert F. Hore states that he is collecting materials for a memoir of that remarkable man Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and wishes for information respecting him. If he refers to "Campbell's Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland," published in Dublin in 1789, at page 36, he will find that that famous man is alluded to, and a glowing eulogium given on his character, the author being so struck with his very extraordinary talents that he had in view to collect a quantity of materials in order to write a history of the great Hugh, or Aodh, Earl of Tir-oen. MacStephen.

Salt.—Your correspondent, Senex, inquires respecting the former use of salt among the Irish. There is a townland in the County Louth, named Salterstown, in English, and *Baile n t-salainn*, (i.e. Salt-town) in Irish. Probably an inquiry into the origin of this name might throw some light on the subject, and bring it within the range of history. Ollamh Fodhla.

QUERIES.

The Irish Corporation Commissioners (Appendix to first Report, Part I, 1835) state their supposition that a Charter of Youghal granted by King John, is in the British Museum. Will any of your readers kindly inform me whether such is the case, and if so what is the purport of the Charter? Ochellensis.

The Rowan-tree is still popularly supposed in country-places in Ulster, to have a peculiar virtue against the attacks of the "fairies;" at least amongst that portion of the population which derives its origin from Scotland. Does the same belief prevail among the original Irish natives, and can the origin of this superstition be traced? and does a similar notion exist in any other country? Senex.

What is the origin of the term "Hock Massareen"—used at cards in playing the game called "Pope Joan." Also that of "Mazaroon Wig," by which a kind of wig formerly much worn in Ireland, was known. Are these two words connected in any way with that which gives title to a nobleman in the County Antrim, Lord Massareene? Senex.

Pennyburn Mill.—A Dublin paper ("Saunders' News-Letter," December, 1774), contains the following notice:—"A gentleman informs us, that there is a place in the County of Derry called Pennyburn Mill, where cocks were never known to crow; the experiment having been tried on these animals by several persons, it was ever observed, that though they did crow before they were brought thither, yet in this singular place they never did." Can any of your readers say if this opinion still prevails? H. P.

Can any of your correspondents explain what drink is meant by "bonny-rammer," and the origin of the word? It occurs in M'Skimmin's Annals of Ulster, and was used in Ballymena.

What is the origin and precise meaning of the phrase "odds and ends."

T. W. E. Evans.

Will any of the correspondents of your Journal be good enough to inform me at what time the last *wolf* was killed in the North of Ireland? I have been told that at one period there was a reward given by the government for every head of this animal. Senex.

Can the readers of your Journal point out any notices of *Turkish Pirates* infesting the Irish shores, besides the following? In the Right Hon. Geo. Bankes's "Story of Corfe Castle," appendix, page 303, is given an extract from a memoir respecting Lord Strafford, in these words:—"In Ireland, in the compass of seven years, whereas the King's revenue in that kingdom before he came thither had fallen every year short above £20,000, of defraying the public charge, he brought the King's revenue not only to pay all, but to yield above £60,000 yearly, above all payments. He saw the army all complete, duly paid, duly clothed, and duly exercised. He secured the sea from piracies, so as only one ship was lost on his first coming, and no more all his time; whereas every year before, not only several ships and goods were lost by robbery at sea, but also Turkish men-of-war usually landed, and took prey of men to be made slaves." FERGUS

In a newspaper of 1749, I find the following extract from a letter from Tralee, dated January 20, 1749:—"There was a bell found in Killarney Lough a few days ago, by a boatman, who accidentally struck on it; the circumference of it is as big as a table that will hold eight people to dine at; the clapper is quite eaten with rust it has been so long in the water. They are now erecting a steeple at Killarney to fix it in for the church."—Can any of your readers say if this bell still exists, and if anything of its previous history is known? H. P.

I sometimes hear children of the lower order in Belfast call a cat "Mawkie." I take this to be a contraction of the English "Grimalkin." The common Scotch name for a cat "Baudrons," is well enough understood in some parts of Ulster. Can you inform me what is the origin and literal signification of these words?

ULTONIENSIS.

In some old advertisements in a Belfast newspaper, upwards of 80 years ago, there is a house in Lisburn mentioned as "Lancashire Castle." Perhaps some of your correspondents in that neighbourhood could say what house this was, and why it was so named. H. P.

In Roquefort's French Etymological Dictionary I meet with the word "Scubac" as signifying a kind of liquor manufactured in Ireland. The words are "*Scubac*, liqueur spiritueuse de safran inventée en Irlande d'ou elle a été apportée en France."—Perhaps some of your readers can say what this beverage is. SENEX.

Can any of your learned correspondents state whether the popular use of "an old horse-shoe" nailed upon a door as a charm against enchantment, (still very common in Ulster) is prevalent elsewhere in Ireland, and what seems to be its origin? I am informed it is also employed in some countries on the Continent. Of the same class is the common superstition of throwing an old shoe after a person "for luck."

OLLAMH FODHLA.

FRONT END BACK

THE SHRINE OF SAINT PATRICK'S HAND,

WITH NOTICES OF SOME

SIMILAR RELIQUARIES.

BY J. HUBAND SMITH, A.M. M.R.I.A.

A remarkably curious and interesting reliquary, long known by the popular name of the "Hand of St. Patrick," was for many years preserved in the Barony of Ardes, near Portaferry, in the County of Down, in the house of a farmer named M'Henry. Having passed a considerable part of his life at sea, and being consequently a man of but moderate educational attainments, the account which he gave of the manner in which the reliquary came into the possession of his family was very vague and unsatisfactory. He knew little of its history beyond the fact that it had passed into their custody about two generations before, upon the marriage of a female ancestor. It is a shrine of massive silver, and antique workmanship, and represents the hand and arm of an ecclesiastic of rank, covered with the embroidered drapery of a sleeve, and wearing a jewelled glove. It was originally set, around the wrist and at its termination about the elbow, with a considerable number of precious stones, whose varied colour and size added not little to the beauty of its elaborate embossed workmanship. Unfortunately many of the stones, especially the larger ones, have fallen out of their settings, and the shrine has evidently been subjected, at various periods, to repairs of the rudest kind, executed by the hands of most unskilful workmen. It has, however, recently passed into the custody of the Right Rev. Doctor Denvir, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Down and Connor. It measures about one foot three inches and a half in length, and contains within it the mouldering remains of a human arm, if not of the Patron Saint of Ireland, doubtless of some personage of great reputed sanctity; the expenditure, both of material and skill, as well as the beauty exhibited in the general design of the reliquary, all indicating most unquestionably the high degree of estimation in which its contents were held. The only inscription to be seen on any part of it consists of the sacred monogram, I.H.S., engraved upon the plate by which the lower end of the shrine is closed. The form of the letters does not indicate an age of more remote period than a few centuries, and offers little aid in determining the time at which the shrine was made. Two of the fingers of the hand are closed, but the two forefingers and thumb are represented as in the position in which the benediction is given by a bishop when he turns to the people for that purpose. Jewelled gloves were a distinguishing mark in ancient times of the high rank of the wearer. The

monumental effigies of many monarchs and ecclesiastics afford evidence of the fact. That of Henry II. in his tomb, in the Abbey of Fontevraud, in Normandy, may be adduced among many others, as an example.

It must be admitted, in all fairness, that no conclusive evidence can be offered, that this jewelled case contains a part of the mortal remains of the celebrated Irish Apostle; yet the locality in which it has been preserved, and the unvarying traditional name it has obtained, clearly invest it with a considerable degree of interest, however the appellation so long assigned to it may be questioned.—The legend of the dispute respecting the burial-place of St. Patrick,—as to whether it was at Armagh or Downpatrick, terminated by his thrusting his arm above ground at the latter place, when, with irreverent temerity, it was severed by some sacrilegious bystander—is scarce worth recording. A more consistent account, and one which has been handed down upon authority, entitling it to higher consideration, is that about the close of the 12th century Cardinal Vivian translated the bodies of S.S. Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkill, from the grave in which they had been interred in Downpatrick into the interior of the cathedral then founded there, and that he set apart, to take with him to Rome in obedience to the commands of Pope Urban III., considerable portions of their relics, having previously enshrined others: among these latter was the hand in question, which was then placed in the tabernacle upon the great altar of the cathedral at Down.

The earliest narrative of this transaction is that given by Giraldus Cambrensis in the following words:—

Fuerant autem contemporanei Patricio, Sanctus Columba, et Sancta Brigida, et apud Ultoniam, in eadem civitate Dunensi scilicet, ipsorum trium corpora sunt recondita. Ubi et his nostris temporibus, anno scilicet quo Dominus Comes Johannes primo in Hiberniam venit, quasi in spelunca triplici, Patricio in medio jacente, aliis duobus hic inde. Johanne vero de Curci tunc ibidem præsidente, et hoc procurante, tres nobiles thesauri divina revelatione inventa sunt, et translata. Unde versus,

In burgo Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.

"Contemporary with Patrick were also Saint Columba and Saint Brigid; and the bodies of these three were interred in Ulster, in the same place, namely, in the City of Down. Where, within our own time, that is, in the year in which the Lord, Earl John, first came into Ireland, they were found as it were, in a triple tomb, Patrick lying in the middle, and the others, one at either side. The reliques of these three renowned persons, having, by divine revelation, been discovered, were translated, under the superintendence of John de Curci, then Governor of that Province. And hence arose the verse:—

In the fortress of Down, were buried in the same tomb
Brigid, Patrick, and the pious Columba."

[*Giraldus Cambrensis Topographia Hibernica, Chap.* XVIII., *p.* 742.]

The learned Archbishop Ussher adopts this account in his well-known work, entitled "Brittanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," where he states:—

Anno autem MCLXXXV,—Patricii Brigidæ et Columbæ in civitate Dunensi inventa fuisse corpora, ex Giraldo Cambrensi, Ranulpho Cestrensi, Johanne Brampton, et Henrico Marleburgensi, didicimus. Quæ inventio cum sub exitum illius anni contigisse videatur, sequentis initio ad Urbanum III. pontificem a Malachia Dunensi et Johanne Curcio Romam missa legatio, et a nuncio pontificio quinto Idus Junii, die S. Columbæ memoriæ sacro, reliquiarum illarum solennis facta fuerit translatio.

"In the year MCLXXV. as we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, Ranulphus Cestrensis, Johannes Brampton, and Henry Marleburrough, the bodies of Patrick, Brigid, and Columba, were found in the City of Down, which discovery appears to have been made about the close of that year. In the beginning of the following one an embassy was sent to the Pope, Urban III., by Malachi, Bishop of Down, and John de Courcy, and a solemn translation of their reliques was made by the Papal Nuncio, on the fifth of the ides of June, the day sacred to the memory of St. Columba."

Usserii Brittanicar. Ecclesiar. Antiquitates, Chap. XVII., p. 452.

In Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv., ch. xxx., sec. viii., p. 275, he gives the following details of this discovery and translation:—

"It being generally believed that the bodies of the three saints were in Down, Malachy its bishop used to pray frequently to God that He would vouchsafe to point out to him the particular place or places in which they were concealed. While, on a certain night, fervently praying to this effect, in the church (cathedral) of Down, he saw a light like a sunbeam traversing the church, which stopped at the spot where the bodies were. Immediately procuring the necessary implements, he dug in that spot and found the bones of the three bodies, which he then put into distinct boxes and coffins, and placed again under ground. Having communicated what had occurred to John De Courcey, then Lord of Down, they determined on sending messengers to Pope Urban III., for the purpose of procuring the removal or translation of these reliques to a more respectable part of the church. The Pope agreeing with their request, sent, as his legate on this occasion, Vivian, Cardinal Priest of St. Stephen *in Monte Cœlio*, who had been at Down some years before, and who was well acquainted with John De Courcey, and the Bishop Malachy."

The details are contained in the Office of the Translation of S.S. Patrick, Brigid, and Columba printed at Paris in 1620, and cited accordingly by Ussher.

Questions have been raised among the learned, as to the place of Saint Patrick's burial, but after a careful examination of all the authorities, it seems to be almost certain it was at the Abbey of Sabhal, or Saul, near Downpatrick. The claim put forward on behalf of Armagh to this distinction, appears to have had its foundation in the fact quoted by Dr. Lanigan, (ch. VII., note 148,) that the

Lipsana, or reliques of Patrick, are mentioned in some old calendars as being at Armagh; and this it is said, explains the expression of St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy—"In quâ (Ardmacha), et vivus profuit, et mortuus requiescit." St. Columba's body was originally found at Hy, or Iona, but was afterwards brought to Ireland about the close of the ninth century; before which, the remains of St. Brigid, which had been interred at Kildare, were removed also to Down.

There appears to be no reason to doubt but that it was upon the occasion of the translation of the remains of these three eminent saints, in the year 1186, by Cardinal Vivian, as has been already stated, that he set apart certain portions of the reliques of St. Patrick; and, accordingly, it seems in every way probable, that while some were conveyed to Rome, (where they are still preserved to this day,) his Hand, when enshrined, was placed upon the high altar of the cathedral at Down, where doubtless it remained till the building was destroyed by Leonard Lord Grey, Lord Deputy of Ireland, A.D. 1538; the profanation thereof being one of the articles of impeachment brought against him, and in three years afterwards he was beheaded. On the demolition of the high altar and consequent plunder of the most valued possessions of the cathedral, it appears most probable that this shrine of St. Patrick's Hand was abstracted, and so passed into the custody of some private individual. Through how many families it may have come down into those of the Savages, Russells, and M'Henrys, it may now be difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with any degree of precision.

An account published in "Dublin Review" about six years ago, appears to go very minutely into the history of the transmission of the custody of this shrine for a considerable time past; and may therefore be given at length. It is as follows:—

"This beautiful relic consists of a silver case in the shape of the hand and arm, cut off a little below the elbow; it is considerably thicker than the hand and arm of an ordinary man, as if it were intended to inclose those members without pressing them closely. The fingers are bent so as to represent the hand in the attitude of benediction. The case is now empty, the cause of which we are not at present prepared to explain; but, no one can look at it and doubt for a moment that it was the shrine of the hand and arm of a saint; and it was always regarded as having contained those of St. Patrick. It has been known in the whole County of Down as "St. Patrick's Hand," from time immemorial. This relic is now in the possession of the Right Rev. Dr. Denvir, for whom it was procured by the Rev. James M'Alennan, P.P., of Castlewellan, to whom we are indebted for an account of its preservation. At the time of the translation of the relics of S.S. Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkille, in the 12th century, under the anspices of Cardinal Vivian, the hand of St. Patrick was enshrined, and placed upon the high altar of the Abbey Church in Downpatrick. When Edward Bruce, during his invasion of Ireland, plundered this abbey church, this relic was carried off and entrusted to the care of some persons who accompanied the army. On the defeat of that prince at Dundalk, in 1318, the person who had charge of it escaped out of the battle, and afterwards for

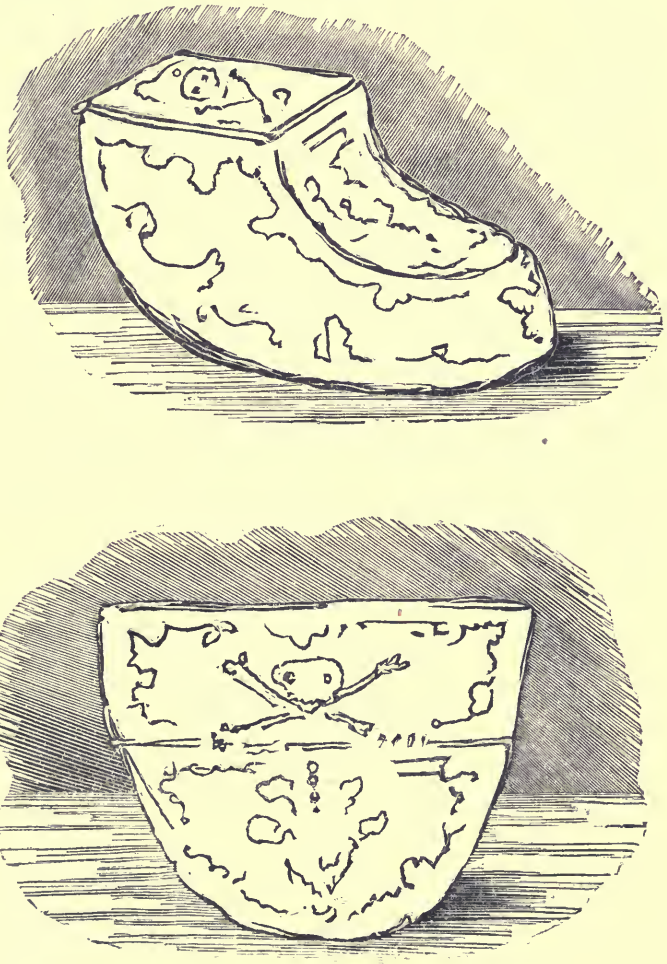
greater security, it was given to one of the Magennis family, the head of which had about this time obtained the title of Lord of Iveagh. It remained in that family until the early part of the last century; at that time Mr. Magennis of Castlewellan, had possession of it. He had an only daughter who married Charles Russell, a gentleman whose ancestors had possessed a large tract of the County Down, to the south of Downpatrick. With this lady the sacred relic passed into the Russell family. She died shortly after her marriage, and her husband married Miss Savage, of Portaferry-house, grand-aunt of the late Colonel Nugent, who died two or three years ago. Colonel Nugent's father obtained the relic on the death of his aunt, Mrs. Russell. He was the first Protestant who had ever possessed it, and entertaining some scruple about keeping it, he gave it to the Rev. Mr. Taggart, then parish priest of Portaferry, in the Ards. Mr. Savage of Portaferry, who was the representative of the family to which that Mrs. Russell (through whom the relic came into the possession of the Nugents) belonged, desired after Mr. Taggart's death that it should be given to Mr. M'Henry of Kerstown, in the Upper Ards, because his mother's maiden name had been Russell, and she was also nearest of kin to the gentleman of that name who had to his first wife the only daughter of Magennis. Since that time "St. Patrick's Hand" remained in the custody of the M'Henrys, until about seven or eight years ago, when the Right Rev. Dr. Denvir got possession of it. The family of the M'Henrys had become poor previously to this time, and it is said that many tempting offers were made to them, both by the late Colonel Nugent (who was most anxious to obtain it), and by a person from Trinity College, Dublin. But they could not be induced to give it up to those who would only use it for profane purposes." [*Dublin Review, No. XLVI., January*, 1848, *page* 483.]

Within the memory of persons now living, it was commonly carried about to various parts of the country, by persons who borrowed it for the purpose of enabling others to clear themselves from the suspicion of various accusations, and who took an oath for this purpose upon the reliquary, in the manner not unusual in early periods of history, by way of giving the greater solemnity to their asseverations. Extra-judicial trials were thus often held, which bore a curious analogy to the Saxon *corsned*, spoken of by Sir William Blackstone, and explained by Spelman and Du Cange to have been a test of guilt or innocence, to which suspected persons were subjected from a very remote period.—A lithograph of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand accompanies this paper.

Other portions of the so-called reliques of Saint Patrick have been found preserved elsewhere in Ireland: among the rest is to be seen a jaw-bone, enclosed in a silver box, now in the possession of the Cullen family, at a place called Castle Robin, in the neighbourhood of Lisburn, in the County of Antrim. Of this silver case two wood engravings are here given. The chasings with which it is ornamented have, however, a modern character.

The following particulars respecting this case and its contents have been obligingly communicated by Mr. George Stephenson of Lisburn:—

A family named Cullen, now residing in the parish of Derriaghy, Co. Antrim, at the base of Collin mountain, are in the posession of this reliquary. It consists of a silver box or shrine inclosing a *human jaw bone*, itself in a perfect state, but now retaining only one double tooth. It had formerly five, three of which were given to members of the family when emigrating to America, and the fourth was deposited under the altar of the Roman Catholic Chapel of Derriaghy, by the parish priest, when the chapel was re-built, in 1797. The outer case is of antique appearance, rather fancifully embossed, and with a lid. The silver, though old, has, nevertheless, the "Hall mark" of some early date impressed upon it. The bone is evidently that of a male and of rather a large size. The family believe that it is the jaw-bone of St. Patrick, a tradition to that effect having been handed down for generations. It has been for a long period in the possession of the same family; —the grandmother of the present proprietors, (who are advanced in years) having brought it from her own relations the Savages of Dunturk, near Seaforde in the County of Down. It is held by them in high veneration. — Formerly the water in which the jaw-bone had been immersed, was administered to persons afflicted with epilepsy, and



also as an antidote for all cattle diseases; but, of late years, applications of the sort are very rare. Whenever the bone is lifted out of its shrine, a towel or handkerchief is used to prevent contamination by the naked hand. It was never allowed to be out of the owner's custody except on on eoccasion, when it was entrusted for a short time to the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese.—These are the only particulars that can now be ascertained respecting this relic.

Another silver case is reported to contain the thumb of the same person, and to be preserved at the Ursuline convent at Drogheda.

The hand of St. Fillan, a famous saint in Scotland, was carried in a silver shrine at the head of his army, by Robert the Bruce. According to Camerarius, St. Fillan was an abbot of Pittenweem, in Fife, from which situation he retired, and died a hermit in the wilds of Glenurchy, A.D. 1649, leaving his name to many chapels, holy fountains, &c.; among the rest to Kilfillan, in Renfrew, and to St. Phillans, or Forgend, in Fife. The legend is, that while engaged in transcribing the scriptures, his left hand was observed to send forth such a splendour, as to afford light to that with which he wrote; a miracle which saved many candles to the convent, for St. Fillan used to spend whole nights in that exercise. Lesley, the Scottish Historian, relates that this miraculous and luminous arm, was taken out of its shrine or case, previous to the Battle of Bannockburn, by the chaplain of King Robert the Bruce, a man of little faith, who deposited it in some place of security, lest it should fall into the hands of the English. But, lo! while Robert was addressing his prayers to the empty casket, it was observed to open and shut suddenly; and, on inspection, the saint was found to have himself deposited his arm in the shrine, as an assurance of victory.

In a guide book for Scottish tourists, published in 1850, there is the latest mention of the Hand of St. Fillan. Speaking of the village of St. Fillans, at the end of Loch Earn, the writer, Mr. Anderson, alludes to the previous narrative, and states that the shrine we have spoken of, was borne by the Abbot of Inchaffray, at the Battle of Bannockburn.* In conclusion we are told that this arm is now in North America, in the possession of a man named Dewar.

Sir Walter Scott states, that there are in Perthshire, several wells and springs dedicated to St. Fillan, which are still places of pilgrimage and offerings; they are held powerful in cases of madness;

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* The original authorities are Hector Boethius and Dempster, who state that the arm of this saiut was a precious relique preserved by the King of the Scots in the Castle of Dunfermline, locked up in a silver box, and was carried by holy Mauritius, Abbot of Inchpeffray, at the battle of Bannockburn. The following passage describes what took place:—"Rex Robertus Brussius, cum precibus perseveraverit, capsula argentea sponte, nullo tangente, aperta, verum braehium quod domi relictum sacerdoti ostendit, quo rex et milites armati praeclaram victoriam attinebant."—[Dempster, 1627.] EDIT.

and, in some of very late occurrence, lunatics have been left all night bound to the holy stone, in confidence that the saint would cure and release them before morning. In allusion to this belief, De Wilten, disguised as a Palmer, or pilgrim, in the poem of Marmion, declares his intention of visiting

" * * * * St. Fillan's blessed well,
Whose spring can frenzied dreams dispel,
And the crazed brain restore."

A curious Crown grant, dated 11th July, 1487, is still in existence, by which James III. confirmed to Malice Doire, an inhabitant of Strathfillan in Perthshire, the peaceable exercise and enjoyment of a relic of Saint Fillan, called the Quegrich, which he and his predecessors are said to have possessed since the days of Robert the Bruce. As the Quegrich was used to cure diseases, this document is probably the most ancient patent ever granted to a quack medicine.

In Fleming's "Collectanea," a book of considerable authority, there occurs a remarkable account of the arm of St. Comgall, which, however, does not appear to have been enshrined, but to have been carried about by St. Fiachra in a case, probably of leather. Fleming calls it "sceta," which may be translated "sheath" or satchel. In the passage alluded to, this case is stated to have contained a book, as well as the arm in question. St. Comgall was of a noble family in Ulster, and Abbot of Bangor. According to the Annals of Ulster he was born in the year 516. His death, we are told, took place on the 10th of May, A.D. 601, after he had received the holy viaticum, from Saint Fiachra, who was Abbot of Clonard. The following are the words in which Fleming gives the legend:—

Transacto jam multo tempore post obitum Sancti Patris Comgalli, supradictus Sanctus Fiachra venit ad monasterium Bennchor, et elevatis de sepulchro honorificè Sancti Comgalli reliquiis, elegit S. Fiachra brachium Sancti Comgalli, portavitque ad fines Laginensium; pervenit ad arcem cujusdam Ducis ibi, qui dicebatur Ædus. Hinc filius ipsius Ducis Ædi ductus est ad S. Fiachram ut baptizaret eum; aperiensque jam Sanctus Fiachra scetam suam ad ducendum inde librum baptismi, brachium Sancti Comgalli in aerem sursum velociter avolavit. Ibi viri jejunantes, et genua flectentes, et orantes longè, tandem venit ad eos de cœlo brachium Sancti Comgalli, et ingrediens terram inter illos, nusquam apparuit inde. Per triduum itaque foderunt terram et non invenerunt.—Hoc videns Dux Ædus illam arcem cum suis agris obtulit reliquiis Sancti Comgalli in æternum, ibique jam S. Fiachra Abbas clarum monasterium in honore nostri patroni Comgalli construxit, et in nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, cui est honor et potestas in sæcula sæculorum.—Amen.

"A long time having elapsed after the death of the holy father Comgall, the aforesaid St. Fiachra

came to the monastery of Bennchor, and having reverently taken up the relics of St. Comgall, he selected his arm, and carrying it to the confines of the men of Leinster, he arrived at the fortress of a certain chieftain who was named Ædus. From thence the son of that chieftain was brought to St. Fiachra in order that he should baptize him; and, lo! when St. Fiachra had opened his case to take out thence his book of the baptismal office, the arm of St. Comgall suddenly flew up into the air. Whereupon the men fasting, and on bended knees praying for a long while, the arm of the Saint at length came down to them from heaven, and, entering the earth in the midst of them, never again appeared; for the space of three days they dug in that spot but did not find it. When the chieftain Ædus saw this, he granted that fortress with its territory to the relics of St. Comgall for ever; and there the Abbot, St. Fiachra, built a magnificent monastery in honour of our patron, St. Comgall, and in the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom be honour and power, for ever and ever. Amen."

A most elaborately ornamented shrine, composed of brass and silver, of exquisite workmanship, covered with interlaced tracery and knots, in the peculiar style known to archæologists by the term of Opus Hibernicum, was lately brought to Ireland, and exhibited, through the intervention of Lord Talbot de Malahide, who obtained the loan of it from its present possessor, Andrew Fontaine, Esq., of Narford Hall, Norfolk, in whose family it has been for many years. This reliquary represents a human arm with closed hand, and is believed to contain portions of the hand or arm of St. Lachtin, Abbot or Bishop of Achadh-ur, a place now called, (by an erroneous translation) Freshford, in the County of Kilkenny. He was a native of Muscraighe, (or Muskerry), in the County of Cork; he died, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 622, and his memory was venerated by the Irish Church on the 19th of March. An engraving of this shrine was published some years ago, by the Society of Antiquaries of London, and a short account of it printed in the Vetusta Monumenta; but the interpretation there given of the inscriptions upon it is full of inaccuracies.

The following readings and translations of these inscriptions are taken from a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, by the Rev. Dr. Todd, F.T.C.D., in the month of June, 1853.

There are four inscriptions, in the old Irish character, on plates of brass, running longitudinally down the arm: of these but one is perfect; the other three are illegible at the end, but enough still remains to enable us to fix with certainty the date of this singular specimen of ancient Irish art, and to ascertain the part of Ireland in which it was made. They have been deciphered by Mr. Eugene Curry, so far as any traces of the letters still remain, and are as follows:—

First Inscription.

OR DO MAELSECHNAILL U CELLACHAI DO ARDRIG UA [NECHACH MUMAIN] DO RIGNI IN CVMTACHSO.

"A prayer for Maelseachnaill O'Callaghan, chief King of Ua [Echach Mumhain] who made this reliquary."

The words enclosed in brackets are not very distinct in the inscription, and are in some degree conjectural, supplied from knowledge of the fact that this personage was lord of that district; and confirmed by observing, that the space left doubtful by the obliteration of the words in the original exactly agrees with what would be required for the words supplied. Maelseachnaill O'Callaghan died, according to the Four Masters, in 1121.

Second Inscription.

OR DO CHORMAC MC MEIC CARTHAIGI DO RIG DANA MVMAN DORAT * * * * D * * * * T * * * *

"A prayer for Cormac, son of MacCarthy, Righdamhna, [or next heir] of Munster who gave * * * * *"

This was the Cormac who was King-bishop of Ireland, as he is called by the Four Masters, and who built the celebrated "Cormac's Chapel" on the Rock of Cashel. The Four Masters mention him, at the year 1137, as having made a predatory excursion against Kennedy O'Brien and the foreigners or Danes of Limerick; and in the following year they record his treacherous murder, by Toirdhealbhach, (or Turlogh) son of Diarmaid O'Brien, and the two sons of O'Connor Kerry. They speak of him as celebrated "for bestowing of jewels and wealth upon the clergy and the churches, an improver of territories and churches,"—so that it is in strict accordance with this character, to find his name on the richly ornamented reliquary now described.

Third Inscription.

OR DO TADG MC MEIC CARTHAIGI DO RIG * * * * *

"A prayer for Tadhg, son of MacCarthy, Righ [damhna of Munster.] * * * * *"

The letters RIG are probably the commencement of RIG-DAMNA MUMHAIN a title which belonged to this Tadhg, grandson of Carthy, who was brother of Cormac already spoken of.

Fourth Inscription.

OR DO DIARMAIT MAC MEIC DENISC DO COMARB L * * *

"A prayer for Diarmait, son of MacDenisc, Comharb of L * * * * *"

It is greatly to be regretted that the next word is not legible, as it would probably have given us

the name of the saint whose reliques were contained in this reliquary. The first letter seems to be L, in which case it was probably LACHTIN

These inscriptions, though imperfect, afford a tolerably exact date to this ancient piece of art, which, even in its present dilapidated state, exhibits great evidence of the workman's skill in inlaying and minute ornamentation of the most elaborate kind. It is clear that it must have been made before the death of Maelseachnaill O'Callaghan, who is stated in the first inscription to have made it, or caused it to have been made; and, as he died in 1121, it is certain that we have in this exquisitely beautiful shrine, a specimen of what could be done by Irish artists, in inlaying and jewellery, within the first twenty years of the twelfth century.

In a short tract descriptive of the Island of Sanda, by Father Edmund Mac Cana, bound up in the same volume with his "Irish Itinerary," (already published in this journal, by the Rev. William Reeves, D.D.,) there occurs a short notice of the arm of St. Ultan. This tract is entitled "Insulæ Sandæ, seu Auoniæ, *Hibernicé* ABHUIN, brevis descriptio, R.P. fr^is^ Edmundi Mac Cana," and the passage alluded to is as follows:—

In illâ insulâ fuit repertum brachium Sancti Ultani, quod thecæ argenteæ inclusum, ante hoc bellum religiosè servabatur a viro generoso ex inclytâ Mac Donellorum familiâ.

"In that island was found the arm of St. Ultan, which, inclosed in a silver case, was, before this war, religiously preserved by a gentleman of the distinguished race of the Mac Donnells."

There remains but one more example now to be noticed at present, it is that of the arm of Saint Ruadhan, which is stated by Archdall, in his Monasticon, to have been kept in a silver case at the Abbey of Lowha, in the County of Tipperary.

The practice of enshrining the hand and arm of ecclesiastics distinguished for their eminent piety and devotion prevailed also to a considerable extent upon the Continent; and, there can be little doubt, that the researches of Archæologists, prosecuted there, will yet add considerably to those noticed in this paper.

NOTE.—Among other objects preserved in one of the museums at Canterbury is the hand of a Sir Thomas Heyden, cut off in a duel by Sir Robert Mansfield, in the beginning of the 17th century. The combatants at first

fought with rapiers and daggers, in the mode then usual in such encounters, and afterwards with broad swords. Mansfield, it is related, thrice gave quarter to his opponent, who having as often broken faith with him, was finally disarmed, and had his left hand struck off while on his knees Of the shame, and the exhaustion from the loss of blood proceeding from this wound and nine others which he had received in the duel, Heyden died. The hand is still to be seen in a tolerably perfect state, but dried up like that of a mummy; the nails are very long and appear to have grown after the hand was cut off.

In this narrative a strange contrast is presented between the feeling which, in the 17th century, dictated the preservation of the hand of a dishonoured man as a token of triumph gratifying to the vindictiveness of his conqueror, and that which at an earlier period suggested to the reverential minds of the good and gentle survivors of some eminently pious and venerated friend, the enshrinement of that portion of his remains which had been the instrument of conveying instruction and blessing to those whom he left behind upon earth.

THE COMPLAINTS OF SHANE O'NEILL.

A careful and impartial investigation of details in the singular political and social history of the Gaelic people in Ireland during the unhappy period of the 16th century will assuredly lead to the conviction that the faults and crimes of that remarkable race of men originated in the unsoundness of their laws as to property and power;—laws which, while producing the inevitable effect of keeping those governed by them in a condition of barbarity, prevented an amalgamation between the English and Gaelic races, and kept both in a state of hostility. Still, however justified the crown of England may have been in making war upon the Irish until they were broken into subjection and conformed to the laws and usages of the superior kingdom, we turn with regret to passages in our annals in which some distinguished names in English history are sullied by atrocities and severities recorded of them in its Irish pages. The theme is broad and displeasing, and need only be alluded to when introducing to the notice of our readers a short document, in which one of the bravest but fiercest of Irish chieftains sets forth some instances wherein, as he asserts, English faith was broken with his countrymen and brother chiefs, to the loss of their liberty, lands, and lives. The writer of these complaints, Shane O'Neill, was himself a frequent mark for assassination; and the evidence is too complete that attempts on his life were instigated by the government* of the day. The original of this document is in the Carew MS., 611; and the same volume contains a copy of another record, the original of which is in the State Paper Office, among the correspondence of the year 1566, and headed:—"The causes and matters moving my people not to suffer me to come to the

* Even the bold and bluff Sir John Perrott descended, when Lord Deputy of Ireland, to the satanic means of assassination:—there is a letter to him dated 18th November, 1584, from Nicholas Dawtrey, seneschal of Ulster, stating his inability to have Sorley Boy or his sons assassinated. *MS. State Papers.*

Lord Deputie's presence with such expedition as his lordship requireth; with what happened within this XX yeares, and in the memory of the same O'Nell; the harmes done by the governors and others here within this Realme of Ireland." In this latter paper the following paragraphs relate to two of the many attempts made on his life :—

"Item, after my returne to Ireland, one divillishly disposed, rewarded to have murthered me with a dagge, † appoynted to have the cheefest horse that could be had, to the entent after he had done this ungodly feate that his horse might carry him from my people without perill.

"Item, seeinge that practise could not take effect, devised a bottell of poysoned drinke, by which I, with certeine other of my gentlemen, was poysoned, and in great perill; and by the great power of Almighty God preserved."

The agent in the second attempt, and as it seems, in the first also, was one John Smith, a brother probably of Thomas Smith,[a] who at that time was exercising the vocation of an apothecary in Dublin, and may have supplied the deadly drug, a poison of which nevertheless, it could not be said —

> "Put this in any liquid thing you will,
> And drink it off; and if you had the strength
> Of twenty men it would despatch you straight."
>
> *Romeo and Juliet.*

Queen Elizabeth's "displeasure at John Smith's horrible attempt to poison Shane O'Neill in his wine," is expressed in two despatches from the court, dated 1563; and in the following spring the accused was committed to prison, and closely examined by Lord Chancellor Cusack. Whether the rigour of the law was executed on the prisoner, supposing he was proved guilty, does not appear; but it is stated only that the Lord Chancellor succeeded in persuading O'Neill to "forget the poisoning." Yet if it was forgotten by himself it was remembered by his attached clansmen; and, we may well believe, they urged it on him as a reason why he should refuse to meet the viceroy in person. Of course it is impossible to know whether every accusation made by this intractable Gaelic warrior is well founded. His earliest is contained in a letter to the Queen, dated 8th February, 1560-1, in which he asserts that her Majesty's viceroy had taken atrocious advantages of several chieftains by seizing them when they came in to him, and putting them to death. The Queen in a subsequent despatch notices this assertion of "O'Neill's slander, of which Morgh Mac Morysh's [b] death was the cause;" an admission tending to show there was no slander in this instance. The strenuous accuser

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† Dagge is the ancient name for a pistol. In the joint letter from Randolph and the Earl of Bedford to the English Council, furnishing details of the circumstances attending the assassination of Riccio in the presence of his mistress, the unfortunate Queen is represented as complaining grievously of the ferocious conduct of Ruthven and his accomplices during the unparalelled scene, and as asserting that one Balentyne "offered a *dagge* agaynste her bellye, with cocke downe."

[a] Thomas Smith was natural son of Sir Thomas S., Secretary of State, and made an attempt in 1572, to take possession of, and colonize the Ardes, where he was killed the following year "by Irish of his own household, whom he trusted over much."—*Shirley's Farney*, p. 52.

[b] See note f.

was, however, not easily silenced, and wrote again on the 4th July, giving the names of various Irish lords who had been either betrayed, tortured, deprived of their lands, exiled, or slain outright. He enumerates:—"Dominus McMurcha, qui erat traditus suplicio per viam dominationem; Dom. O'Brian, exul, et frater ejus Datheus; Dom. O'Docartaid, occisus per Capt. Pers; Dom. O'Concuhar; Conall O'Morra, &c" These names are the same as those instanced in the ensuing paper, with the addition of O'Docherty, killed by Sir William Piers, Governor of Carrickfergus, who afterwards procured the murder of Shane O'Neill himself.

The last item in the following list of grievances is probably not the one Shane O'Neill was the least sore about; for although he might hope, as he vainly did, to shield himself from assassins, he was not proof against a venomous epigram. To be held up to ridicule by one of the native bards, in satiric verses couched in the Gaelic tongue, must have been nearly as distasteful to John O'Neill the Proud as the poison prepared for him by John Smith the *Sassenach*. In the curious introduction to "the Tribes of Ireland," a satire written in the reign of Elizabeth, there are many proofs of the dread with which the stigma of poetic sarcasm was regarded by the Irish lords. "None dare displease the bards"—wrote Edmond Spenser—"for fear of running into reproach, and of being made infamous in the mouths of all men." When the insulting rhymes in ridicule of the great O'Neill, passing from mouth to mouth, reached the ears of that haughty chieftain, he made them the subject of a letter to the viceroy;—for the offending rhymer appears to have been in the neighbourhood of the metropolis at the time;—and the galled rebellious Lord of Ulster, suspecting perhaps that the lampoon had been prompted in Dublin, seems to have insisted it was the duty of government to visit so grave an offence with condign punishment. His indignant appeal on this occasion is not among the correspondence in the State Paper Office; but the answer from the Lord Deputy is dated 26th January, 1565-6, and promises that the rude bard shall be chastised. In a postscript also to a subsequent despatch the viceroy and council write, in the Latin language,—which was employed by O'Neill in his ignorance or contempt of English:—"De poetâ seu rithmator de ejus insolenti jurgio questus es, supplicium congruum sumemus." However, they write on the 24th of the following month:—

"Porro Rithmator ille Farganamyn juxta exigentiam priorum litterarum tuarum coram nobis evocatus, ac de pertinacitate sua tibi administrata per nos reprehensus atque examinatus. Negavit prorsus se aliquid tale rithma composuisse ex quo pro eorundem suorum verborum prolacionem, te alique affecit injuria, vel te ad iram comitaverit, negatque quod aliqua talia donaria (prout in dictis tuis litteris asseris) ei contuleras aut donasti."

These two letters fix the date of the following document as subsequent to its writer's appeal. Whoever he was who had launched the dart of satire against the chief of the Cinel-Eoghain he appears to have got off scathless. Soon afterwards, a certain "jester or rhymer of the Donniloghs," according to the chronicler Hooker, discharged a more deadly weapon against the successor to the

chieftaincy, Sir Turlogh Luineach O'Neill, who was shot through the body while sitting at supper with his wife, Lady Agnes Campbell, with two bullets out of a caliver or hand-gun.

"Heare ensueth some other evill practises devised to other of the Irish nation that cometh to my remembrance within IX or tenn yeares paste.

"First, Donill O'Breyne [c] and his brethren and his frendes, and Morghe O'Breyne his sonn came from their armye to Lymrycke to the Lord Deputie, upon the protection* of theire ley and nobilyte then in companie of the said Deputie there; and for the controversie betwixt them and the Erle of Thomond, they required the benefit of Her Majestie's lawes, by which they required to be tried, and and thereof was denied. And like wyse contrary to the said protection they were kept from their armye and sent to the Erle of Desmond's contry; they were proclaimed Trators, their lands and possessions taken from them.

"Teige Mac Morghe O'Breine[d] came unto the said Lord Deputie uppon the like protection, and was ymprisoned to tyme, for to challenge he was enforced a mannor called Droghed Iwreine, a parsell of his inheretaunce, and the same mannor is nowe in the possession of the Erle of Ormonde.

Item, the said Teige, uppon the protection of Mr. Marshall [e] came unto Limerick; he brought him to the Constable of Dublin, and there was ymprisoned two yers and a halfe, tyll he brake pryson.

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[c] The Four Masters state under the year 1553 that:—"A nocturnal attack was made by Donnell and Turlough, sons of Conor O'Brien, upon their brother, Donough More Mac Conor, Lord of Thomond." * * "The cause of their dissension was that Donough had obtained from the King the right of his succession for his son." The brothers wished to prevent the elective chieftaincy over the clan O'Brien being converted into an hereditary earldom. Donough More had been created Earl of Thomond, but died soon after the attack on him; when, in the words of the Annalists, "Donnell took his place." The Four Masters continue, anno 1558:—"O'Brien of Thomond (Donnell son of Conor) was banished from his patrimony by the Lord Justice of Ireland; and he was stripped of his Earldom by the same Lord Justice, i.e., Thomas Fitzwalter, and by the son of his brother, Conor, the son of Donough, son of Conor O'Brien." * * "The entire country (of Thomond) was placed in the hands of the son of Donough by the English, who appointed him Earl over that country. He was the first Earl of the race of Cas in title, but not the first by inauguration. In consequence of this deed, i.e., the expulsion of Donnell O'Brien, the Irish of noble Banba were seized with horror, fear, and apprehension of danger; and the descendants of Con and of Cathaoir, the descendants of Heremon and Heber, of Ir and Ith, were alarmed at this change." This remarkable passage shews how strenously the clans of Gaelic race resisted the introduction of the feudal law, under which the ownership of their clan country would become vested in an hereditary line of nobles. Shane O'Neill thoroughly sympathized in this resistance, for he owed his chieftaincy to election, in opposition to the claim of Con, the 1st Earl of Tyrone's grandson, the notice of whose father's murder follows immediately after the passage above quoted:—"The Baron O'Neill (Ferdoragh, son of Con Bacagh) was slain (a deed unbecoming a kinsman) by the people of his brother John; and the cause of his killing was because he was appointed to the dignity of his father, if his father should die before him."

[d] After his escape from Dublin he joined with Donnell,—the elected "O'Brien" according to the laws of Tanistry, against the Earl of Thomond by right of royal patent,—and defeated the Earl in battle, anno 1562. [*Four Masters.*]

[e] The Marshall of the army.

* A "protection" or guarantee of personal security given by the viceroy.

Item, Art Boy Cavanagh[f] cominge to Captain Hearne,[g] and after dinner with the Captain at the hall within Captain Hearne his house, there was traterously murdered.

Item, Conill O'More[h] chief of that name, the Viscount of Mongarett, and father in lawe to the said Conill, did convite him to his house, and perswaded the said Conill to send him to Captain Hearne, and without further triall the said Captain sent two of his servants with the said Conill, by whose commaundment the same Conill was hanged and put to execution.

Item, Donoghe O'Conor[i] comminge uppon the Earl of Kildare his protection un to the presence of the Lord Deputie, and William Cantwell likewise was sent by the said Deputie and his ring for the said Donoghe to come to his presence; the same Donoghe came with the Earl of Kildare unto the Lord Deputie, one Digby shott at the said Donoghe, with a dagge throughe the slieve of his shirte, and escaped that vile enterprise of murder, yet the same Digby escaped without punishment, and contrary to that protection the said Donoghe was taken prisoner and soe continued to the time he delivered the best pledge he had; all which pledges were afterwards put to deathe at the Dingan.

Item, Randall Boye's two sonns[k] good servitors to the prince, there being sent for by Mr. Brereton

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[f] This was probably Murrough Kavanagh, who is styled "the Mac-Murrough" by the Four Masters, and as such was the elected chief of the powerful southern clan descended from the original Kings of Leinster. O'Neill may term him "Art Boy" as if he was descended from the sept of that name, the heads of which were frequently chosen to be chiefs of the clan. He is named "Morgh Mac-Morysh" in Queen Elizabeth's despatch of May, 1560-1, in which his death is said to have given occasion to slander. He was Tanist or successor-elect to Caher Mac Art Kavanagh when that chieftain was created Baron of Ballyan by Queen Mary; and as such was created Baron of Coleline, with right of succeeding to the chieftaincy. The Four Masters write under the year 1557:—"Mac Murrough (Murrough the son of Maurice Kavanagh) was killed at Leighlin by the English, because he had begun to exalt himself and foment disturbances against them; whereupon they dealt treacherously by him in the house of the Council."

[g] Sir Nicholas Heron was an Englishman,—probably one of the Herons of the Border, celebrated in "Marmion;" and was seneschal or governor of the county Wexford, constable of Leighlin castle, and for eight years sheriff of Carlow, with authority for the execution of martial law. He was slain in the year 1586, by the Kavanaghs of Idrone, a country the grant of which had been purchased by Dudley Bagenal, who was slain at the same time.

[h] The marriage of a daughter of Viscount Mountgarrett to Conill O'More does not appear in Archdall's Peerage book. The Four Masters state that O'More (Connell Oge) was taken prisoner by the Lord Justice in the year 1556, and write as follows at the subsequent year:—"O'More (Connell) was taken by the English and put to death by them at Leighlin. It was grievous to the Irish that their free-born noble chieftains should be overtaken by such an evil destiny, but they could not afford them any assistance." The O'More's were a formidable clan bordering on the English Pale, and as such were marked out for destruction.

[i] The Four Masters write at the year 1556:—"Donough, the son of O'Conor Faly (Brian), was taken prisoner by the Lord Justice, at Druim-da-mhaighe, while he was under the safe protection and guarantee of the Earl of Kildare. The Lord Justice and the Earl sent each a messenger to the Queen, to learn what should be done with those hostages (whom they had); for the Lord Justice had O'Conor and Donough, as well as other hostages, in his custody. O'More and Donough O'Conor were afterwards set at liberty, on account of their guarantees, namely, the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Ormond. This had not been expected."—O'Conor Faly was chief of the O'Conor's of the Queen's County. The Dingan where Donough was put to death was a strong Gaelic fortress in his country.

[k] This murder is not chronicled by the Four Masters; but there is a letter in the State Paper Office, dated 24th April, 1563, from the Lord Deputy the Earl of Sussex, to the Council in England, giving an account of the murder of Mac Randal Buoy and his brother by Andrew Brereton, who afterwards sold his lands to the Earl of Kildare, and fled the country. The three brethren were probably Mac Donnells, and of that sept of which were the hereditary constables or captains of O'Neill's galloglasses. Brereton was an Englishman, of Westwood, in Staffordshire. The Cottonian MS., Vesp. F. XII., contains a letter from McRandylboy, dated October, 1562, asking protection against O'Neill, and Sorley Buoy; and also another of the same date from Alexander McRandylboy, to the Lord Lieutenant, as to spoils committed by the former chief.

to his house, and after supper the gentleman slepinge in the chamber where he was appointed to lye, was murdered by the same Brereton.

Item, the other brother the same night by the same Brereton in the next towne was murdered, and Brereton escaped without punishment.

Item, to declare to my Lord Deputie how my sonne Harry[1] and his goodson are misused, and that I may understand how he is.

Item, to understande of the fraye made uppon Mac Mahonde.

Item, to take order for the punishment of the Rimor that did misuse me, wheare of I wrote to my Lord Deputie.

(Signed)

Mi Si O'Nell.

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[1] Henry, son of Shane O'Neill, is mentioned once only by the Four Masters, as having, together with his brother Art, effected his escape from Dublin Castle in company with Hugh Roe O'Donnell. He and his brothers were in deadly animosity against Hugh Baron of Dungannon, and afterwards Earl of Tyrone, whose legitimacy and title as chief of their clan they disputed. It is stated in a despatch of 1583 that—"Shane O'Neill's sons, the most venomous persons in the state, have combined with the Scots to put the Baron of Dungannon from the succession."

THE FRENCH SETTLERS IN IRELAND—No. 4.

THE SETTLEMENT AT YOUGHAL, COUNTY CORK.

BY REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, YOUGHAL.

The Huguenot settlers in Youghal appear to have established themselves in that town immediately after the accession of the Prince of Orange. The Corporation, now thoroughly Protestant, warmly welcomed the fugitives; and among its records appears an order, dated in 1697, "That Protestant refugees might be enfranchised on payment of sixpence; but that they should not vote for seven years, nor be qualified until then to serve as Church-wardens." As was the case everywhere, the new settlers brought with them industry, intelligence, and (in some instances) considerable wealth; and the towns that threw open their franchise to them were largely benefitted by the spirit of enterprise their presence soon created.

The Huguenots who settled at Youghal (unlike those at Cork, who were chiefly merchants) seem to have been mostly military persons. The Parish Registers frequently prefix to their names "Cornet," "Ensign," "Levt.," or "Captain," indicating no doubt the rank conceded to them by the Prince of Orange, when they took up arms in his service; a rank equal to that which they had enjoyed in the French army. There is no evidence of their having had at Youghal a separate service in their own tongue; but it was a common thing, a few years since, to find on the book-shelf of many of the inhabitants a Genevese French Bible or New Testament of the seventeenth century, handed down in the family the owner could not tell exactly how; and, sometimes the fly-leaves were inscribed with names and figures, written in a pale yellow ink, almost illegible from time, and (may we not apprehend?) from tears. If the date of the book did not reach the fatal year when home and friends were lost for ever, it at all events nearly approached it; as though the refugee would fain have preserved in his family, in all their solemn services, the language of his own ever-precious country.* These books are now rarely met with; change, that has been always resistlessly working in Ireland, has mostly swept them away. Those in whose eyes they once had value, are themselves long since gone; and why should the frail mementos continue? In Youghal the Huguenots have, with hardly an exception, become extinct; like exotics that could not flourish in a soil not their own.

The names which we have been able to recover are as follows:—

Boisrond; Chaigneau; Coluon; D'anvers; Dehays; Delappe; Dezieres; Duclos; Falquiere; Genu; Labatte; Legardere; Lempriere; Marvault; Maziere; Perdu; Ricard; and Roviere.

Of these we shall now give some few notices.

BOISROND.

Théophile Boisrond, who settled in Youghal, seems, from the dates in the Parish Register, to have been rather the son of Huguenot exiles than to have been himself expatriated. His child, Ann Henrietta, was baptized, 28 Sept., 1755; and, two years after, a lady of his name was married, who is believed to have been his sister, *e. g.*

"1775, Feby. 17. Mr. Legardere and Miss Benin Boisrond."

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*One of these interesting volumes is in the writer's possession, and now lies open before him. It is a small pocket New Testament, printed at Amsterdam, in 1699. The title page is:—"LE NOUVEAU TESTAMENT; C'EST A DIRE La Nouuelle Alliance de Nostre Seigneur JESVS CHRIST. N. Edition *Reveue Par les Pasteurs et Professeurs de Genève.* A Amsterdam, chez Pierre Mortier, *Anno* 1699." To this are subjoined Clement Marot's well-known version of the Psalter, with a musical score; several Forms of Prayer; a Catechism; and the Confession of Faith, agreed on "d'un commun accord par les Eglises Reformées du Royaume de France."

CHAIGNEAU.

Mr. David Chaigneau, with Elizabeth his wife, and Mary Ann, his daughter, settled in Youghal about the same time with Théophile Boisrond; and the simplest way of telling their story is to give an extract about each from the Parish Register. We find, under the head of "buried in Youghal:"—

"1749. May 8. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. David Chaigneau."

A few years more and her husband is laid by her side:—

"1753. Jany. 21. David Chaigneau, Esq."

Their tombstone is in the South Transept of St. Mary's Church, adjoining the nave. It bears the simple record:—

"HERE LIE
THE REMAINS OF
DAVID CHAIGNEAU, ESQR.,
AND OF HIS WIFE
ELIZABETH."

In the year after her father's decease we have Mdlle. comfortably settled:—

Marriages in Youghal, 1754.

"Jany. 14th. Mr. Simon Green: Miss Mary Ann Chaigneau."

COLUON.

The only record of this name we can find, is the following, taken from the Burials:—

"1738. July 28. Cornet Daniel Coluon, a Refugee."

D'ANVERS.

Arthur and Jaques D'Anvers settled in Youghal about the year 1730; the former was in holy orders, and may have been an officiating minister among his exiled brethren.* The Parish Register gives us the baptism of "Thomas, son of James D'Anverse," on the 23d Oct., 1737: and records the burial of "Mr. James D'Anverse," 14 June, 1740; and of the "Revd. Mr. Arthur D'Anvers," 23 July, 1754.

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*He must have acted as pastor here, but was not supported by any government salary, as the number of refugees in the settlement did not exceed fifty. The Irish House of Commons, in an address to the crown, presented on the 14th October, 1697, proposed "to endow a foreign clergyman in every parish where Protestant foreigners exceeded that number, in order that religious worship might be performed in their own language."

DEHAYS.

The Corporation of Youghal, in 1728, demised a part of the strand at the South of the town to Mr. John Dehays, a Huguenot Refugee, who embanked it, and formed the demense now called Green Park. James Dehays, brother of the foregoing, in 1757, bequeathed to the Protestant poor of Youghal £100, which has since accumulated to £217; interest, £13 0s. 4d. per annum. The name, now corrupted into Hayes, is still found among the Protestant population of Youghal.

DELAPPE.

This name appears but once in the Register, and may have been that of a sojourner rather than of a settler. Michael, son of William Delappe, was buried at Youghal, 27 Augt., 1769.

DEZIERES.

This is one of the military names. "Captain James Dezieres" was buried at St. Mary's, Youghal, 8 January, 1746-7.

DUCLOS.

M. Perot Duclos, when he settled in Youghal, brought with him a son, Guillaume, and a daughter Marguerite; and, after his establishment there, had a child born to him, whose baptism by the name of Hanna took place 2 April, 1710. His surname was a difficult one for the scribe in the Parish Register, who sometimes spells it "Deu Clos," at other times, "Dewcloc," and lastly, "Dueros." Marguerite Duclos married, 9 October, 1718, Mr. William Parker. Her brother William died unmarried, in Nov., 1753.

FALQUIERE.

Isaac Falquiere married, according to the Youghal Register, Elizabeth Cary, on the 27th June, 1699; and, no doubt, was the first settler of the name. We have further the burial of Jane Falquiere, widow, 22 Nov., 1730; and the marriage of Elizabeth Falquiere, with Thomas Banks, 8 June, 1731. The name was used as a baptismal name in the Banks family, subsequent to this marriage; and, it would appear that Elizabeth Falquiere was an heiress, and sole representative of the family at the time.

GUIN.

This name (which like so many others) seems to have suffered by alien attempts to write it down, is conclusively established to be that of one of our Refugees, from the following "Burial":—

"1733. April 4. John Guin, a Huguenot."

M. Guin [Jean?] left a widow, who was buried at Youghal, 16 Feb., 1752. By her he had a son, Peter, who married Mary ....., and had numerous offspring, viz., John, Jane, Elizabeth, Mary, and Ann. M. Peter Guinn was buried 28 March, 1774.

LABATTE.

Isaac and Joseph Labatte, brothers, settled in Youghal as merchants, in partnership, about the year 1740. The Register records the name of some of their children. Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Labatte, was received in church, 18 June, 1750; and, Peter, son of the same, was buried 10 Feb., 1754. John, son of Isaac Labatte, was received in church, 27 Dec., 1750; and, was buried 1 Sept., 1751.

Joseph Labatte served as Bailiff of Youghal in 1750, and as Mayor in the two successive years 1751 and 1752. In the second year of his Mayoralty, the Corporate Books show that he was actively mixed up with the question then much agitated in the borough, viz., the admission of freemen. M. Labatte refused to admit several claimants to their freedom at large, but offered to make them free of trade, which modified honor (as it did not confer the right of voting at parliamentary elections) the claimants declined, and they ultimately succeeded in obtaining their full privileges.

In 1755, the two brothers met a reverse of fortune, and failed in business. In the early part of 1756, they petitioned the Irish House of Commons (vide *Journals*) to insert clauses for their relief, in an Act about to be passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, which clauses were ordered to be placed in the Bill. On the 16th of January, Mr. Humphrey Minchin, agent for the insolvents, attended at the bar of the House, and handed in a list of debtors in the Marshalsea, among whom were Maxwell Olive, and Joseph Labatte, both of Youghal.

The Register records the burial at Youghal of Mr. Isaac Labatte, 27 Jan., 1765. We have no particulars relative to his brother's decease.*

LEGARDERE.

We have but one record of this name, in the marriage, 17 Feb., 1757, of M. Legardere, with Miss Benin Boisrond. [see *Boisrond.*)

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* As the family of Labatte also settled in Kilkenny, some other particulars will be given in the notice of that colony.

LAMPRIERE.?

This name is, we suppose, the one intended in the following record of a burial at St. Mary's, Youghal: "1761. March 15. Clement Lampier.

MARVAULT.

The Register gives us the burial of Ann, daughter of John Marvault, surveyor, 26th September, 1766. There is an individual of the name still resident in Youghal, in humble circumstances, a Protestant.

MAZIERE.

Pierre Maziere, a lieutenant in the French army, settled in Youghal about the year 1740. His son, David, was baptized 4th Oct., 1744, and was buried on the 6th of the same month. The Register records his own burial thus:

"1745-6. March 3. Levt. Mazuere, a French refugee."

Madame Maziere was buried 9th March, 1747-8.

PERDU.

We find this name in the Register, in the burial of David Perdu, 5th Jan., 1734-5. One of the name lately resided in Youghal, a young woman, a Protestant.

RICARD.

Robert Ricard migrated to Youghal early in the eighteenth century. The Register records the baptism of his son, Alexandre, 5th Nov., 1727, and the burial of his son, Michael, on the 16th of the same month. We have also the marriages of his sister, Jane, 24th Sept., 1728, to Wm. Daly, and of his sister, Hannah, 9th Feb., 1729-30, to James Mansfield; and the burial of his son, John, 18th July, 1734.

In all these places the name is spelled correctly; but in a very little while we find it ridiculously corrupted. When M. Ricard's son, Robert, comes to be married to Ann Fortescue, 9th Aug., 1744, the Parish Clerk writes him down as "Robert Rickett;" and under this *pseudonym* his children's

baptisms are concealed: Robert (1) was baptized 23rd Sept., 1744; Ann, 9th July, 1750; Mary, 19th April, 1761; Thomas (1), Samuel, and Robert (2) were received in church 17th July, 1763. Some of these children died in infancy. Robert (1) was buried 26th March, 1747; Thomas (1) 25th July, 1760, and Mary on the day after her baptism; and in the record of the burials the same erroneous adaptation of the name continues.

It may be that M. Ricard, jun., became so far denationalized as to have adopted the mal-pronunciation; but, when the old Huguenot comes himself to be buried, the Register reverts to the true spelling, or to something like it, and records:

"1758. May 8. Robert Riccard."

ROVIERE.

Jean Roviere, a *sous officier* in the French service, and subsequently in King William's army, was also one of the Huguenot settlers at Youghal. The Register gives us the baptism of Susanna, daughter of "Levt. John Roviere," 10th July, 1728, and her marriage with Thomas Day, 16th April, 1745. It also furnishes the time of the fugitive's own burial:

"1735-6. January 30. Ensign John Roviere, a refugee."

M. Roviere seems to have rented, or owned, ground at the South end of the Town of Youghal. The site of the present residence of Matthew Hayman, Esq., called "South Abbey," from its standing on part of the ground of the ancient Franciscan Friary, is entered in the Duke of Devonshire's leases, "Roviere's Holdings."

NOTICES OF LOCAL TOKENS ISSUED IN ULSTER. No. 2.

Annexed are representations of some of the local Tokens of the old traders of Belfast. They have not been hitherto published, so far as I am aware, and are given as specimens of the extensive issue of these coins which took place in this town for about a century. A list of all those of Belfast known to me is appended, which may be enlarged at a future time by the addition of some that may now be lying unnoticed in the possession of other persons, or of some not yet discovered. Many old inhabitants of the town will take great interest in these Tokens, and some will perhaps tax their ingenuity or their means of inquiry in endeavouring to trace out the history or the present representatives of those who have left these records of their names and of their existence in by-gone times. It is the hope of the writer that such curious inquirers will go farther, and that they will use all due diligence in searching for, and carefully transmitting to the editor of this Journal, tokens of Belfast not mentioned in this list, as well as specimens belonging to other localities.

There is not much to be said about the form or fashion of the Belfast tokens. Many of them are in most excellent preservation, while others are so corroded as to be distinguished with great difficulty. The devices of the older pieces do not present much variety; several of them have coats of arms, but "the bell and the ship," indicative of the name of the town and its maritime character, are the favourite emblems. While some of the names of the issuers of these tokens are still common in Belfast—(but indeed the most of these are good travelling names in any part of the three kingdoms, and cannot be claimed as of right by any particular family)—there are many not now known in the town, at least in conspicuous positions. The first one here represented is that of Hugh Duok, 1656, probably the same Hugh who about ten years previously was "sovereign" of the town, at which time the rather remarkable and humiliating statement is recorded of him that *he made his mark*, declining the full signature. This at least establishes one important historical fact, that it must have been at a period subsequent to this that our town received the appellation of the Athens of Ireland; and it may also be farther supposed for the credit of the borough, as at least a strong probability, that the schoolmaster had been abroad in the interval, and that Mr. Duok when he came to coin money, like other "sovereigns," was able to exhibit his sign manual, for the benefit and satisfaction of his friends, customers, and former subjects. It will be observed that the later tokens are rather more ambitious in their devices and emblems;—indeed, the motto and cognisance of Hugh Macgarragh would better befit a belted knight or baron bold, than a person keeping possibly a dry-goods store, in some nook or corner swept away by the recent town improvements; but, perhaps *the* Macgarragh had had a soul above buttons, as well as oaten meal, nail-rod iron, and other base commodities. Mr. Ringland, again, from adopting the dove and olive branch, may have been a man of peaceful propensities, or have dealt in goods of a peculiarly soft and delicate description. Seriously, however, it is to be regretted, that when the old business men of Belfast did go so far as to adopt fanciful mottoes and emblems on their coins, they did not select such as might have been in some measure appropriate to trade and commerce, or such as might have conveyed to posterity a knowledge of the particular occupation of the issuer, the commodities he had for sale, or the manner in which the manufacture, if any, was conducted. Some few instances of such, will, I think, be found on the tokens issued in neighbouring towns; but, except the Belfast Ticket, which formed the subject of the former article, and which, it was reasonably conjectured, reflected an imperfect image of some part of the town itself in the olden time, there are no tokens of this important place with which I am acquainted that will convey much information in this respect.

The following is the list of all the Belfast Tokens which, it may probably be said with correctness, have yet been discovered.

IOHN . STEWARD . OF	BELFAST 1656
IOHN . STEWART . HIS . ID.	THE . ARMES . OF BALFAST ... 1657
IOHN . CORRY . OF	BELLFAST . MARCHANT 1656
GEO . MICCARTNAY	OF . BELLFAST 1656
HUGH . DVOK	IN . BELLFAST 1656
ALEXANDER . SINKLAR	IN . BELFAST 1657
GEORGE , MARTIN . OF	BELFAST . MARCHAN 1657
HENRY . SMITH . IN	BELFAST . MERCHT . ...
HUGH . ECCLES . OF	BELLFAST . MARCHANT . ...
HVGH . SPAIRE . MARCHANT	IN . BELFAST. HIS . PENNY . ...
IOSIAH . MARTIN	IN . BELFAST 1657
WILLIAM . SMITH	OF . BELFAST 1657
MICHAEL . BIGGER	OF . BELLFAST 1657
IOHN . CLVGSTON	IN . BELFAST 1657
IOHN . KILPATRICK	IN . BELFAST . MARCHT . ...
IOHN . GIVAN	IN . BELFAST . .. .
GEORGE . MARTIN . OF	BELFAST . MARCHANT 1666
IAMES . BIGGER . MARCHAN	IN . BELFAST 1666
HVMPHRY . DOBBIN . OF	BELFAST . MARCHT 1670
IAMES . CHALMERS . IN	BELFAST . MARCHANT 1670
WILL . LOKART . THO . AITKIN	MERCHANTS . IN . BELFAST . ...
IOHN . BVSH . BELLFAST	ID . ...
ROBERT . WHITSIDE . IN	BELLFAST . MARCHANT 1667
BELFAST	1671
GOOD TIDINGS	I PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER TWO PENCE : WM. RINGLAND . BELFAST . 1734
WITH COVNCILE AND COVRAGE	I PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER TWO PENCE . AARON KEAN . MALLONE . 1735
FIERCE AND STRONG	I PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER TWO PENCE . HUGH MAGARRAGH . BELFAST 1736

I have not included in the preceding catalogue, except in the case of George Martin, some tokens issued in different years by several individuals in the list—in other words, a second coinage. There are also one or two other tokens, not enumerated, known to be in existence, but which I cannot at this time procure. It will be observed that I have taken the token of Aaron Kean, of Malone, as a Belfast one; for though I am, of course, unacquainted with the location in which Aaron dwelt, it is scarcely to be doubted, that the spot is now embraced in the wide-stretched arms of this rapidly increasing town.

In a future paper some specimens will be given of tokens issued in several of the towns of the Province of Ulster.

G. B.

THE ISLAND OF TIREE.

BY WILLIAM REEVES, D.D.

In Adamnan's Life of Saint Columba, which was written in the seventh century, frequent mention is made of a place one while called *Ethica insula*,[a] and at another *Ethica terra*.[b] It is represented as situated at a considerable distance from Iona;[c] as accessible either by a direct voyage across the open sea, or by a circuitous course along the lesser islands;[d] as some four or five hours sail from Iona, and most favourably reached by a south wind;[e] further, as having a monastery at a harbour called *Campus Lunge*, over which Baithene, St. Columba's chief ecclesiastic, and subsequently successor, presided,[f] and to which penitential cases were sent from the mother church;[g] and, besides this, several other religious communities under various presidents, and one in particular called *Artchain*, which was founded by a follower of St. Columba named Findchan, and resembled the Columban model in having a presbyter as superior, who, in this capacity, exercised jurisdiction over a bishop, though incapable of performing his functions.[h]

Towards the identification of a name holding so prominent a place in this early period of Scoto-Irish church history, and second only to Iona among the Columban foundations, many fruitless attempts have been made, which owed their failure principally to a neglect of descriptive data, and thus the Insula Ethica continues to the present a floating island on the face of Scottish topography. Colgan, who first published the text of Adamnan in a complete form, was caught by the name Heth-land in Buchanan, and, guided only by the similarity of sound, he gave to Ethica a place among the Shetland Isles,[i] though lying far beyond the range of St. Columba's jurisdiction, and the limits of his biographer's statements. The sagacious Thomas Innes, likewise, without even the proviso of a conjecture, in more than one place treats this group as the subject of the biographer's notices.[k] Pinkerton, again, in conjecturing the Lewis, came nearer home, but his surmise was a pure guess, and

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[a] Lib. i. c. 19 *ter*; Lib. iii. c. 8.
[b] Lib. i. c. 19, 36; Lib. ii. 15 *bis*, 39; Lib. iii. c. 8.
[c] Lib. i. c. 19; Lib. ii. c. 15.
[d] Lib. i. c. 19.
[e] Lib. ii. c. 15.
[f] Lib. 1. c. 30, 41; Lib. ii. c. 15; Lib. iii. c. 8.
[g] Lib. i. c. 30; Lib. ii. c. 39.
[h] Lib. i. c. 36.
[i] Trias Thaumaturga, p. 377 *a*, note 61.
[k] Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, pp 180, 189, 204. (Spalding Club Publications, Aberdeen, 1853.)

unworthy of a writer of his pretensions, who edited the text of Admanan.[l] Lastly, Black's County Atlas of Scotland, in one of the historical maps, exhibits the name "Ethica?" at Lewis, as probably belonging to it.[m] It is due to William F. Skene, Esq., of Edinburgh, to state that he long since perceived the inadmissibility of these conjectures, and expressed to the writer his conviction that Tiree, and not one of these remote islands, was the place which was sought for.[mm] So happy a suggestion acquired but little argument to recommend it, especially as the Gaelic equivalent for the Latin form *Terra Ethica* was reducible to *Tiree*, in the natural course of pronunciation.

A further examination of Adamnan, and the lives of those Irish saints who were in the habit of visiting the western isles of Scotland, and whose names are everywhere in that region impressed upon the records of its history, supplied all the links that were necessary for the proof, and the present paper contains the result of a careful search for all the early notices of this island, so historically, if not geographically, connected with Ireland, as a chosen station of her most honoured saint, and a favourite resort of her most noted pilgrims and ecclesiastics.

As regards the name, it is to be observed, that *Ethica* is a form peculiar to Adamnan, and is proved to be an adjective by its always being coupled with *insula* or *terra*, and because in one passage it assumes the masculine form in the construction "Ethici spatia pelagi."[n] It may, therefore, be regarded as the adjective form of *Eth*, a noun or proper name. But there is proof of this in the Lives of the Irish Saints just alluded to, where *Heth*, instead of *Ethica*, occurs in conjunction with the common terms *Terra*, *Insula*, and *Regio*. The first passage is from the Life of St. Baithene, Saint Columba's immediate successor, and is very important, because both the individual and his monastery are mentioned in the same relation by Adamnan;—"Also, in the monastery which is called *Campus Navis*, that is [in Irish], *Mag-lunga*, and which was founded by S. Columba in *Terra Heth*, he restored to health another brother who was vexed with a devil."[o] This *Campus Navis*, or *Maghlunga*, is called by Adamnan in a mixed form *Campus Lunge;* and here, as in the case of Artchain, in the same island, although the superior was only a presbyter, yet he had at command the ministrations of a bishop, who was probably attached to the community. Thus, we read in the Life of St. Ita, the founder of Killeedy, in the County of Limerick:—"There was a certain virgin in the Plain of Liffé, Rethnea by name, and she had a pious disciple called Columbanus, who proceeded to the Island of *Hyth*, to St. Columba, and having received there the episcopal order, returned again to his own country."[p]

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[l] Vitæ Antiquæ, p. 117; and map of Caledonia.

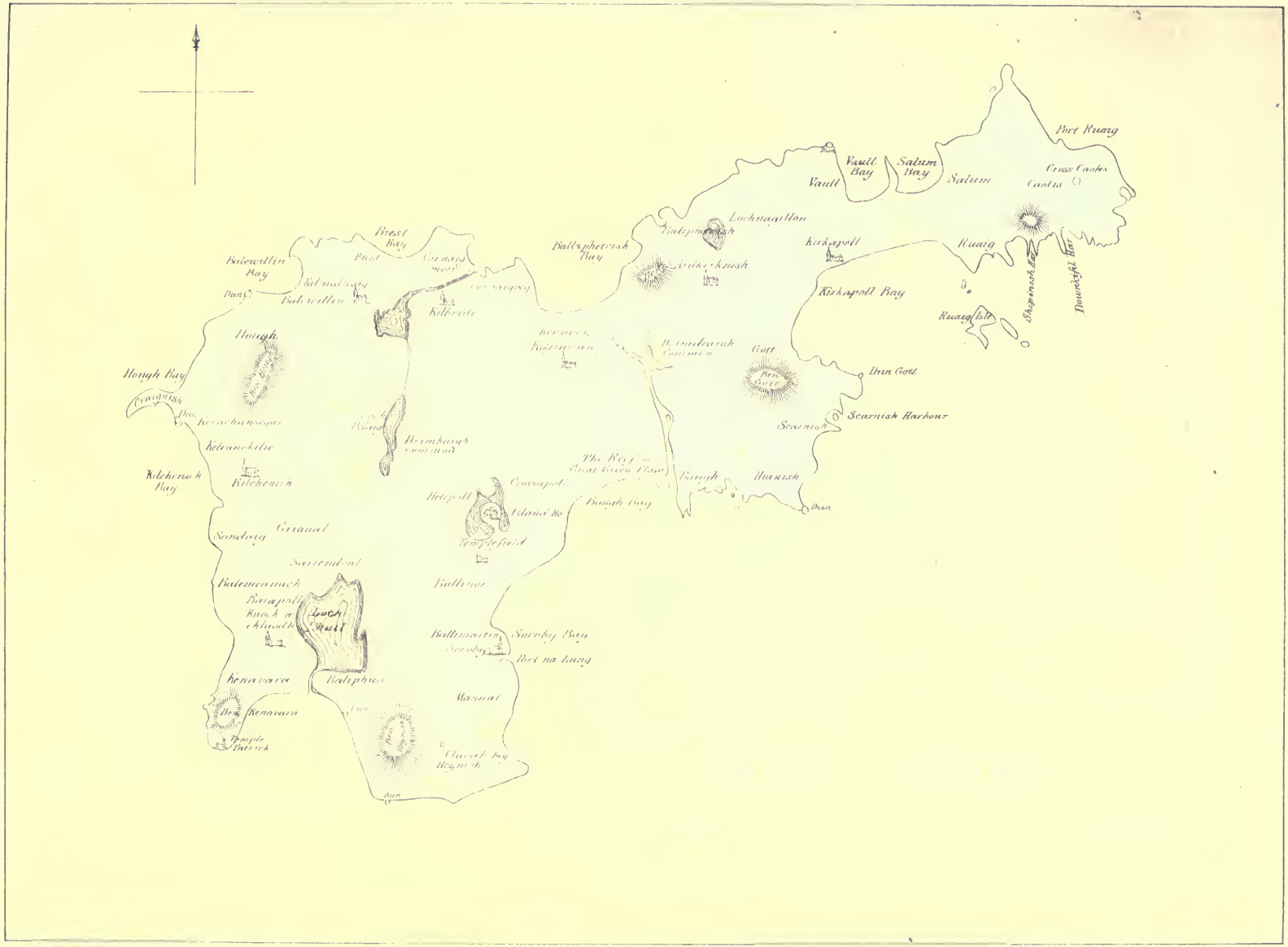
[m] No. 4, Edinb. 1848.

[mm] He subsequently in the summer of 1852, accompanied the writer to Tiree, where, through the kindness of the noble proprietor, the Duke of Argyll, every facility was given for the examination of the island.

[n] Adamnan, Lib. i. c. 19.

[o] "Alium quoque fratrem dæmonio vexatum, in monasterio quod Campus Navis, id est, Maglunga, vocatur, quodque per S. Columbum in Terra Heth fundatum est, sanitati restituit."—*Vita S. Baitheni*, from the Codex Salmanticensis, in Acta Sanctor. Junii, Tom. ii., p. 237 *b*.

[p] Fuit quædam virgo in Campo Lyffe, Rethnea nomine, quæ sanctum habuit alumnum cui nomen erat Columbanus, qui ad insulam Hyth, ad S. Columbam per-


Port Ruaig
Vault Bay
Salum Bay
Salum
Vault
Cross Caolis
Caolis
Lochnagillon
Kirkapoll
Ruaig
Ruaig Isle
Shipinish Har
Downkifel Har
Kirkapoll Bay
Ballyphetrish Bay
Brest Bay
Balewillin Bay
Kilbride
Hough
Hough Bay
Craignish
Kelvanokilie
Kilchenish Bay
Kilchenish
Drimbaigh Common
Gott
Ben Gott
Dun Gott
Scarnish Harbour
Scarnish
Huanish
Dun
Crossapoll
Island Ho
Templefield
Sandaig
Grianal
Sartendoal
Balemeanach
Loch Huil
Ballimartin
Soroby Bay
Port na Laug
Kenavara
Ben Kenavara
Temple Patrick
Maginal
Dun

The connection of Baithene with the island, which is so frequently alluded to by Adamnan, is noticed also in the Life of St. Cainnech, the founder of Kilkenny:—"A certain laic called Tulchan, who felt an earnest desire to devote himself to God, journeyed from Ireland to St. Columba in the Island of *Hithe*, where he became a monk. * * * One day the blessed Baithene said to Saint Columba," etc.[q] And in another chapter:—"One day, when the steward of the same monastery of *Hithe* was going to ring the None bell, he went first to look for St. Columba, but failed in finding him. Whereupon there was a diligent search made for him by all the brotherhood in every one of the cells, but he could not be discovered. Then the blessed Baithene gave orders for the None bell to be rung." A memorial of St. Cainnech still remains at the west side of the island in the ruined chapel of Kilchennich, giving name to the two farms of Kilchennichmor, and Kilchennichbeg.

Another contemporary ecclesiastic of great repute, the famous St. Comgall, founder of the monastery of Bangor in the Ards of Ulster, was attracted to this island to enjoy the hallowed society which it afforded. His life gives the following account of this visit:—"Also, in the seventh year after Benchor had been founded, the pious father Comgall sailed to Britain, in the wish to visit some holy men there, and to sojourn in that country a while. And he erected a monastery there at a certain village in the *Region of Heth*, where he abode for some time. One day when St. Comgall was working in the field, he put his white hood over his garment; and about the same time a number of heathen plunderers from the Picts came to that village to carry away every thing that was there, whether man or beast. Accordingly when the heathen robbers came to St. Comgall, who was labouring in the field, and saw his white hood over his cap, thinking that this white hood was Saint Comgall's deity they were deterred from laying hands on him for fear of his God. However they carried off to their ships the brethren of Saint Comgall and all their substance. But when the holy father Comgall beheld this, he was moved with indignation, and said "The Lord is my rock and my fortress, and my deliverer," and he cried unto the Lord, and made the sign [of the cross] over the heaven and earth and sea. Then straightway the heathens were smitten with blindness: moreover the sea began to rage terribly, insomuch that the ships were driven upon the shore, and the bodies of the heathens were sorely wounded. After this they gave back all the things which they had taken, and with many entreaties sought forgiveness from St. Comgall. So he was moved with compassion and prayed for them, and they received their sight, the sea also became calm, and they returned home empty and enfeebled. In process of time Saint Comgall was conducted back to Ireland by a com-

gens, illic gradum episcopalem accepit, et iterum ad suam patriam reversus est."—Vit. S. Itæ, cap. 21. (Colgan. Act. SS., p. 69 *a*)

[q] Laicus quidam, nomine Tulchanus, Deo placere desiderans, de Hibernia ad insulam Hithe ad sanctum Columbam perrexit, ibique monachus effectus est. . . . Quodam die beatus Baithenus ad sanctum Columbam dixit," etcet.—Vit. S. Cainnechi, cap. 22. (Lib. Kilken. in Marsh's Library.)

[r] "Quadam die cum custos ejusdem monasterii Hithe horam nonam pulsare voluisset, prius perrexit ad sanctum Columbam, sed ipsum non invenit. Jam per totas cellas ab omnibus fratribus diligenter quærebatur, et nec est inventus. Tunc beatus Baithenus jussit ut pulsaretur nona," &c.—Ibid, cap. 21. The Life published by the Marquis of Ormonde from the Codex Salmanticensis reads *in regione Heth*, in the former, and "*Insula Ie*," in this place. Caps. 24, 25, (pp. 14, 15)

pany of holy men." [s] This curious passage, making all due allowance for the legendary portion of it, is evidently based on fact, and appears to be an after-embellishment of an ancient veracious tradition. It designates the place as *Regio Heth*, like the *Terra Ethica* of Adamnan, which the Irish word *Tir* allows, and recognizes the insular, or, at least, the maritime position of the place. The predatory visit of Picts also supposes, as was the case, that at this time, namely the year 565[t], their nation was not in possession of the western isles.

It would also appear that St. Columba's departure from Ireland to Iona in 563 was not in consequence of banishment, as some of his biographers allege, but rather a compliance with the impulse which, at that period, the rising colony of the Dalriadic Scots had created towards a region abounding with islands, (which were always attractive to ecclesiastical settlers), and those too of every size and character. Thus we find another famous saint from Ireland, St. Brendan the Voyager, the founder of Clonfert, first planting a church on the mainland, and then visiting the island with the same intent; as is briefly stated in his Life:—"In another quarter, in Britain, Brendan also founded a monastery called Ailech. And in another place in Britain, in the *Region of Heth*, he laid out a church and village beside it, where he performed some wonderful miracles; and, after that he took ship and returned to Ireland." [u] This visit is referred by Ussher to the year 514, at which date he relates the event with some slight variation:—"Brendan son of Finnloga, in his return to Britain from Ireland, whither he had gone to salute S. Brigid, founded a church called *Bledach* in the *Region Heth*." [v]

Of the ecclesiastics who were thus attracted to this favourite spot, Brendan was the oldest, and it is probable that his church was the earliest foundation there. Between them and St. Columba, who was some years the youngest, there existed the closest intimacy, and Adamnan[w] relates an interview that

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[s] Septimo quoque anno postquam monasterium Benchor fundatum est, sanctus pater Comgallus in Brittaniam navigavit, volens quosdam sanctos ibi visitare et ibi manere ad tempus. Et constituit ibi monasterium in quadam villa in Regione Heth. Ibique mansit ad tempus. Quodam die cum esset S. Comgallus solus in agro foris operans posuit chrismale suum super vestem suam. In illa die gentiles latrunculi multi de Pictonibus irruerunt in villam illam ut raperent omnia quæ ibi erant sive homines sive pecora. Cum ergo venissent gentiles ad S. Comgallum foris operantem, et chrismale suum super cappam suam vidissent, putaverunt chrismale illud deum S. Comgalli esse, et non ausi sunt eum tangere latrunculi, causa timoris dei sui. Fratres autem S. Comgalli cum omni substantia ad suas naves illi prædatores duxerunt. At vero sanctus pater Comgallus hoc videns commotus, dixit: *Dominus firmamentum meum et refugium, et liberator meus*, et adorans Dominum signavit cælum et terram et mare, et statim gentiles cæcitate percussi sunt; ac insuper mare terribiliter intumescebat, ita ut naves in littus rejiceret, et corpora gentilium acriter vulnerata sunt. Tunc illi emittentes omnia quæ rapuerant, postulaverunt veniam magnis precibus a S. Comgallo, Sanctus jam motus misericordia oravit pro eis; at illi lumen suum receperunt, et facta tranquillitate vacui reversi sunt et infirmi. Postea S. Comgallus a multis viris sanctis reductus est in Hiberniam."—Vit. S. Comgalli cap. 22. (Fleming, Collectan. p. 307, *b.*; Act. Sanctor. Maii, Tom. ii., p. 585. *a.*

[t] The abbey of Bangor was founded in 558.

[u] "Et in alia regione in Brittania monasterium nomine Ailech sanctus Brendenus fundavit, atque in loco alio in Brittania, in *Regione Heth* ecclesiam et villam juxta eam assignavit, et ibi magnas virtutes pater Brendanus fecit: et postea navigavit ad Hiberniam."—Vita S. Brendani, in Cod. Kilken. fol. 63, *b. a.* See also Ussher, Brit. Ec. Antiqq., cap. xvii. (Works vol. vi. p. 523.)

[v] "Brendanus Findlogæ filius, ex Hibernia, quo ad S. Brigidam salutandum concesserat, in Britanniam rediens, ecclesiam Bledach dictam in Regione Heth fundavit."—Index Chronol. DXIV. (Works, vol. vi. p. 584.) Bledach in this passage is probably a misrepresentation of Ailech.

took place between them at the Island of Hinba, whither they had gone in company to visit their friend. The life of St. Comgall also describes a scene which took place on one occasion when S. Columba, with S. Comgall, and S. Cainnech, proceeded together to the fortress of Brudeus, the Pictish King.[x]

It is observable also in the passages which have been cited, that the place is styled, as in Adamnan, by the various terms *terra*, *insula*, and *regio*. Now, the application of these names is very natural, for the name *Heth*, or *Hith*, from which Adamnan forms his adjective *Ethicus*, is really the Irish for 'corn,' appearing in the dictionary in the various forms *Ith*, *Ioth*, *Etha*, *Eatha*, a kindred word with the Welsh *Yd*, the Cornish *Hyt*, the Armonican *Heidh*, the Dainish *Huede*, and the Greek *Sitos:* and of the appropriateness of the name—"The Island or Land of Corn," no better testimony could be adduced than the brief description of John Fordun:—"Insula Tyre-é qua turris est fortissima, etiam *hordei magna copia*."[y]

Tiree, indeed, differs from most of the other Western Isles in being flat and arable, in many places having scarcely vegetation enough to confine the drifting sand, and presenting an insular plain barely raised above the level of the sea,[z] and discernible at a distance only by its marginal heights of Kenavara, Hynish, and Hough. It is perhaps illustrative of its ancient fertility, that St. Columba directed Baithene, who was then resident on the island, at Moy-lung, to send to a poor man who lived in the neighbourhood of Iona, "a fat sheep and six bushels of corn,"[a]—this being as it were, the farmland of the mother island.

Previously to the blight of 1846, Tiree not only supported an overgrown population, but exported a plentiful supply of potatos to the Glasgow market; and at all times Tiree has been in repute for its superior breed of ponies, in itself no mean proof of its being

"planis
Porrectus spatiis, quoque multæ prodigus herbæ."

It is probable that if the records of Iona had been preserved they would furnish us with further particulars of the early history of this interesting island; but, in their absence, it continues unnoticed for a number of centuries, and the silence is only broken by an accidental mention of the name *Tirieth* as one of the Scottish Isles, in a manuscript of the 12th century.[b] The mention, however, is interesting, as it exhibits the name according to the ancient orthography. John of Fordun,

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[x] Vita S. Columbæ, Lib. iii., c. 7.

[y] Cap. 44. (Fleming Collectan. p. 311, *b;* Acta SS. Maii, Tom. ii., p. 587, *b*)

[z] Scotichronicon, Lib. ii., c. 10. (Vol. i. p. 46. Ed. Goodall.) The Scotch tract in the Books of Ballymote and Mac Firbis seems to derive the name of the island from *Tir-Aodha*, (pronounced *Tir-Ee*), 'the Land of Hugh,' which is the origin of the baronial name Tirhugh in the county of Donegal. Under the pedigree of the Clann-an-Mail, or Mac-an-Mail, occurs the following:—"Cormac son of Airbheartach occupied twelve houses in Fionnlochlann, namely, Greagraighe of the Heroes, which is named Muile (Mull) and *Tir* (or Tire) *Aodha* and Cruibh-inis or Craobh-inis," (probably Coll). MSS. Royal Irish Academy.

[a] From this circumstance the island has been styled among the Gaelic-speaking population *Rioghachd barr fo thuinn*, "the kingdom whose summits are lower than the waves."

[a] "Quoddam pigue pecus et sex modios."—Vit. S. Columbæ, Lib. i. cap. 41.

[b] It occurs in a marginal note to Reginaldus Dunel-

writing in the middle of the fourteenth century, adopts a transition form of the name, *Tyre-é*. In charters, retours, and other civil records between 1344 and 1626, it appears in the various shades of *Tyriad, Tyriag, Tierieg, Tyreig, Tiry, Tere, Teree, Tiriage, Teyre, Terrie, Tierig, Teirrie,* and *Tieray.*

During the period of Scandinavian rule in the Isles, Tiree seems to have shared in the general subjugation; at least we may infer, from the names locally preserved, that a large infusion of strangers took place among the old inhabitants, introducing such names as Barrapoll, Crossapoll, Helipoll, Vassipoll, Kirkapoll, Soroby, Scarnish, Heynish, Hough, &c., chiefly as agricultural denominations, while the ecclesiastical or historical features of the island retained the older names of Kilchainnech, Kilmoluag, Kilbride, Kilwillin, Kilfinnan, Ballimartin, Ballimeanaeh, Ballinoe, Balliphail, Balliphetrish, Kennavara. In this way the Teutonic *Poll*, or *Boll*, signifying 'a dwelling,' came, as a suffix, to be associated with the cognate prefix, the Celtic *Baile*, bringing into juxta-position names of such remote extraction as Helipoll, and Ballinoe.[c]

Under this foreign government probably it came to pass that the old names of Magh-Lung and Artchaoin fell into disuse, and the two principal churches of the island obtained the names of Kirkapoll and Soroby. To them respectively became assigned the eastern and western halves of the island, constituting two distinct rectories, which took their names, and were differently appropriated, though still retaining their connection with the mother church in Iona; the parsonage of Kirkapoll falling to the lot of the Bishop of the Isles,[d] while that of Soroby with the land of Ballephuille and the Wyle "pertained to the Abbot of Icecolmkill."[e] Long afterwards, an Act of Parliament, nominating a Chapter for the Bishopriek of the Isles, ordained that "the Persone of Sorbie in Terie quha is also Vicar of Icolmekill shall be Deane."[f] Thus we see that, to the very last, the churches of Tiree retained their subordinate relation to the church of Iona, in its capacity either of abbey or cathedral.

We will now proceed to treat severally of the ecclesiastical remains in the island.

(1.) Soroby, which is situated over a little bay in the farm of Ballimartin, in the south-east side of the island, is now known as a large and much-used church yard, from which all traces of its ancient church have of late disappeared. It retains, however, a very curious cross, remarkable both for its massiveness and early designs. It is not half as tall as the Iona crosses, but is probably more ancient than either. It is about five feet high, having a large central boss, and set in a coarse stone socket. In another part of the ground are numerous monumental slabs, similar to those in Iona. One is deserving of especial notice, which appears to have originally belonged to that great family of

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mensis "De admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus," cap. 62, in a hand contemporary with the text, i.e. of the 12th century. (Surtees' Society's Publications, 1835, p. 251.)

[c] See the judicious observations of Chalmers on this subject. Caledonia, vol. i., p. 266.

[d] Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, p. 4.

[e] Ibid p. 3.

[f] Ibid. p. 181.

crosses for which Iona was once famed. It bears, in fine relief, the figure of Death holding by the hand a female ecclesiastic, and on a panel underneath the inscription:—HIEC EST CRVX MICHAELIS ARCHANGVELI DEI. SOROR ANNA ABBATISSA DE Y.[g] The top is broken off, but it appears to have been a memorial or votive cross, erected during the incumbency of Anna, but afterwards carried away to Tiree to serve as a tombstone for some obscure individual.

This spot is, in all probability, the 'Campus Lunge' of Adamnan, lying over against Iona, retaining its old relation to the abbacy there, and, though it has assumed a new name, yet partially retaining the old one by proxy in the little adjoining creek which still is known as *Port-na-lung*.[h]

The following are the incidental notices of the monastery, which are found in Adamnan:

A penitent called Feachna came from Ireland to Iona, and confessed before the brotherhood certain offences of which he had been guilty. He was received with kindness by St. Columba, and after a few days was sent by him to Baithene, who was at that time superior at Campus Lunge.[i]

Again, St. Columba, having detected a robber called Ere, who lived in the little island of Colossa, in an attempt to commit a depredation, took pity on him, and to supply his necessities, despatched a message to Baithene, who was at that time living as superior at Campus Lunge,[k] directing him to send off a sheep and six measures of wheat to the unhappy man.

On another occasion, it is stated that Baithene, having set sail from Iona early in the morning, arrived at the harbour of Campus Lunge soon after nine o'clock, through favour of the south wind which speedily bore him across the broad sea to the land of Eth.[l]

One Libran, who had been a bondsman in Ireland, fled from his master, and coming to Iona threw himself down at St. Columba's feet, professing his readiness to undergo any penance which he might impose. Upon which the Saint pronounced that he should spend seven years in the Land of Eth, in devotional exercises,[m] and forthwith sent him to the monastery of Campus Lunge.[n] At the expiration of that time, he again presented himself at Iona, seeking for further directions, and was instructed to return to Ireland, where he soon fulfilled the object of his mission, and having received the Saint's blessing, resumed his place in the monastery of Campus Lunge, and there continued to live many years after St. Columba's decease.[o]

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[g] This was probably the *Soror Anna* whose tombstone remains in the nunnery of Iona, and still bears the inscription—HIC IACET DOMINA ANNA DONALDI TERLETI FILIA QVONDAM PRIORISSA DE IONA QVE OBIIT ANNO M° D° XLIII. See Graham's Iona, p 25.

[h] The indefatigable Timothy Pont, who furnished the chief materials for Blaeu's maps of Scotland, calls it *Port-Luinge*, but it is laid down entirely too far north. In Blaeu's map the island is called *Tyrryf*. The best modern maps of Argyll omit Port na Lung, and though more correct in their outline of Tiree, have far less names laid down than the old geographer.

[i] "Ad Baitheneum tunc temporis in Campo Lunge præpositum."—Lib. i. cap. 30.

[k] "Ad Baitheneum eo in tempore præpositum commorantem in Campo Lunge."—Lib. i. cap. 41.

[l] "Baitheneus plenis eadem die velis magnum totumque pelagus usque ad Ethicam transmeavit terram. Hora vera ejusdam diei tertia vir venerandus Columbanum advocat presbyterum dicens: Nunc Baitheneus prospere optatum pervenit ad portum."—Lib. ii. c. 15.

[m] Septennem debes in Ethica pœnitentiam explere terra."

[n] "Hisdemque diebus ad monasterium Campi missus Lunge."

[o] Per multos annales cyclos in monasterio Campi Lunge post Sancti Columbæ de mundo transitum.'—Lib. ii. cap. 39.

Another time, St. Columba, perceiving in spirit that a party of evil spirits were making an invisible assault upon his brotherhood, encountered them, and during the entire day maintained the conflict with doubtful success. At last he was reinforced by the angels of God, and drove the enemy from his island, who reached the Land of Eth in their flight,[p] and there assailed the communities of the brethren, smiting them with a pestilential disease, of which many died. But Baithene, through the divine assistance, brought it to pass that the congregation over which, according to God's pleasure, he presided in Campus Lunge, were, through prayer and fasting, sheltered from the assault of the evil ones, so that only one of his whole fraternity died, whereas in the other monasteries of the island many sunk under the prevailing disease.[q]

This Baithene, who held so honoured a place under St. Columba, was his first cousin, and was born in 536. On the death of S. Columba in 595, he was appointed to fill his place, and became second abbot of Hy, which office he held for three years, and died on the 9th of June, the same day as his master, so that both names occur in the Calendar together.

There are two notices of this monastery in the Irish Annals; the first the year 673, where Tighernach, and after him the Annals of Ulster, (A.C. 672) record its destruction by fire in this brief form :—

"Combustio Muighe Luinge."[r]

The other passage is at the year 774 of the Annals of Ulster, where is entered the obit of "Conall Maighi Luingi," which the Four Masters, in the parallel place, at 770, render "*Conall Abb Maighe Luinge*," that is "Conall abbot of Magh Luing."[s]

The Four Masters almost universally omit the Scotch and British notices of saints and monasteries which occur in the earlier annals, and their recording these two occurrences leads one to suspect that they supposed Magh-Luing to be in Ireland. There is a place indeed, of this name, near the village of Ballaghaderreen, in the county of Mayo, which derives its name from the River Lung, and is marked by the Ordnance Survey as the townland Lung, in the parish of Castlemore.[t] Keating also makes mention of a *Magh Luinge* in Ciannachta of Meath, now the baronies of Duleek in that county,[u] but neither place is known to have had any ecclesiastical foundation.

Colgan, when enumerating the various saints of the name of Brigid, cites a tract of Aengus the Culdee, as his authority for a *Sancta Brigida de Mag-luinge*[v]; but he errs in his observation, "Mag-luinge est

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[p] "Ad Ethicam effugati sunt terram."

[q] "Bene, ait, Baitheneus, auxiliante Deo, dispensavit ut ejusdem ecclesiæ, cui Deo auctore præest in Campo Lunge, jejuniis et orationibus collectio a dæmonum defendatur invasione; ubi nemo excepto uno qui mortuus est hac vice morietur. Quod ita juxta vaticinium ejus expletum est. Nam cum multi in cæteris ejusdem insulæ monasteriis eodem morbo morerentur, nemo nisi unus, apud Baitheneum in sua est mortuus congregatione."—Lib. iii. c. 8.

[r] O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Script. vol. ii., p. 208.

[s] O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Script. vol. iv p. 105.

[t] Mayo, sheet 74. See the map prefixed to O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, (east edge); also his note on Four Masters, A.D. 672.

[u] History of Ireland, vol. i, p. 318. Ed. Haliday.

[v] Aengus Keledeus, de Sanctis Homonimis, in Trias Thaum. p. 611, *a*.

in regione Dal-riediæ," unless by this he means the Scottish settlement.[w] (2) It is a curious fact that there is a spot on the island still called Kilbride, that is, "Brigid's Church." It is on the north side, in the farm of Cornagmore, and human remains which are found here indicate a cemetery where a small chapel is known to have existed, the walls of which were removed to help in building some adjacent cabins.[v] If this be the place referred to by Aengus, then Magh Lung must be understood to comprehend the western half of the island, about equivalent to the parish of Soroby.

The name of another church in the island is preserved by Adamnan in the title of a chapter, which runs thus:—"Concerning the presbyter Findchan, who was founder of the monastery in the Land of Eth, which is called in the Scotic tongue *Artchain*."[x] (3) This name is obsolete now, unless it be supposed to have passed into *Ardkirknish* which belongs to a spot on the north side in the farm of Balphetrish, a little to the south-east of the farm-house, where there was formerly a chapel with its cemetery. (4) Or it may be in the farm of Kenoway, to the S.W. of Balphetrish, where is a rocky space still known as *Kilfinnian*, having the faint vestiges of a quadrilateral building, measuring about 21 feet by 10, and lying east and west. Here still-born children have been occasionally buried.

(5.) But the most conspicuous remains in the Island are those at Kirkapoll, in the neighbourhood of the modern parish church, and on the north side of the Kirkapoll Bay. Here are two distinct burying-grounds. One of them contains the ruins of an old church, and several of the narrow decorated tombstones of the Iona pattern, some of which are probably to be reckoned among the numerous spoliations of the Sacred Isle: one of them, in particular, which bears the following inscription on the bevel of its margin:—FINGONIVS : PRIOR : DE Y : ME : DEDID : PHILIPPO : IOANNIS : ET : SVIS : FILIIS : ANNO DOMINI M° CCCC° XCII°. This Prior was of the Clann Mac Finnguine, now called Mackinnon, and is thus noticed by Mac Firbis:—"Finnguine, abbot of Hy, brother to Domhnall son of Gillebride."[y] (6) About 30 yards on the south-east is another, but seemingly more modern, cemetery, called *Claodh-Odhrain*, that is, 'Oran's grave-yard, from St. Columba's disciple, the first who was said to have been interred in Iona, and from whom the Relig Oran, or great cemetery there takes its name.

A little distance north of these grave-yards, is a rocky eminence, the summit of which is occupied by the ruin of another church of smaller dimensions, but more ancient than that in the principal grave yard. It measures 23 feet by 11 feet 6 inches. It possesses the peculiarity observable in the old churches at Iona, and Kilkennich, and Templepatrick in Tiree, that it has no east window, but instead, two narrow deeply-splayed windows on the north and south, near the east angles. The door-

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[w] Trias Thaumaturga, p. 611, *b*.

[v] "At Cornaigbeg, in digging pits in sandy ground, there were found at different times human skeletons, and nigh them skeletons of horses."—Old. Statistical Survey, vol. x. p. 402.

[x] Vit. S. Columbæ, Lib. i. cap. 36.

[y] *Fionnguine ab h-I dearbhra hair Domhnaill mc Gillebrighde.*—Geneal. MS. Royal Irish Acad., p. 407.

way, round-headed, is in the south, near the west angle. The rock on which this little fabric stands is nearly circular, and, what is very curious, the natural unevenness of the floor has never been rectified.

(7.) The farm of Kilchennich, on the west side of the island, takes its name from an old church built by, or in commemoration of, St. Canice. It is 28 feet 6 inches long, and 13 feet wide, without any east window. The east and west gables are entire, and part of the side walls are standing. The doorway, with a circular head, is in the west. Close to it is a curious mound, about which human bones are continually exposed by the drifting of the sand, while the space within the walls is quite choked up. The writer in the Statistical Survey observes :—"There is at the chapel of Kilkeneth, in Tiry, a burying-ground so sandy, that by blowing heaps of human bones are seen, and coffins often exposed before half consumed. It is now surrounded by sand-banks higher than the side walls: they no longer bury here :[z]

(8.) At the north-west angle of the island is the farm known by the very ecclesiastical name of *Kilmoluag*, that is the "Church of Moluoc." This saint, who was the founder and patron of Lismore in Scotland, was a native of Ireland, and his festival is marked in the Calendar at the 25th of June. The Duke of Argyll is now his lay representative, and his pastoral staff is preserved as an heir-loom in his Grace's family. The Annalist Tighernach thus records his obit at 592 :—"The death of Lughaidh of Lismor, that is, Moluoc."[a] The stones of the old chapel were employed to build the walls of cabins, and the space where the cemetery is shown to have been is now in tillage.

(9.) The south-west point is the highest ground in Tiree, and is appropriately called *Kennavara*, that is, *Ceann an mhara*, 'the eminence of the sea.' At the foot of the declivity, in a little recess on the shore, looking south-west towards Skerryvore light-house, in a small green space, stands the east wall of a church built of stone and mortar. On the south there stands a pillar-stone with two crosses incised on it, of which the lower is the more ancient. The little area which is now overgrown with flags and rushes, seems to have been a cemetery. There are also the traces of a rude enclosure of stones surrounding the consecrated space. It is called *Templepatrick*. A former minister of the parish gives the following description of the spot :—"At the hill of Ceanmharra, on a very rugged declivity is situated St. Patrick's Temple. The vestige of a wall encloses it in one third of an acre of land. It is 26 by 11 feet within the walls, the side walls 5½ feet high; one gable six inches thicker than another; without roof and ill-built of stone and lime. A square altar at the east end is still eighteen inches high. The cross without the pedestal four feet. Within 61 yards of it, at the shore, on the top of a rock, is made a hollow two feet diameter and four deep, called by the country-people St. Patrick's Vat."[b]

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[z] Old Statistical Survey of Scotland, vol. x., p. 401.

[a] "*Obitus Lughaidh Lissmoir . i . Moluoc.*" A.C. 592. See Dr. Todd's Introduction to the Obits of Christ Church p. lxv.

[b] Old Statistical Survey, vol. x., p. 402.

(10.) A little to the north, in the farm of Barapoll, is a small eminence called *Knock-a-chlaodh*,[c] close to some cabins which, it is stated, were built out of the walls of a chapel that formerly stood here. The drifting of the sand has exposed the burying-ground, and, when visited by the writer in July, 1852, the first object which caught his eye was a bleached skull and other bones lying bare on the surface of the ground.

(11.) At Heynish, the southerly part of the island, was a small burying-ground, called *Claodh-beg*.[c] It is now effaced.

(12.) In the farm of Helipoll, near Crossapoll, and a little south of the Island House, is a plot called *Templefield*, which derived its name from a chapel, the site of which is now occupied by a school-house.

(13.) Lastly, at Kelis, on the N.E. side, near the ferry between Tiree and Coll, in ground occupied by Neil Clarke, was a chapel, with its burying-ground, called *Croish-a-Chaolish*.

All these burying-places are of great antiquity, some of them which are still used having monuments that indicate their early appropriation, while even those which have became obsolete may with reason be referred to a very remote period, and, by their number, evidence both a large population and great subdivision of ecclesiastical interests in the island during the ages which preceded the centralizing movement of church patronage. And, though it is not pretended that all these thirteen religious stations can date their origin from such an early period as the sixth or seventh century, still there can be little doubt, when we compare their number with the moderate extent of the island, and the fact that Tiree and Coll, with the intervening islet of Gunna, now form but one parish, that this island was well known and much frequented at a very early stage of Christianity in Scotland. Adamnan's casual observation, "in *cæteris* ejusdem insulæ monasteriis," accounts for the multiplicity of religious vestiges in the island, while they reflect upon his narrative the attestation of a genuine statement.

The island of Coll, which at a distance appears to be a continuation of Tiree, is separated by a sound about three miles wide, and is very different in its geological character. It holds no place in ancient church history like Tiree, but still it possesses a large share of ecclesiastical traces, and it may not be amiss to embrace the present opportunity of putting them on record.[d]

1. The Island of Gunna, which lies in the sound between Tiree and Coll, but nearer to the latter, has the remains of a chapel and cemetery. It was exclusively the burial place of the Mac Neills of Coll.

2. At Caoles, opposite to Gunna, the foundation of a chapel and the traces of a cemetery are still visible.

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[c] The word *claodh* is a common one in the west of Scotland, signifying a "burying-ground." Thus S. Maelrubha's grave at Applecross is called "Clud Maree." *Cladh* and *cludh* are given in O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary in the same sense.

[d] For this list I am indebted to my intelligent friend, Mr. Lachlann McQuarrie, the Duke of Argyll's ground-Officer in Tiree.

3. At Crosspoll, adjoining Caoles, is a burial-place which is still used, and the foundations of a chapel are also to be seen.

4. At Breachachadh, which also adjoins Caoles, was a chapel, with its cemetery, called *Ardneish;* but about eight years ago the tenant removed the ruins for building purposes, and put the disused cemetery under tillage.

5, At Breachachadh also, on the east side of the farm called Fasach, is the ruin of a chapel with a burial-ground, which was used within the memory of some old people now living.

6. At Clappach, in the middle of the island there was a chapel and burying-ground.

7. At Gallanach, also near the middle of the island was a chapel and burying-ground.

8. At Kilfinnaig is a cemetery which is still used, and where there was formerly a chapel.

9. At Arintluich, on the S.E. of the island was a chapel and cemetery.

10. At Kilbride, S.E. of Gallanach, was a chapel and cemetery.

11. At Greamsary was a chapel and cemetery, called *Bearrigrein.*

"There are *fifteen* remains of old chapels or churches, at some of which are burying-grounds and crosses still to be seen," said the Rev. Archibald McColl, in 1794, when writing the account of his united parish of Tiree and Coll for the Statistical Survey, and that this was no exaggeration the preceding recitals prove, giving 13 for Tiree, one for Gunna, and 10 for Coll.

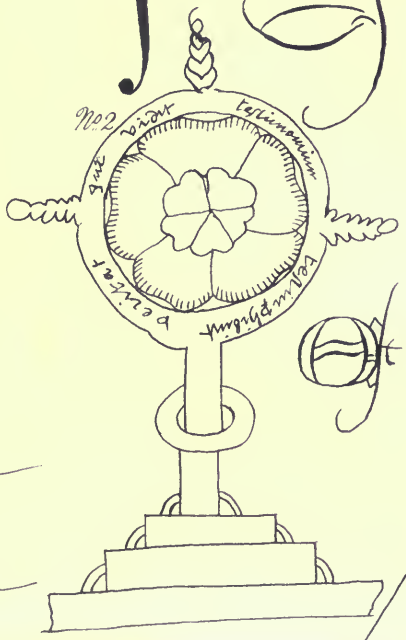
A TABLE OF RELIGIOUS PLACES IN TIREE.

	Name.	Farm.	Point.	Condition.
1	KIRKAPOLL,	*Kirkapoll,*	N.E.	Parish church-yard. Ruins of church.
2	CLAODH ODHRAIN,	*Kirkapoll,*	N.E.	Burying-ground. Ancient chapel near.
3	CROIS A CHAOLISH,	*Kelis,*	E.	Cemetery, now tilled.
4	ARDKIRKNISH,	*Balphetrish,*	N.	Chapel and cemetery, now tilled.
5	KILFINNAN,	*Kenovey,*	N.	Slight traces of chapel.
6	KILBRIDE,	*Cornaigmore,*	N.	Site of chapel and cemetery, tilled.
7	KILMOLUAG,	*Kilmoluag,*	N.W.	Site of chapel and cemetery, tilled.
8	KILCHENICH,	*Kilchenich,*	W.	Chapel in ruins. Traces of cemetery.
9	KNOCK-A-CHLAODH,	*Barapoll,*	S.W.	Chapel removed. Traces of cemetery.
10	TEMPLE-PATRICK,	*Barapoll,*	S.W.	Wall of chapel. Cross. Enclosure.
11	CLAODH BEG,	*Heynish,*	S.	Site of cemetery, tilled.
12	SOROBY,	*Balimartin,*	S.E.	Church-yard. Cross. Ancient tombs.
13	TEMPLEFIELD,	*Helipoll,*	S.E.	Site of chapel and cemetery, tilled.

In dei noīe amen

No 1

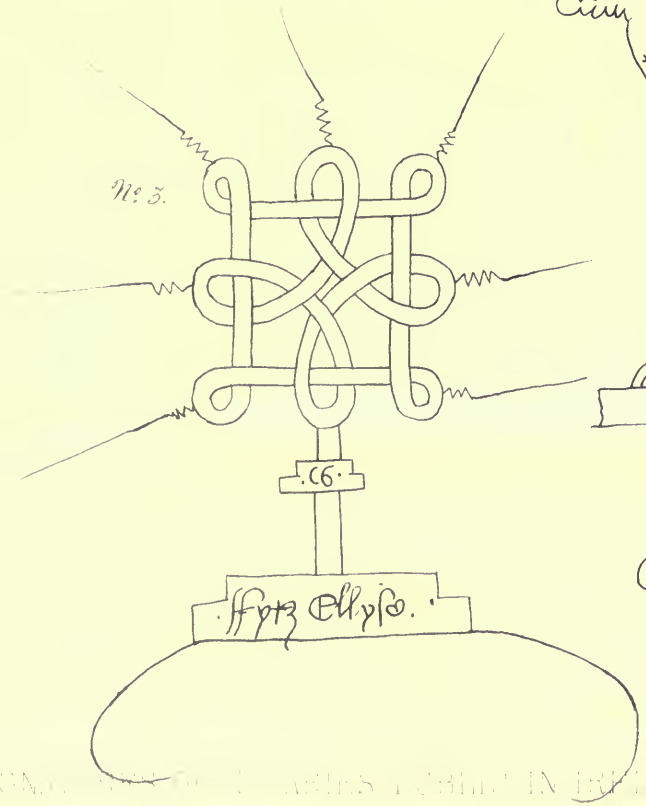
Et ego Thomas Vale clericus Waterfordensis



No 2

Et Ego Johes hiland clericus Waterfordensis

No 3.



No 3.

Et Ego Willmus ffytz Ellyso clericus Ossoriensis

No 4

Regrat die predcā et facta collatiōe concordat cū originali brauſumpto

W.: ... : Hludde

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF IRISH HISTORY—No. 3.

State Paper Office, Irish, for 1604.—No. 64, fol. 593.

A Discourse humbly prsented by Richard Hadsor to the most grtious souraiyne the right high and mightie prince James, kinge of England, Scotland, ffraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. Importing the auncyent division of the kingdome of Ireland into sundry provinces before the Conquest thereof by kinge Henry the second, kinge of England, about four hundred and fifty yeares past, And how yt ys now devided; And who at this prsent doe Inhabit the same; And by what lawes yt ys now gourned; And also declaring some cawses of the infynite chardge the Crowne hath been putt vnto by the Rebells in that Realme; and shewing some meanes for the more peicable gourmt thereof wthout such contynuall greate expences, to the better contentmt and ching of the Inhabitants, and saveing of the daily exhausting of the treasure in the service of that Realme. And touching that repeale of some prjudicall statuts in England and Ireland against Scottishmen and in England against Irishmen.

Yor Maty's kingdome of Ireland by the auncyent division thereof at the tyme of the said English Conquest was devided into ffyve provinces, vizt. Leynstre, whereof Dermot mc Morragh was kinge, who drew the first English to that Realme to assist him against the kinge of Meith; south Mounster gourned by Dermot mc Cartie kinge of the citie of Cork, from whom the families of the mc Carties deryve themselves; North Mounster, ruled by Donell O'Bryne king of the Citty of Lymerick, of whom the Erle of Thomond ys discended; Connaught, whereof Rotherick was then kinge and of all Ireland; Vlster, whereof O'Neile was kinge, of whom the Earles of Tyrone and Tyr Connell being discended of two brothers are come; and Mieth *quasi in medio regni positum* whereof o'Rowr . . was kinge. There were also many other pettie kinges in Ireland, whereof one was by elecon kinge of all Ireland.

And since the said English conquest the kyngdome was devyded into ffoure provinces vizt. Leynster, Mounster, Connaught, and Vlster, and each province except Vlster and other vncivill pts of the Realme ys subdeuyded into Counties, and each County into Baronies and hundreds, and eury Baronie in prishes consisting of Mannors, Towns, and villages, after the manner of England; And out of the province of Leynster are drawne the counties of Dublyn and Kildare, and out of the province of Vlster is taken the county of Louth, vnto wch the said county of Mieth being divided into to counties called Mieth and West Mieth ys vnited; wch ffyve menconed counties being about the quality of Yorkshire in England are called the English pale, or country inhabited to this daie wth Noblemen and Gentle-

men discended of English, who are civill men and have contynued their obedienee to the Crowne & retayned the English language & habitt since the said conquest of kinge Henry the seeond. And they doe comonly marry wthin them selves and in England, not wth the meere Irish who could never in their sundry Rebellions drawe the same Inhabitante to ioyne them, or expel them by force out of the said Counties.

Kinge Henry the second vpon his Conquest of Ireland reeeaved the said kinges and other the eheif taynes of that Realme into udrcye, having sworne allegiance vnto hym & his suceessors, & did not absolutely supprest or transplant them or theire followers out of the Realme, as kinge William the conqueror vpon the conquest of England had done wth many of the Inhabitants thereof by giving them territories & lands in Normandy and planting and advaneing the Normans in England, whereby Normandy contynued many yeres after vnder the governmnt of his posterity, and England peceably discended from him to your Matie: But the eourse that kinge Henry the second tooke for the setling of the Realme of Ireland in his lyne, was by planting noble & worthie Englishmen in all pts of the kingdome, & English eollonies especially at Dublyn and other citties and borough Townes throughout the Realme, whose prgenie having the managing of the affaires of the kingdome, subdued by degrees the greate pte of the meere Irishe and brought them in subiection to the Crowne of England; And so longe as they & theyre posteritie had were imployd as principall officers and Counsellors of estate in tyme of warr and peace in the Realme, being such men who were thoroughly informed of all matters therein and aequainted wth the disposicon of the people, the Realme well gourned & daily increased in civilitie, & yelded some profitt to the Crowne of England wthout chardge.

There hath been other English colonies sundry tymes since planted in that Realme, especially by our late Souraine in the province of Mounster by the name of vndertakers, & in other prtes of the kingdome, whereupon it groweth that the Realme ys now inhabited wth English and Irishmen discended of English wch the meere & auncyent Irish-men, whose nobility & Gent. surnames comonly begynneth with mc and o, as Mc Cartie and Oneile.

Kinge Henry the seeond vpon the conquest of Ireland established the lawes of England in that Realme, then being devyded into two kindes, vizt. Comon or Vniursall Lawe, as that the eldest sonne should have his father's lands; Custome Lawe, as that by the prticular eustomes of some Mannors & Townes, a man his lands should be devyded between all his sonnes, or that ye youngest sonne only should inheritt the same lands; whereunto ys added Statut Lawe: And he & his suecessors kinges of England held the Realme of Ireland by the name of Lord of Ireland, having absolute kingly authority over the same, vntill king Henry the eight the 33 yere of his Raigne his heirs and suecessors kinges of England were by act of prliamt in that Realme acknowleged & enacted to be kinges of Ireland.

Many greate families of the meere Irishe helde their seignories & lands by the auncyent Irish eus-

tome called Tanestrie, wch is that the eldest & worthiest of the name should have the signorie during life; whereof groweth much bloodshed & rebellion by contencon for the seignorie eury discent, yt being often reputed the worthiest man who draweth most bloode, wch incyteth them to committ outrages.

Kinge John, second sonne of the said Kinge Henry, in the life tyme of his father vpon the Conquest of Ireland was Viz Roy of that Realme, as dyurs princes of the blood Royall haue been since.

Ireland since the said conquest thereof hath been ruled by the Kinge of England, as a distinct kingdome, & courtes of prliamt held there of the three estats of the Inhabitants thereof in the same forme as it is in England, for ye makeing or repealing of such Lawes & Statutes as are fitt for that Realme, by comission from ye kinge, vnder ye greate Seale of England, Authorizing the Viz Roy of that Realme to somon a prlymt there, and to give the Royall assent vnto such Acts as bee agreed vpon in that prlaymt, whereof the kinge & his Councell of estate of England are to be informed by crtificatt vnder the greate Seale of Ireland, by force of statut made in Ireland in the 10th yere of kinge Henry the 7th; And after, vppon ye kinge's allowance of ye same acte, the Viz Roy by force of his said comission gives the kinge's Royall assent to such Acts as are agreed vpon in the prliamt there; And in the said 10th yere of k. Henry the 7th. there was an acte of prliamt past in Ireland by which all the Statutes of England were confirmed in Ireland, And such statutes as were since k. Henry the 7th. tyme made in England, that were agreed vpon in prliamt in Ireland to be necessary for that Realme, were enacted there, And also dyurs othe statutes fytt for that Realme & by the said statutes And the like courtes & forme of the admistracon of Justice are ordeyned there, accoording to the said Lawes, and the iudiciall Recordes are made in Latin, & the Judge & Lawyers doe plead in English as they doe in England. The Irish Lawyers doe studdy the Lawe in the Innes of court in England, being always such as are discended of English, & not of the meere Irishe, who are allowed to practize in England after they are called to ye barr as Englishmen are in Ireland.

The inhabitantes of Ireland have no voice in the leccon of the Viz Roy or placeing of souraigne Magistrates, but it is done by the kinge and such as are specially authorished. And the Inhabitants of Citties and Borough Townes in Ireland by their Charters, which they haue from the kinges of England, doe elect their magistrates, as the Citties & Townes of England doe.

There ys a statut made in Ireland the 33 yere of kinge Henry the 8th. authorizing the Lo: Chauncellor and the kinge's Councellor vpon the avoydance by death or otherwise of the office of the Lyvetent or other heade gournor of that Realme, to elect & choose one such prson as shal be an Englishman borne being no spirituall prson, or Two of the said councell of English bloode and surname being not spirituall prsons, to be gournors of that Realme during the kinge's pleasure. Wherevpon it is misconceaved that an Irish man cannot be Lo: Deputie of Ireland, whereas the said statut gives authoritie to the Councell to chose a gournor as beforesaid, the kinge notwthstanding having power to make an Irish man Lo: Deputie as diurs of the nobility of that Realme haue been.

Tne Earl of Kildare who ys the most auneyent Earle of Ireland, and other the Earles of that Realme, doe give place to the Earles of England here, for that they have noe voice in p^rliam^t in England, neither hath the nobilitie of England any voice in the p^rliam^t of Ireland.

The manner of tryall of noblemen in Ireland for treason, ys by Acte of p^rliam^t in that Realme.

Irishmen borne are denizens by birth in England and may beare office and inherytt Lande in England, as ys to be seene w^thout charters of Denizacon, as Englishmen are and doth in Ireland. And also Irishmen doe paie only such Customes and duties in England as Englishmen paie.

The wards of the Nobilitie of Ireland are disposed by the kinge, and the Inferior wardes by the Viz Roy, and certeyne of the councell there, according to their comission.

Titles of hono^r, Landes, and offices, in Ireland hath been usually graunted since the Conquest by the kinge vnder the greate Seale of England at the lecon of the kinge.

Erronyous Judgm^ts given in the kinge's Beneh in Ireland are reu^rsed by writt of Erro^r in the kinge's Beneh in England.

There is now noe mynt in Ireland but the coyne of that Realme ys made in England.

And when the nobilitie & Gent. of English race of Ireland were weakned by p^rticipating in that intestyne civill warre of the houses of York and Lancaster, the meere Irish, of whom there was then little memorie, grewe stronge, and being after debilitated by the then Earles of Kildare, Desmond, Ormond, Clanrikerd, and by other noble p^rsons and Gent. discended of English whose Auncestors were the suppres^rs of the Rebells in that Realme.

The Earle of Kildare (grandfather of the now Earle of Kildare) who married the Marquis Dorsett Gray his daughter, being Lo : Deputie of that Realme in k. Henry the 8th. tyme, was called into England, disgraced and attainted in Ireland, after, he dyed in prison in England, where he lyved a long tyme, and his brothers and eldest sonne deprived of their luyves by the synister practizes of Cardynall Wolsey, sett forth at lardge in the Irishe Chroniele, and of late acted publiquely vpon the stage in London in the Tragedie of the life and death of the said Wolsey, to tedious to be reported to yor Matie. By which attainder the house of Kildare loste lands of good value in England and Ireland.

And whereas some of the nobility of England helde titles of hono^r & greate possessions in Irelande whereby they were p^rtakers of the good & evill estate of that Realme, And likewise some of the nobility of Ireland had hono^rs and possessions of good value in England, By a Statute made by k. Henry the 8th. in Ireland, all their said hono^rs Landes & hereditam^ts wch they helde in that Realme was given to the kinge, for that they were absent out of Ireland, whereby the said nobility haue not sithence had that care of the good estate of that Realme as they form^lr^y had when the same did concerne them p^rticulerly, nor the Nobility of Ireland that ereditt in England wch their Auncest^rs form^rly had, havinge by Attainders and other meanes in kinge Henry the 8th his tyme lost their said hono^rs and Lands wch they helde in England.

And Desmond and other auncyent English houses were after overthrowne, & fewe men of noat of English discent of that nation ymployed or countenanced in the publique affaires & councellors of estate in the kingdome, and some vnfitt psons ymployed as inferior magistrates there, And there were captaynes and other marshall men made high Sheriffes of dyurs countics, and contynued many yeares together in their offices in that Realme, having noe Landes in the same counties, as some captaines doe at this prnte, contrary to the Lawes of the Realme, And at the ende of their sheriffwick they doe comonly obteyne prdons for their offences, so as such sheriffs are thereby incouradged to extort & oppresse the people, and freed from the due punishmt wch the Lawe would impose vpon them for their misdemeanors.

The people of that Realme are for the more prte vncyvill for want of educacon and Learning, and the country full of Idle men wthout any trade, wch incouradgeth men there to enter into Rebellion, for that they doubt not to be followed by such dissolut prsons who are redye to take armes for spoile when there ys any occasion offered.

The Bisshops of that Realme for their private gayne haue made leases for many yeres of their Spirituall Lands for smale or noe Rents, whereby there are fewe Bishoprickes in that Realme sufficient to support the dignity of a Bisshop, And thereof yt groweth that some doe holde Three and others Two Bishoprickes wth many prsonages *in Comendam* for their better mayntenance, to the greate hinderaunce of the prfermt of learned men, and decaye of the state ecclesiasticall.

Theis and other the enormyties of that comon wealth, wherewth I will now omytt to trouble yor Matie any further, hath brought forth many Rebellions, and especially this last generall and dangerous combynacon of the meere Irishe through out the whole Realme, fewe excepted, & assisted by some discontented prsons of English name, having turned their Irish kerne to the warrlike order and Armes of Souldiers, whereby the whole kingdom for the most prte ys depopulated, wasted, and rent in sunder, And by the daily extorcon of the souldiers, takeing meate and money of the subjectes at their pleasure, whereas by the Statute of that Realme the souldiers should paie for their meate, wherby greate nombers of the subjectes prished.

Yf the meere Irishe in their late Rebellion had the vnderstanding to vnite themselves togcther in one bodye, *quod omen Deus auertat*, and leave their factions emulacon & contencon for superiority, each greate family being discended of the said petty kinges, holding themselves not inferior one to an other, & yelde themselves and their estates in subiection to certen chieftaynes (wth some of theire principall heads earnestly labor, & could neur effect by God's divyne prvidence) and their souldiers trayned as well to make a stande wth their pikes in a playne feild, as their shott & swordeman are expert in fighting in straights & grounds of advantage, the kingdom had been in greate danger to be lost, wch as it is thought hath putt the question heretofore made by some in prliamt, whether it were necessary to ende the warres of Ireland out of controuersie, being of late conceyved that it is fytt to ende the warres & to reduce the kingdome to an vniforme civill gourmt, and establisshe the Lawes by

wch the civill prte thereof ys ruled vniursally throughout all prts of the kingdome, To th'ende yt may yelde benefytt & strengthen the crowne of England, and not be a meane to weaken the same.

The meanes whereby I conceave that Realme
may be reduced to better estate followeth, vizt:

ffyrst that iustice may be duely mynistred throughout the Realme according to the Lawes thereof by learned & sincere Judges and magistrates and that choise be made of men of good quality of estate & integritye to be presidentes & gournors of the said province of Mounster and Connaught, Leynster, & the English pale being about Dublyn the principall state of the Viz Roy, And the Councell of estate & chiefe Courts of lawe to be gourned by the Viz Roy as heretofore hath been accustomed. And also that noblemen and eyvill Gent. of quallity, natives of the country, whose posterity the good or evill estate of that Realme shall most concerne, being capable thereof, may be vsed as Councellors of estate, together wth such English and Scottish men of worth as yor Matie shall thinke fytt, and also as Lyvetents counties Judges and annual Sheriffs & other principall officers who maybe * * * * * * * * * * that Realme in their counties whereof they shall be appointed sheriffe, And that they be may also countenanced and ymployed wth the force of the good subjectes of that Realme against such as shall rebell there, and rewarded for their service, as in formr tymes they haue been, whereby the service may be effected wthout the contynnual chardge of mayntennce of an Army, as in formr tymes hath been done, And yf yor Matie would be gratiously pleased to give instrucons to the state in Ireland, as the late Queene hath done, that such of yor subiects there as should die in yor service, their heires being wthin age, should haue the benefytt of their owne wardshipps, It would be a great incouradgmt to them to venter their lyves in yor Maties service.

And that in the province of *Vlster*, the fountaine of the Rebellions of that kingdome, wch is inhabited wth the most vneyvill people of the Realme, & the strongest faction of the meere Irishe, A president or Gournor Judge & state such as in Mounster and Connaught to be erected at Ardmagh, the prime metropolitan See of the Realme and Center of that province, where the late Earle of Essex his father was Gournor in her late Matie's Rayne, but noe state established: wch president vpon the first establishment were meete to be a Nobleman or of greate estate & quallity, for that the Earles of Tyrone and TyrConnell, and other greate chieftaines of countries, who are Inhabitants there, may be the sooner reduced to the obedience of the Lawe, wch was not heretofore thoroughly executed there, and to ymbrace civill gourment.

And that the said province & all other vneivill prtes of the Realme wch is not yett Sheire grounde, may be devyded into counties as the English pale ys, and Justice duly mynistered there, And that the County of Tyrone graunted to the Earle of Tyrone by the late Queene in the 29th yere of her Raigne wth other the like countries may be subdevided into seignories mannors and ffree-holdes of estates amonge the Gent. and Inhabitants of that country, wthout wch noe tryall in lawe by * * *

ean be meintayn * * * * * ordeynd by act of prliamt * * * * * * goods of some value may be Jurors to try eawses although they have noe Lands, And thereby the Tennts of the same Scignories & freeholdes may depende of the Crowne.

And that prnte order be taken that the souldiers may lyve vpon their pay in their garrisons, and, when they shall have occasions for service to travell abroad in the Country, that they may content themselves with such meate as the poore people are able & willing to give them *gratis*, and not to take meate & money at their pleasure as they vse to doe.

And that the offer made by *Dutchmen* to the late Queene to inhabitt Loghfoill vpon the borders of the eountry of the Earle of Tyrone vpon such condicons as to yor Matie shall be thought fytt, be accepted, and certen of yor Matie's eyvill subjectes ioined wth them, whose Trades & example may drawe the people to growe civill; And colonies being likewise planted at Bealashanen in the eountry of Tyrconnell, and such other oncivill places of the Realme as yor highnes shall thinke fytt, and especially in or neere the straighte and chief passage wch gave the Rebells advantage.

And to advance learned men to all spirituall dignities & lyvinges whose doctryne, life, & example, may edifie the people, and schools of learning in eury county of the kingdome to be erected and maynteyned by ye clergie aceording to the statut in that behalf made in that Realme, whereby the people may be reduced to knowe their dutie to God & yor Matie & become civill.

And for the prvencon of such from the vnreasonable estates to be made by Bisshops of the Church Lande to the ourthrowe of their Seas, that the statut made in this Realme the first yere of the late Queene may be enacted this next prliamt in Ireland, By wch it is ordeyned that Bisshops shall make estate of the Landes of their Bisshoprickes for 21 yeres or Three lyves, yelding the olde and accustomed Rents to them and their successors.

And that yor Matie may be pleased to devide & settle by act of prliamt in Ireland the territories & Lands of the meere Irishe in the case of each family that hath best right thereunto, soe as there shall be noe just eawse of such discension between them hereafter as formrly hath been to the great disquiet of the Realme.

And yf yor Matie would be also pleased in yor happy vnion of England & Scottland to vnite yor highnes' Realme of Ireland vnto them in Amitie, being a Land so fertill as wanteth nothing serving for the necessity, vse, or pleasure, of man and * * * * peceable good gourment the lande of plentie, as was to be seene in the tyme of Sir John Parrotte his gourment in that realme about xviij yeres past, Itt would yelde a greate contentmt to yor Matie's subjectes, of that Realme, And that as the Inhabitants of yor Maties are all yor highnes' subjectes so they may be reputed one wthout any priudycate difference in respect of their countries, And that some pruidiciall wch are in England & Ireland against Scottishmen, whereof a catalogue shal be prsented vnto yor Matie when your highnes shal be pleased to command the same, may be repealed, and likewise that some olde statuts against

Irishmen in England may be frustrated, And that It may be enacted by prliamt in England & Ireland, that it shall be lawfull for all yor Matie's subts of yor Three kingdomes to receive & supplie one an other wth Corne & all other things wch th'one kingdome shall haue to spare and is wanting in yor Matie's other Realmes, paying yor highnes custome for the same as the English Inhabitants of Mounster by their patente made of Landes in Ireland by her late Matie are allowed to bring corne from thence into England.

And also yf yor Matie would be pleased to compose yor grand Councell of estate of English & Scottish men & of some of yor highnes subts of Ireland, or of such men of quallity & integrity as were imployed & had experience in Ireland and well affected to the country and the people hereof, for the better and spedyer dispatch of the affaires thereof, who being men of good vnderstanding by their experience & intelligence may best inform yor highnes what ys fytt to be done in such busynes wherein they shall be vsed, touching their seurall functions, whereby if any error be comytted by the Viz Rys & magistrates of any of yor kingdomes, yor highnes may the better be informed how to reforme the same; And also that yor Matie being indued wth greate wisdome, knowledge, & learning, may be pleased, for the better admynistracon of iustice, to sitt at yor leysure some tymes prsonally in publique courtes of Justice & at the Councell board, as some of yor Matie's progenitors haue done, yor Maty's monarchie in short tyme would growe civill ritch and powerable, and when yor Matie shall thinke yt fytt the turbulent loose vnprofitable men of your kingdomes may be weeded out especially of Ireland, and ymployed abroad in yor highnes' service in forraine countries, to th'end they may not be Instrumts of Rebellion & mischiefe as they are comonly in Ireland, whereof there are greate nomber at this tyme, who now lately Rebelles there, and hath noe meanes of lyvelihood, fytt to be ymployed beyond sea.

And soe humbly craving prdon for this my bouldnes preceeding not of prsumption or diffidence of the wisdome of yor Matie's grave councell, but only of my dutiful zeale to doe yor highness service, and ardent desire of the peceable good estate of that my native distressed country of Ireland—my grandfather being an English man and left me a poore patrymonie wthin the Englisshe pale there—and wholly submitting the same to yor Maty's princely censure.

IRISH LIBRARY.—No. II.

BY WILLIAM REEVES, D.D.

FLEMING'S COLLECTANEA SACRA.

When the scattered fragments of Irish ecclesiastical literature were in danger of being dispersed beyond the power of recovery, and the distractions consequent on civil war were about to substitute the recollection of recent suffering for the memory of ancient glory—when the bonds of society were all but broken, and the national spirit had degenerated into the fretfulness of subjection—the Irish Franciscans undertook to plead the cause of their country's history, and, out of the mouldering remains of native records, a Mendicant order, with patriotic candour and untiring perseverance, collected a large amount of precious articles, which they either committed to print, or so disposed of as to secure their preservation. What Colgan achieved has been stated in the first paper of this series. He had the satisfaction to witness the success of his endeavours, and the honour which redounded to his country and himself from the fruits of his pen. His contemporary, Patrick Fleming, actuated by similar motives, and professing like qualifications, entered upon the same field of labour, but narrowed his investigations within a much smaller compass, taking the life and doctrine of one saint as his scope instead of the whole Calendar, and under this head exhibiting in one collection all that could be gleaned up of the acts and writings of the individual. The subject he chose was Columbanus. This ecclesiastic, the most famous of the Irish missionaries, was a native of Leinster, who in early life had been placed under St. Comgall's instruction in the flourishing monastery of Bangor. Arrived at man's estate he forsook his native country, in the year 590, and, with twelve companions, made his way to the east of Gaul, where, in a wild district of the semi-Christianized kingdom of Burgundy, he founded Luxeuil and other monasteries of great repute. Afterwards, being expelled from France, he retired to Bobio in the north of Italy, where he founded, in 600, a monastery that in after times became the nucleus of a town, and the origin of a Bishop's See. This missionary carried with him to the continent a warm affection for the discipline and doctrines of the Irish church, not only as regarded the absorbing questions of Easter and the See of Rome, but in the practice of that ascetic religion which was cultivated at Bangor, and gave its peculiar tone to so large a proportion of the primitive monasteries in Ireland. His literary remains are no doubt scanty, but still they are sufficient to give us a fair idea of the system of theology which prevailed among his contemporaries; and his monastic Rule is doubly interesting, from the fact that very few traces of the early conventual usages of the Irish church have been preserved in any satisfactory form. Indeed it is painful to think that from such a host of religious instructors as existed in his age, there is not one but

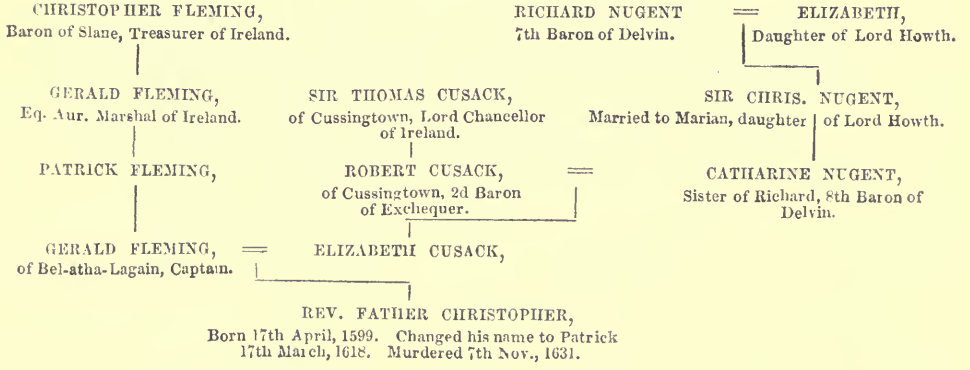
Columbanus who has left anything like a record of his sentiments and teaching. His name, it is true, hardly finds a place in the Irish Calendar, because he left his country in early life, and became naturalized in a foreign soil; but this very circumstance which caused him to be forgotten at home mainly contributed to the preservation of his writings, as they were placed in depositories which were more secure than those in Ireland, and intimately associated with the author's memory. To perpetuate the literary remains of this distinguished man, and place them within the reach of the curious, was the praiseworthy ambition of Father Patrick Fleming, whose zeal in the undertaking was probably quickened by the consideration that after the lapse of a thousand years he himself stood in a somewhat similar position towards the land of his birth.

Patrick Fleming was born on the seventeenth of April, 1599, at Bel-atha-Lagain, now the townland of Lagan in the parish of Cloonkeen and county of Louth.[a] Unlike John Colgan, who was of the ancient indigenous race, Fleming had scarcely a drop of Irish blood in his veins; his first ancestor in Ireland was one of the Belgian company who came to Ireland in 1169,[b] while intermarriage with the nobles of the Pale had for many generations introduced the Anglo-Norman element into the family, and given it quite an un-Irish character. His father, Gerald Fleming, was great-grandson of Christopher Fleming, Baron of Slane and Treasurer of Ireland, while his mother Elizabeth, was daughter of Robert Cusack of Cushinstown, a Baron of the Exchequer, by Catharine Nugent, daughter of Christopher, heir to the Barony of Delvin.[c] He was baptized by Father William Jacson,

[a] The river Lagan bounds the county on the West; and near Lagan Bridge, close to the junction of the counties of Louth, Meath, and Monaghan, are the ruins of an old castle, probably a seat of the Flemings, in former times. The road from Ardee to Carrickmacross, passes this place. (Ord. Survey, Louth, Sheet 13.)

[b] "The fleet of Flemings came from England, in the army of MacMurchadha, *i.e.* Diarmaid, to contest the Kingdom of Leinster for him: they were seventy heroes, dressed in coats of mail."—*Four Mast.* 1169. Richard Fleming, who built the castle of Slane, and was the ancestor of the Barons of Slane, was killed, with 590 of the English, in 1176.—*Ibid.* Colgan alludes to these two passages in the dedication of his Trias Thaumaturga to Thomas Fleming, titular Archbishop of Dublin.

[c] The noble descent of our author may be seen in the annexed genealogical table:



and received the family Christian-name of Christopher. As he grew up he gave early indications of that sobriety and diligence which adorned his character in after years. At the age of thirteen he was sent over to the continent, and placed under the paternal care of his uncle Christopher Cusack, the founder and president of the Irish colleges at Douay, Tournay, and other towns in Flanders. Subsequently he was removed to the Irish Franciscan College of Louvain, where, on St. Patrick's day, 1617, he became a novitiate of the order, and on that day twelvemonths was admitted into the brotherhood, exchanging, as was customary, his baptismal for a conventual name, and choosing Patrick as best suited to the occasion and his pursuits. It was about this time that he made the acquaintance of Father Hugh Ward, the meritorious projector of the Irish hagiological movement, whom he met in Paris. It was the opening to a literary intimacy which became closer as they pursued their kindred objects; so that while the young friar urged his senior to carry out his intentions regarding the expansion of the Irish Calendar, he promised to collect all the tributary materials which might present themselves to him in his travels. When taken to Rome by Hugh Cavellus, or Mac Caughwell, afterwards Titular Primate of Ireland, he applied himself to the furtherance of his literary projects, and continued from that time to devote his leisure hours to the augmentation of his store.[d] In the year 1631, being then but thirty two years of age, he was nominated President and Theological Lecturer of the Irish College, newly founded at Prague; but, previously to his departure, he placed the manuscript of his Collectanea in the hands of Moret, a printer of Antwerp, with a view to its publication. This was a most fortunate step for literature, as it secured to the world a work which would in all probability have perished had he deferred the time of committing it to the press. Scarcely was Fleming settled in his new office in Prague, when the Elector of Saxony invaded Bohemia, and threatening the capital with military chastisement, many of its ecclesiastics retired, and among them the Irish president, though at first unwilling to abandon his post. Attended by Matthew Hoar, a deacon, who at the opening of the college had been employed on account of his oratorical talents to deliver the inaugural address, he set out upon his journey; and, on the 7th of November, as he approached the small town of Beneschow, he was suddenly attacked by a party of seven lawless peasants, who started from the underwood which adjoined the high road, armed with clubs, and beat him and his companion so violently that they killed them on the spot.[e] Fleming's

[d] He became Lecturer at Louvain, before he removed to Prague. Colgan expresses himself as under great obligations to Fleming. "Nec parvo adjumento et accremento eidem operi extitit pia et religiosa industria religiosissimi eteum omni veneratione nominandi viri, Patris fratris Patricii Flemingi in hoc Collegio et postea alio nostro Pragensi Lectoris; qui multas Divorum concivium vitas et pia opuscula, in diversis Galliæ, Italiæ, et Germaniæ bibliothecis collegit." *Præfatio* in Act Sanct. p. 5. Harris represents him as Lecturer in Philosophy at S. Isidore's in Rome. (Ware's Irish Writers, p. 112.) but he has no authority for the statement.

[e] Colgan leads us to think that this act of violence was the result of religious hostility. "Uterque a scelerata hæreticorum rusticorum caterva insidiante, et in obvios quosque Religiosos insæviente, in quadam sylva cruento et crudeli supplicio interemptus, martyrii palmam adeptus est. Immanes enim beluæ, fidei ac Religionis odio incensæ, et hæretica rabie innocentissimos agnos aggressæ, unum multis vulneribus confossum et capite bipenni discisso: alterum arbori affixum, et telis transfixum anno 1632 enecarunt."—*Præf. in Act. Sanct.* The memoir prefixed to the Collectanea is not so circumstantial.

body was subsequently found on the road with several fractures in the skull. It was removed to the monastery of Voticium, about four miles from the scene of the murder, and seven from Prague, where it was honourably received, and in presence of forty brethren solemnly interred.—Thus early terminated the career of one whose abilities and zeal had just opened for him a wide field of distinction, and who, probably, had his life been spared, would have contributed largely to the sacred antiquities of his country. His great admiration of St. Columbanus caused him to select that Irishman as his ecclesiastical model, and, during the short time that he presided over the College of Prague, the self-devotion and untiring zeal of his favourite saint were the frequent theme of his religious discourses. It was not his happy lot to witness the fruit of his literary labours, nor was it till after the lapse of thirty years that his work was destined to come before the public,—for so long it lay in manuscript, his untimely death having suspended the negociations for its publication. At length, in 1665, Thos. Sirinus, or O'Sherrin, as his name would read in its native form [f], being Jubilate Lector of Theology, in the Irish College at Louvain, obtained a license for the printing of the dormant work, which duly appeared at Louvain in 1677. This Thomas was another benefactor of Irish literature, and, though his name is not noticed by Ware among the Irish writers, he certainly deserves a place among them as an active instrument in preserving the Irish collections which with great labour had been made in the early part of the century. In 1662 he published, with additions, Ward's Acts and Illustrations of St. Rumold, a very elaborate and valuable compilation; and, in 1675, a contribution of his to the Acta Sanctorum was acknowledged by Godefrid Henschenius the editor. [g] Sirinus may thus be regarded as bringing up the rear of that gallant band, which was led on by Ward, and numbered among the illustrious companions such men as the Four Masters, Colgan, White, and Fleming.

The title of this important work is as follows:—

R. P. F. Patricii Flemingi *Hiberni, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Strictioris Observantiæ, olim Sacræ Theologiæ Lectoris* Collectanea Sacra *seu* S. Columbani *Hiberni Abbatis, Magni Monachorum Patriarchæ, Monasteriorum Luxoviensis in Gallia, et Bobiensis in Italia, Aliorumque, Fundatoris et Patroni, Necnon aliorum aliquot e Veteri itidem Scotia seu Hibernia antiquorum Sanctorum* Acta et Opuscula, *nusquam antehac edita, partem ab ipso brevibus Notis, partem fusioribus Commentariis, ac speciali de Monastica S. Columbani institutione Tractatu, illustrata; In quibus de ejusdem Sancti Patria, Doctrina, Monachatu, Magistris, Collegis, Ætate, Peregrinatione, Monasteriorum ab ipso ejusque discipulis conditorum origine et progressu; Hibernorum quoque ac Britonum differentiâ olim a Romanis in Paschæ celebratione multa curiosa et nova, per* V. A. P. F. Thomam Sirinum *In Lovaniensi*

[f] The name appears in the Annals of the Four Masters, at 1087, in the form *Ua Siridein*. In the General Pardons granted in the beginning of James I. reign, we find the name *O'Sheridan*, or *O'Sh-redane* prevailing in the county of Longford, (Rot. Pat. Jac. i. pp. 35*a*. 36*b*; and *O'Siridan* of the Trougher and of Trinity Island, in the county of Cavan. (*Ibid* pp. 43*b*. 44*a*.) The name was pronounced *O'Sheereen*, and a counsellor Sherrin, who is said to have assisted Dr. Saml. Clarke in editing his Homer, was of this race.

[g] Aprilis, Tom. ii., p. 487. His name occurs in other places also of the same work.

Collegio S. Antonii de Padua ejusdem Ordinis et Provinciæ Hiberniæ S. Theo. Lectorem Jubilatum recens castigata et aucta. Lovanii, Typis Viduæ Andreæ Bouveti, Anno 1667.

CONTENTS:—

The Editor's Dedication to Nicholas Dubois, abbot of St. Amand in Flanders (pp. 1-4).

Faculties and Approbations of Superiors (pp. 5-6).

Indiculus Contentorum (p. 7).

Brevis Notitia de Collectore, et Historia Martyrii ejus (pp. 8-14).

This memoir, from which the preceding account of Fleming was borrowed, was found among Colgan's papers. It is followed by a poem of 48 Hexameters and Pentameters on the death of Fleming and Hoar. To which is annexed a History of the Martyrdom of these friars, from the statement of Francis Magenis, an eye-witness.

Ad Lectorem, by the compiler of the Collectanea (pp. 15-18).

Elogia de S. Columbano, ex antiquis et modernis Scriptoribus collecta (pp. 19-25).

Poems and Hymns on Columbanus from Sacred Offices (pp. 25-28).

Regula S. Columbani. Preface. pp. 1-3; Rule, pp. 4-8; notes, pp. 9-18.

This Rule consists of 10 chapters, De Obedientia, De Taciturnitate, De Cibo et Potu, De Cupiditate calcanda, De Vanitate calcanda, De Castitate, De Cursu, De Discretione, De Mortificatione, De Perfectione Monachi. It is copied from a MS. of Bobio, collated with three others found at St. Gall, Oxenhusa, and Ausburg. It had already been printed by Goldastus, and Messingham. Holstenius published it in his Codex Regularum; and it was reprinted from Fleming in the Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xii. (Lyons, 1677). It was used before St. Benedict's Rule in many of the Gallican, German, and Italian monasteries, and was at length incorporated with it.

Regula Coenobialis Fratrum, sive Liber de Quotidianis Pœnitentiis Monachorum, p.p. 19-24. Notes, pp. 25-36.

This Rule is supplementary to the former, and consists of 15 chapters. It is printed from two MSS. at Oxenhusa, and Ausburg.

De Institutionis et Regulæ S. Columbani Approbatione et authoritate, pp. 37-40.

S. Columbani Sermones, with Preface, pp. 41-90.

These valuable expositions, 17 in number, were written for the use of his monks. They are printed from an ancient Bobio MS.

1. *De Deo Uno et Trino.* pp. 43-46.
2. *De mortificatione vitiorum et acquisitione virtutum.* pp. 46-48.
3. *De sectando mundi contemptu et cælestium bonorum amore.* pp. 49-52.
4. *Quod in præsenti vita laborandum, ut in futura quiescamus.* pp. 52-54.
5. *Quod præsens vita non sit diccnda vita sed via.* pp. 54-56.
6. *Præsentem vitam similem esse umbræ.* pp. 56-57.
7. *De cæcitate hominis, qui neglecto spiritu inservit corpori.* pp. 58-60.
8. *Quod ad cælestem patriam viæ præsentis finem festinandum sit.* pp. 60-63.
9. *De extremo judicio.* pp. 63-65.
10. *De terribili venturi Judicis ira declinanda.* pp. 66-68.

11. *De delectione Dei et proximi.* pp. 69-72.
12. *De compunctione et vigilantia qua Judicis adventus expectandus est.* pp. 72-74.
13. *De fonte vivo Christo Jesu adeundo et potando.* pp. 74-76.
14. *Varia spiritualis vitæ documenta.* pp. 77-81.
15. *De fervore serviendi Deo.* pp. 82-83.
16. *Quid est, aut quid erit?* p. 84.
17. *Quod per viam humilitatis et obedientiæ Deus quærendus et sequendus sit.* pp. 85-90.

The last three are not found in the Bobio MS., but are supplied from other authorities.

S. Columbani Liber de Mensura Pœnitentiarum pp. 94-97; Præfat. 91-93; Annotat. 97-103.

This Penitential consists of 42 canons, relating principally to immoralities. They are printed from an ancient Bobio MS.

Instructio S. Columbani de Octo Vitiis Principalibus. pp. 104-107.

S. Columbani Epistolæ, with Preface and Notes pp. 108-164.

From an ancient, but faulty, MS. of Bobio.

1. *Ad Bonifacium Quartum.* pp. 110, 111. Annot. 111-113.
2. *Ad Patres Synodi cujusdam Gallicanæ super quæstione Paschæ congregatæ.* pp. 113-116; Annot. pp. 116-130. (including a treatise De variis circa Festi Paschalis observantiam antiquorum, maxime Hibernorum, ritibus, eorumque ratione, pp. 118-127.)
3. *Ad Discipulos et Monachos suos.* pp. 131-134. Annot. pp. 134-138.
4. *Ad Bonifacium Papam.* pp. 138-144; Annot. pp. 144-156.

Of this most important Epistle a faithful translation has been published by the Rev. Robert King, in his Primer of Church Hist. of Ireland, Vol. iii., pp. 949-960, who observes that it "is undoubtedly one of the most important records in existence, connected with the circumstances of the Irish Church at the time when it was written, or, we might perhaps say, with those of any period of its early history. * * * The Latin is in some places so exceedingly difficult and obscure that it is quite impossible to determine the sense of the writer with any degree of certainty. (pp. 938-939.)

5. *Ad S. Gregorium Papam.* pp. 157-160; Annot. pp. 160-164.

S. Columbani Poemata Quædam, with Preface and notes. pp. 165-181.

These poems are principally metrical Epistles, some in Hexameter, one in Adonics, and another in Rhyme. They had been previously printed by Goldastus, Canisius, Sirmondus, Messingham, and Ussher.

Ailerani Sapientis Interpretatio Mystica Progenitorum D. Jesu Christi. pp. 185-192; Præfat. pp. 182-184.

This Aileran, or Aireran, as it is sometimes written, was styled by the Irish *an Egna*, or the Wise, and his obit is entered in the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters at 664, where he is called "Aileranus Sapiens." His festival was the 29th of December, at which day he is said by the scholiast on Marian Gorman, and the O'Clerys, to have been Fer-leghinn, or Lecturer, of Cluain-Eraird. Ware, in his Irish Writers, states of this tract "The allegorical Exposition before-mentioned was inserted by Sedulius among his collections on St. Matthew's Gospel; as he himself in the said Collections confesses in these words, 'Here begins the typical and figurative signification of the genealogy of Christ; which St. Aileran, the wisest of the Scottish nation explained.' (Works, Vol. ii. p. 36.) Ussher also mentions the same, and cites a passage where he is adduced as an authority for certain particulars in S. Patrick's life. (Brit. Ec. Ant. cap. 17.) Ussher and Ware had copies of this tract, but that in Fleming is printed from a St. Gall MS. He excuses himself for its introduction among St. Columbanus' writings on the score of its being but short, and so valuable that it was of importance to preserve it.

Cumeani Liber de Pœnitentiarum mensura. pp. 197-210; Præf. pp. 193-196.

This collection consists of 14 chapters, and is printed from a very ancient MS. of St. Gall, where it was found as a sequel to the penitential of S Columbanus mentioned above, and which in many respects it closely resembles.

Acta S. Columbani per Jonam Abbatem ejus equalem. pp. 214-243; Præf. pp. 211-214.

This Jonas was a native of Susa in Italy, and was a monk of Bobio in the time of Attala, S. Columbanus' immediate successor. He lived in the early part of the 7th century, so that his memoir has the merit of great antiquity. There are two Prefaces by the author, as in Adamnan's Life of S. Columba, and the Life consists of 30 chapters. In his former preface, speaking in his own disparagement he says "Nobis ex Hibernia vix butyrum pinguescit." (p. 215.) In the opening chapter, he describes "Hibernia insula," the land of S. Columbanus' nativity, in these glowing terms:—"Hanc *Scotorum* gens incolit, gens quanquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fide præpollet." (p. 217.) Fleming used in his edition an ancient MS. preserved in the monastery of S. Maximin of Triers. It was previously published by Surius, also among Bede's works, and by Messingham; subsequently by Mabillon.

Miracula S. Columbani ab anonimo quodam. pp. 244-261.

This, which is intended as a supplement to Jonas' narrative, is of later date, but still of considerable antiquity. It consists of a preface and 28 chapters, and was first printed by Messingham from a MS. in the library of De Thou, whom Fleming follows.

Commentarius ad Vitam S. Columbani a Jona. pp. 262-367.

In this valuable commentary Fleming treats of the various persons mentioned in Jonas' memoir, and of the author himself. In his progress he has a chapter on Ireland, pp. 269-270; its conversion, p. 270; its ancient name Scotia, pp. 272-285; evidence of S. Columbanus' Irish extraction, pp. 285-296; the Primordia of Catholic faith in Ireland, pp. 296-298; on the ancient grandeur of the monastery of Benchor, pp. 299-302; the life of S. Comgall, founder of Benchor, from an Armagh MS. in 50 sections, pp. 303-313. This tract is accompanied by various readings from another and shorter memoir, and both are printed in the Acta Sanctorum, at S. Comgall's day, May 10, (Maii, ii., p. 579); some miscellaneous extracts concerning S. Comgall, pp. 313-314; the names of some of S. Comgall's successors, pp. 314-315; S. Columbanus' chronology, pp. 317-320; S. Columbanus' 12 companions, pp 320-322; on the monastery of Luxieu, pp. 325-331; Charlemagne's Diploma to Luxieu, in which he styles Columbanus "egregium Scotigenarum," pp. 332-336, with notes, pp. 336-340; History of St. Gall, pp. 340-344; other notes, pp. 344-353; on the monastery of Bobio, pp. 353-362; the Privilegium of Pope Theodore to Bobio, circ. 645. pp. 356-359; note on the Cambatta of Columbanus, p. 362: Annotations on the Miracula Columbani, pp. 364-367.

Vita S. Moluæ sive Luani, pp. 368—369.

This life of St. Molua, the founder of Clonfert-Mulloe in the Queen's County, is introduced here by the compiler on account of St. Bernard's mention of him in connection with the monastery of Bangor, where S. Columbanus was educated. It is printed from a Codex Armachanus.

Vita S. Mochœmog seu Pulcherii, pp. 380—391.

This memoir is also introduced as belonging to a famous disciple of Comgall, and probably a fellow-student of Columbanus. It was previously printed by Colgan, at the 13th of March, in his Acta Sanctorum. (p. 589.) Fleming's copy is taken from the Codex Armachanus, Colgan's from the Codex Kilkenniensis.

Dissertatio de monastica S. Columbani Professione, pp. 392-441.

This learned dissertation is divided into three Articles, 1. An S. Columbanus sub Instituto Eremitarum S. Augustini militaverit, (pp. 393—405); 2. An sub Regula S. Benedicti, (pp. 406—429); 3. Sub quo Ordine Professionem monasticam emisit S. Columbanus. (pp. 430—441). The last article contains the Catalogue of the three orders of Irish Saints which was first printed by Archbishop Ussher. Fleming obtained two copies of this tract, through Father Francis Matthew; one taken from a MS. belonging to Ussher, the other from a MS. of the Island of all Saints. There is a slight variation between Ussher's and Fleming's printed text, the latter of which is preferred by O'Conor, in Rer. Hib. SS. (Vol ii. pp. 162-165).

Index Rerum, pp. 442—454.

Errata. p. 455.

In point of rarity this work exceeds even the scarce volumes of Colgan. *Extremely scarce* is hardly strong enough to denote its marketable existence. Copies at long intervals do appear in London, but the collector who waits for one may tarry half an age before he is able to satisfy his longings. Proportionate to the value and the rarity of this small folio of 485 pages, is its average price. Thorpe's London Catalogue of 1849, marks a very fine copy in morocco, gilt, for £31 10s 0d, and states that the book sold in Mr. Heber's sale for £40. Stewart, of King William-street, sold a fine clean copy in limp vellum, a few years ago, to one of the Colleges of Oxford, for £22. An inferior copy, in poor binding and wormed, was lately purchased from a Dublin bookseller for £20, and presented by his Grace the Primate to the Library of Armagh. The writer of this article is possessed of an excellent copy, in green morocco, gilt edges, which cost £18. But the finest copy perhaps ever offered to the public, is one which was obtained from the Continent, by Messrs. Hodges & Smith, of Dublin, and became the property of Doctor Elrington; at whose sale it was purchased by the late William Elliot Hudson, Esq., for 23 guineas, and formed an article in the inestimable collection of Irish books which he generously bequeathed to the Royal Irish Academy, to whose Library it was removed on the occasion of his lamented death, and now holds a place among the treasures of that institution. It is in the original Spanish binding, on unusually thick paper, and in matchless order. There is also a very excellent copy in Primate Marsh's Library, and an indifferent one in that of Trinity College. The Rev. Doctor Todd is the possessor of Dr. Charles O'Conor's copy, which was purchased at the sale of the Stowe collection.

To what cause the extreme rarity of Colgan's and Fleming's works is attributable it would be difficult to pronounce: possibly, when printed, they hung heavily on the publishers hands, and, after the immediate demand was satisfied, the stock was sold as waste paper. But to this it may be objected that, even supposing the English market for the sale of books to have been bad, the Continent would have required a large supply, and the numerous libraries of monasteries and public institutions in Roman Catholic countries would have been well stocked with works of such great interest. But this was not the case; for though it is from abroad that copies come before the public, yet on the Continent these books are of rare occurrence. The probability is that, as was the case with the Irish

books of that date, limited impressions only were struck off, bookmaking for pecuniary advantage being furthermost from the compiler's thoughts, whose sole object was to place certain important truths on record, and, by a reasonable multiplication of copies, afford to the really curious the means of information, and place the agents of it for ever beyond the possibility of retirement or extinction.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF GEORGE WALKER,

GOVERNOR OF DERRY DURING THE SIEGE IN 1689.

By the Rev. ABRAHAM DAWSON, A.B.,
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PART II.

James II. succeeded to the throne about a month prior to the former of those visits of Walker to England, which we have last noticed. The hostility of this monarch to the existing Constitution of these countries was plainly developed as his reign progressed. In Ireland his designs became sooner apparent in the unequivocal measures adopted by his able and willing agent, the Earl of Tyrconnell. The disarming of the militia, the expulsion of Protestants from the army, their removal from the judicial bench, and from the shrievalty and the magistracy; the interference with the charters of the corporate towns, with the foundations of the endowed schools, and even with the University itself; the appropriation of many benefices and churches;—these were considered, by the Protestants of this country, as parts of a great scheme for the subversion of their liberties. And when outrages on person and property became frequent and general, whilst the protection of the laws was vainly sought from their partial administrators, men anticipated a renewal of the horrors of the Great Rebellion.—Union to avert the dangers which threatened them could no longer be delayed, and associations for mutual counsel and succour were formed by the Protestants in many parts of the kingdom during the autumn and winter of 1688. Tyrconnell's attempt to seize on Londonderry was fresh evidence of their peril; while the successful resistance of a few youths excited the ardour and determination of all those alike menaced. Additional associations were organised throughout Ulster, and leaders were chosen for the province, and for the several counties. "Some Great Men were not wanting in their advice and encouragement."[a] By one of these Walker was recommended to secure Dungannon by a garrison, both for the protection of the neighbourhood, and to serve as a check upon Charle-

[a] Walker's *True Account of the Siege of Londonderry*; 1689: p. 13.

mont Fort, which was in the hands of the Irish—as James's adherents were called—under Colonel Gordon O'Neill, son of the notorious Phelim O'Neill. Although in his 71st year, Walker did not shrink from exertions which, at his advanced age, are as generally irksome as they are rarely possible. He collected together men out of whom he formed a regiment at his own charge, and applied "what interest he could to make towards the preservation of the town."

We are not concerned to offer an apology for Walker, as a clergyman, assuming arms at this crisis. "His case has all the authority that the greatest necessity in the world can give to any action. The lives of thousands besides his own were at stake; his religion, that is dearer than all, and the English and Scotch (equally dear to him) next door to an utter extirpation out of Ireland. Not to speak of the danger of others, how can any one imagine that there should be an obligation upon any man, that can exempt or excuse his unconcernedness in such a case?" [b]

Having raised his regiment, Walker rode to Derry to settle a correspondence with the garrison there, and to consult with Lieut.-Col. Robert Lundy, the Governor of the city, whose experience in war and seeming zeal for the Protestant cause raised great expectations of assistance from him. Lundy professed to approve of Walker's plans, and sent to Dungannon two files of "disciplined men," and afterwards two troops of dragoons. The counties of Tyrone, Derry, and Donegal, also furnished contingents, who were supported partly by the country and partly by their own officers. About the 11th of February, 1689, the Irish assembled in formidable numbers at Stewartstown and Glenoe, with the design of attacking the garrison at Dungannon, but a party of horse and foot sent from that town by the governor, Col. Stewart, succeeded in dispersing them; killing some, and taking 13 or 14 prisoners. Soon after, a large party from Charlemont Fort, joined by many Irish of the adjacent country, being assembled at Benburb, were dispersed by a detachment from Dungannon, who also captured a large prey of cattle. [c]

Notwithstanding these and similar exploits, Lundy sent orders to Col. Stewart, on the 14th of March, to abandon the town. These orders were obeyed with reluctance, and the garrison, with many of the inhabitants, retired towards Derry and Coleraine, allowing a large supply of provisions to fall into the enemy's hands. When part of the garrison reached Strabane, they were met by orders from Lundy directing them to return to Omagh; and five companies, under the command of Walker, were quartered at Rash, in the neighbourhood of that town, from whence, a fortnight after, they were removed to St. Johnstown, five miles from Derry. [d]

About the 13th of April, Walker rode in all haste to Derry, to inform the governor of the approach of the Irish army. Lundy affected to discredit the intelligence, but at the same time directed Walker to advance his companies to Lifford. Accordingly Walker formed a junction there with

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[b] Walker's *Vindication of the True Account of the Siege of Londonderry.*

[c] Harris's *Life of William III.*, Dublin, 1749; p. 197.

[d] Walker's *True Account*, 15.

Col. Crofton, and soon after the Irish army appeared before the town. All the night a fire was kept up between the forces: and on the following morning, by Lundy's command, Walker withdrew his division to a place named Long Causeway. After being vainly entreated to secure the passes of the Finn and Foyle, at Clady and Lifford, at length, on the morning of the 15th, Lundy led out a large force towards the former place; but he had taken measures that the troops should not have a sufficient supply of ammunition; and, without allowing them to offer any serious opposition to the enemy, he returned to Derry with great precipitation. The Protestants at Lifford, on the news of Lundy's disgraceful retreat, joined Walker at Long Causeway, where they kept their ground until the evening, when, fearing lest the enemy should intercept them, they retired to Derry. On arriving there they found the gates closed against them by Lundy's orders, and they were compelled to remain all night without the walls, and next morning they got into the town "with much difficulty and some violence upon the sentry." Walker remonstrated with Lundy, and urged him to lead out his forces again to meet the enemy; but this he refused to do, and "gave advice of a different nature, which did not agree with Mr. Walker's sentiments, who thought himself obliged to stand by his men that he had brought from their own homes, and not to expose them again to the enemy by dismissing them."[e]

At this juncture reinforcements of men and supplies of ammunition and provisions had arrived in Lough Foyle; but Lundy, still masking his perfidy, persuaded the officers in command to return to England without disembarking their men or supplies. At the same time he sent deputies, privately, to treat with the enemy for the capitulation of the town: and, to the consternation of the people, on the morning of the 18th, they beheld almost at the same moment the ships sailing down the lough, and the Irish army, under the command of James in person, advancing to the walls.—Notwithstanding their confusion and alarm, the inhabitants resolved to maintain their town, and opening a fire upon the enemy for the present checked their approach. The treacherous Lundy was at once deposed from the office he had abused, and, with difficulty escaping from the city at nightfall, in disguise, with a load of matches on his back, he reached the ships, and was subsequently landed in Scotland, where he was arrested and sent a prisoner to London.[f]

On the following day, Friday the 19th of April, the citizens proceeded to elect a governor. Murray, whom they first selected, declined the honour, modestly declaring himself unfit to command within walls. They then unanimously made choice of Walker and Major Baker, as joint governors during the siege, who accepted the office after a vain endeavour to induce Col. Cunningham—the chief in command of the English subsidy—to undertake the charge.[g]

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[e] Walker, 16.

[f] Walker, 20. Lundy was a native of Scotland. He is both included in the Act of Attainder passed by James's Parliament, in 1689; and is among the thirty persons excluded from the benefit of the Act of Indemnity, passed by the English Parliament, in 1690. He was finally cashiered, with Cunningham and Richards—the officers whom he induced to abandon Derry. Harris, 260, and Appendix, 47; *Annals of Derry*, (Derry, 1847) 91, n: Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*. (Dublin, 1771), Pt. II., 44.

[g] Walker, 20: Harris, 206, Mackenzie (Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry; London, 1690) says that Baker alone was elected Governor, and that *he* named

There can hardly be conceived an enterprise more hopeless than that which these brave men deliberately engaged to conduct. The enemy were nearly as three to one of them ;[h] and these odds were greatly increased by the relative condition and situation of the opponents. The besiegers were under the command of distinguished generals, and could reckon on the resources of a thriving province, as well as of the metropolis itself, for their support. But the garrison of the besieged, officers and men, were little skilled in warfare ; their fortifications were imperfect ; their supplies of provisions and of military stores wholly inadequate to a siege of the shortest duration ; their communication with the quarters whence they might derive relief, cut off ; and their small city[i] was crowded with an immense multitude,[k] in chief part helpless fugitives whom Lundy had drawn thither, with the wicked design of prostrating the Protestant cause in Ulster by one great act of treachery.

We cannot suppose the citizens realised all the sufferings to which their determination would subject them, but the following extract from Walker's Diary, under the date of this eventful day, testifies that their decision was not formed without consideration of their perils, and of the consequences of their resistance :—

" After injoyning all parties to forget their distinctions, and to joyn as one man, in defence of the interest of K. William and Q. Mary, and the Protestant Religion, against the enemies of both ; we betake ourselves, in the first place, by order to our several devotions, and recommend ourselves and the cause we undertook to the protection and care of the Almighty ; for we might then truly say, with the church in the Liturgy, ' There is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, O God.' It did beget some disorder amongst us and confusion, when we looked about us and saw what we were doing ; our enemies all about us, and our friends running away from us ; a garrison we had, composed of a number of poor people, frightned from their own houses, and seemed more fit to hide themselves, than to face an enemy ; when we considered we had no person of any experience in war among us, and those very persons who were sent to assist us, had so little confidence in the place that they no sooner saw it, but they thought fit to leave it ; that we had but few horse to sally out with, and no forage ; no engineers to instruct us in our works ; no fire-works ; and not as much as a hand-granado to annoy the enemy ; not a gun well mounted in the whole town ; that we had so

Walker his assistant, and that properly Walker was only a commissary of the stores, but "complimented with the title of Governor." This statement appears entirely without foundation. Walker's plain account to the contrary, as given above, was published at the time, in London, and by authority ; he is recognised as Governor in all public documents,—as in the Records of the Irish Society : and, in the King's letter after the siege, which is addressed, " To our trusty and well-beloved George Walker, and John Michelborn, Esqrs., Governors of Londonderry." The title and office of Governor is almost universally ascribed to him by contemporary writers, who, in comparison, take little notice of either Baker or Mitchelborn : and, in all the public instruments and orders passed during the siege, he signs his name first.

[h] There were about 20,000 Irish to a garrison of 7,361.

[i] The space within the walls was only 1500 feet in length, and in breadth, 900 feet in the broadest part ; and within these limits were included the bishop's house and gardens, the cathedral and two grave-yards, the Diamond, &c. Walker, 9.

[k] At the commencement of the siege there were 30,000 persons within the walls : of these 10,000 afterwards retired, on being assured of protection by the enemy, leaving behind a number far above what the town could contain with safety, even if provisions were abundant, and no war impending. The population of modern Derry, with an area widely extended beyond the walls, is short of 20,000, according to the census of 1851.

many mouths to feed, and not above ten days' provision for them, in the opinion of our former governours; that every day several left us, and gave constant intelligence to the enemy; that they had so many opportunities to divide us, and so often endeavoured it, and to betray the governours; that they were so numerous, so powerful, and well appointed an army, that in all human probability we could not think ourselves in less danger than the Israelites at the Red Sea. When we considered all this, it was obvious enough what a dangerous undertaking we had ventured upon; but the resolution and courage of our people, and the necessity we were under, and the great confidence among us in God Almighty, that He would take care of us, and preserve us, made us overlook all those difficulties."[l]

The operations of the defence were conducted in a manner as singular as the enterprise itself was unprecedented. "As might be supposed, there was no regular government, and yet there was never the slightest appearance of confusion. When a soldier became exhausted from fatigue on the bastion, he retired to rest without waiting for permission, and his place was instantly supplied by another, who was anxious to manifest his zeal. There was no flinching—no reluctance to endure toil and fatigue—no wish to avoid a post of danger. When an opportunity offered, parties, self-formed, issued out and attacked the hostile lines. These sallies were sometimes defeated, but the parties not unfrequently returned laden with small supplies of provisions and plunder."[m] The women shared in the labours of the men, carrying ammunition to the soldiers, attending to the sick and wounded, and even at times giving assistance in repelling the assaults of the besiegers. Eighteen clergymen of the Established Church, and eight Dissenting Ministers, took part in the toils of the siege; and, in their turn, collecting the people daily in the cathedral, and other stated and temporary places of worship, they animated them to endurance, by prayers and by fervent appeals. Religious differences were, for the most part, forgotten in the presence of common danger; the use of the cathedral during one half of each Sunday, and on each Thursday, was conceded to the Dissenters; and Walker even invited Mackenzie, a Dissenting Minister, to be chaplain to his own regiment, an act of courtesy which that person indifferently requited.[n]

In the whole conduct of the siege, in counsel and in action, Walker had a conspicuous share. Without, however, declining the post of danger and honour at the head of the garrison, he appeared to concede willingly to others, whenever it was possible, those military functions which consorted not with his peaceful profession.[o] He took part in the daily service in the cathedral, as well as in the

[l] Walker, 21.

[m] Dr. W. C. Taylor's *History of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, Vol. II., 143. In their first sally, on the 21st of April, the besieged inflicted a severe loss upon the enemy, killing Lieut. Gen. Mammau, Maj. Gen. Pusignian, several other officers, and above 200 men, besides taking colours, horses, arms, &c. In this affair Walker at first took no share; but when his party were nearly routed, and some had been driven back to the walls, he mounted a horse, and rallying the fugitives, brought them up in time to turn the fortune of the day, and to save Murray, who was surrounded by the enemy, and almost overpowered.

[n] Mackenzie's *Narrative*.

[o] In modern times some persons have censured Walker for having been a "fighting clergyman." Contemporary censors, on the contrary, attacked him for his pacific inclinations. Thus, in a libellous pamphlet, published in 1692, his conduct is sneered at, as having "appeared more conspicuous in the eating part than in the fighting part."

other duties of his sacred office; and, when engaged in the extraordinary services which the necessity of the times required, his dress still indicated that in becoming a soldier he had not ceased to be a priest.[p]

All the horrors of war were soon felt in the devoted city. The terrible bombardment was pressed with little intermission, and often both by day and night. Pestilence, aggravated by the heats of summer and the crowded state of the town, made fearful ravages. To these evils famine was shortly added, and existence was hardly prolonged by the use of the most loathsome substitutes for human food. About the middle of June the besieged had a prospect of deliverance in the approach of a fleet from England; but of this they were quickly deprived by the cowardice of the officer in command, Major-Gen. Kirke, who, without attempting their relief, withdrew his ships to the Island of Inch, in Lough Swilly.

Proposals for the capitulation of the town were soon after tendered by the besiegers accompanied by the fairest promises. But, despite the miserable condition of the citizens and their recent desertion, they rejected these offers; and, for fear any one should tamper with the garrison, Walker issued an order that no man, on pain of death, should speak of surrendering the city.[q]

The resolution of the besieged was then tested in another way. Marshal Rosen, in execution of a barbarous threat, collected beneath the walls several thousand Protestants, of all ages and both sexes, to die before the eyes of their unhappy fellow-sufferers within the town, unless it were immediately surrendered. Even this atrocity failed to shake their determination, and Rosen was compelled, as well by the firmness of the garrison as by the mutinous excitement of his own army, to allow the survivors of his cruelty to return to their homes.[r]

A more dangerous trial of their constancy was soon after made, by subtle efforts to destroy their confidence in Walker. There were some unworthy persons within the city who envied the governor's popularity; of these the enemy made secret use to destroy Walker's influence. Some of these traitors, assuming the guise of fanatics, propagated rumours that Walker had plenty of provisions stored up in his houses while all others were starving. At the governor's own direction his house was searched, and the baseness of the falsehood was exposed. Again, Walker was charged with conspiring to betray the city to James, in the expectation of receiving great preferment. The garrison were reminded of some careless expressions uttered, in the preceding May, by a Mr. Cole, who, having been taken prisoner by the enemy, had obtained his release on consenting to carry a message from Gen. Hamilton to Walker. The governor caused this man to be arrested and examined, when he explained the matter to the general satisfaction. "Under these, and many other such like difficulties, the governor (not without some trouble and industry) re-assumed his credit with the garrison, which God was pleased to preserve to him, in spight of all the inventions and designs to the contrary."[s]

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[p] In some old prints, Walker is represented wearing large clerical bands, and a coat or cassock of a deep purple colour, with wide sleeves, and holding a Bible in his left hand; in contrast with a sword which he carried in his right hand, and the crimson military sash which he wore round his waist.

[q] Walker, 32.

[r] Harris, 210; Walker, 35; Graham, 205.

[s] Walker, 37-38; Harris, 211.

Recourse was again had to offers of capitulation, and on the 10th of July, one of the bombs[t] cast into the city contained several copies of an address from Gen. Hamilton to the "Soldiers and inhabitants of Derry," repeating the former conditions, and entreating them to "expose themselves no longer to the miseries they were undergoing, which would grow worse and worse if they continued to be opinionate."[u] This was followed next day by a proposal that the besieged should name deputies to treat about the terms on which the siege might be terminated. This proposal was assented to on the 13th; chiefly, it would appear, to gain time, in the hope of some communication from Kirke, who had been made acquainted with their extreme suffering. That night the expected message was received, and, being of a nature to inspire a prospect of relief, it was immediately made known by Walker; and such, accordingly, was the final answer of the inhabitants through the deputies, on the following day, that the convention was broken up and the bombardment resumed. Kirke, however, did not immediately come to their assistance, and he was still anchored in Lough Swilly, when, at the close of the month, he received peremptory orders from King William to relieve Londonderry,[v]

By this time the condition of the inhabitants was truly desperate. The city was little more than a heap of ruins; nearly one half of the original population had perished; their supply of warlike stores was almost exhausted; the wretched garbage on which they had long subsisted, was now procured with difficulty, and at high rates; in two days more even that supply, disgusting as it was, would cease, and then they had the horrible prospect of feeding on human bodies. Yet even then their spirit quailed not. They continued their sallies, even when many of the soldiers had hardly strength sufficient to carry arms; and they renewed the former order of death to any one who would speak of a surrender. But there are limits to human endurance however great, and the "governor, being with good reason apprehensive that these discouragements might at length overcome that resolution the garrison had so long continued, considers of all imaginable methods to support them, and, finding in himself still that confidence, that God would not (after so long and miraculous a preservation) suffer them to be a prey to their enemies," he causes them to be specially summoned to the cathedral, on the afternoon of Sunday the 28th of July, and there he preaches to them, "and encourages their constancy, aad endeavours to establish them in it, by reminding them of several instances of Providence given them since they first came to that place; and of what consideration it was to the Protestant religion at this time; and that they need not doubt but that God would at last deliver them from the difficulties they were under."[w]

Within an hour after this sermon was preached, about seven o'clock in the evening of the 28th,[x]

[t] This shell is preserved in the Tower of the Cathedral in Derry, near the inner entrance door. It is placed upon a stand which bears this inscription: "Erected by the Apprentice Boys of Derry, MDCCCXLIV. This shell was thrown into the city by the besieging army, and contained proposals for a surrender. It fell in the grave-yard of the Cathedral, on the 10th day of July, 1689."

[u] Graham, *Hist. of Seige*, 224.

[v] *Annals of Derry*, 147.

[w] Walker, 40.

[x] By some (See Harris, 211), the 30th is given as the date of the relief, it appears to us, incorrectly. That

three ships were observed approaching the city, being the store-ships *Mountjoy* and *Phœnix*, convoyed by the *Dartmouth* frigate. The apprehensions of the besieged were painfully excited by the *Mountjoy* running a-ground, on striking the boom which the enemy had thrown across the river; but the ship soon righted, and with the others anchored before the city at nightfall.

For two days the enemy kept up a sullen fire from their trenches. On the 31st they were observed laying waste the adjacent parts of the country; and during the night they broke up their encampment, and retreated in the direction of Strabane and Lifford. There, receiving intelligence of the decisive victory of the Enniskilleners, at Newtonbutler, on the preceding day, they were seized with a panic, destroyed four of their cannons, threw twelve cart-loads of arms and ammunition into the river Mourne, and continued their retreat with such precipitation that many of their sick and wounded were left behind.

The siege was now raised. For 105 days the town had been closely invested, and great had been the suffering and mortality on both sides. The besiegers lost eight or nine thousand men before the walls, and one hundred of their best officers.[y] On the part of the besieged, 9,000 corpses were interred within the walls between the 18th of April and the 1st of August;[z] and of the garrison, originally 7,400 strong, there remained alive but about 4,300, "whereof at least one fourth part were rendered unserviceable."[a]

The spirit and gallantry displayed by the men of Derry throughout this unequal struggle have overcome the rancour of even political enmity; and many, who have no sympathy with the cause for which they endured, have cordially eulogized the heroism by which it was maintained. The following testimony of a general in the besieging army is in every way creditable to its author:—"Every effort which human courage, or the military knowledge of that day could suggest, was adopted to force the gallant men under the command of Walker to surrender: every privation was borne by the besieged with a fortitude which challenges our credulity; and the most desperate expedients of the Irish commanders were defeated by a heroism which has not been surpassed in ancient or modern days."[b]

The fidelity and wisdom with which Walker discharged the perilous duties of his office were gratefully acknowledged by his contemporaries, with few exceptions. Envy of his merits and their meed

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date is, indeed, prefixed to the paragraph in Walker's account which relates to the arrival of the ships: but this is only a general date under which Walker groups, without accurate distinction, the concluding events of the siege. The date we have adopted above is confirmed by other parts of Walker's book. 1. The last entry in the list of bombs thrown into the city from the beginning of the siege, is July 21-28, (Walker, 46). 2. In the account of the subsistence delivered to the soldiers during the siege, the greatly increased amount, and the improved quality of the allowance issued on the 30th of July, indicates a great increase and improvement in the stock of provisions since the previous date—July 27. (*Ibid.* 64.) 3. The address of the inhabitants to William and Mary was signed on the 29th instant, and contains a special acknowledgment of "their unexpected relief by sea, at the very nick of time, when they were just ready to be cut off."—(*Ibid.* 44.) We may add that Mackenzie, in his Narrative, expressly assigns the 28th as the date of the relief.

[y] Walker, 41; Harris, 212.

[z] Walker, 42.

[a] Extract from the Parish Register of Templemore (Derry), in Charlotte Elizabeth's *Derry*, Pref. xx.

[b] *Duke of Berwick's Memoirs*, (Annals of Derry, 150).

called forth some detractors, who, like the Zoilists of old, "have a name" from the subject of their calumnies. Walker himself, with just humility, declares that the "whole conduct of this matter must be ascribed to Providence alone." "God," says he, "was pleased to make us the happy instruments of preserving this place, and to Him we give the glory; and no one need goe about to undervalue or lessen those He was pleased to choose for so great a work; we do allow ourselves to be as unfit for it as they can make us, and that God has only glorified Himself in working so great a wonder, 'with His own right hand, and His holy arm getting himself the victory.'" [c]

On the 5th of August, Walker resigned his office into the hands of Kirke, by whose permission, also, he transferred his regiment to an officer of known merit. Soon after, a council was held at Derry, and by it Walker was deputed to proceed to England, and present the King and Queen with an address, adopted by the inhabitants on the 29th of July, expressive of their gratitude for the relief they had received, and assuring their Majesties of their allegiance.[d]

Walker took the route by Scotland, and on arriving in Glasgow he was received with great distinction, and had the freedom of the city conferred upon him.[e] A similar greeting welcomed him at Edinburgh, where he was made a burgess of the city, on the 14th of August, "in the most ample form."[f] On his journey to London, after leaving Edinburgh, he received a letter from King William, written from Hampton Court, August 16, and directed to himself and Mitchelborn, who had acted as his fellow-governor after the death of Baker. In this letter the King expressed his just sense of the great service they had rendered to the cause of true religion, by their heroic defence of Londonderry; and he desired them to rely on his royal favour towards themselves; and, also, that they would assure the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants of Derry, that he would take fitting occasion to recompense their services and sufferings.[g]

On approaching London, Walker was met at Barnet by Sir Robert Cotton, who conveyed him in his carriage to the city; whence he proceeded, shortly after, to Hampton Court with the Derry address. On this occasion he was urged to present himself before their Majesties in the half-military dress he had worn during the siege; but this he declined to do, observing that he had never lost sight of his proper calling as a clergyman, though forced by necessity to wear, for a few months, the unusual garb of a soldier.[h]

Walker's fame had preceded him to England, where the siege of Derry "was the talk of every

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[c] Walker, *Epistle Dedicatory*, and p. 22.

[d] *Ibid.*, 43.

[e] Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, Notes 382. This statement, however, is doubtful. The volume of the enrolment of Burgesses during that period cannot now be found among the City Records; but the Index to it is still extant, and Walker's name does not appear in it. It may also be mentioned here, concerning Walker's alleged connection with the University of Glasgow, (See Part I), that the University Registers do not extend farther back than 1650, and Walker's name is not to be found in any Register subsequent to that year. If he had ever been a pupil there, it would be, more probably, at an earlier period; but at present there is no documentary evidence of the fact.

[f] See the Burgess-Ticket, in Graham's *History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1839) p. 77. A part of this document was written in letters of gold.

[g] *Concise View of the Irish Society;* London, 1842. p. 72.

[h] *Reflections on a Paper pretending to be an Apology for*

meeting, club, and table;" and all were anxious to behold the man who had so large a share in conducting it to a successful issue. "No less liberal were they," says a contemporary writer, "in their applauses and commendations; extolling his fame in verses and panegyricks; publishing his effigies in printed cuts; tossing his name between printers and hawkers; and making it the subject of newsletters and gazettes; while every man, according to his fancy, proportioned a reward to his unrequitable merits. It seemed as if London intended him a publick Roman Triumph, and the whole kingdom to be actors or spectators of the cavalcade. At last he arrived: the King received him graciously, and conferred on him a mark of his favour and esteem; the Lords of the Council, and several of the nobility caressed him with abundance of kindness, and respect; the prime citizens treated him with all the demonstrations of joy and gratitude; and the vulgar even stifled him with gazing, crowding, and acclamations."[i] At the King's command Sir Godfrey Kneller painted Walker's portrait; and from this picture copperplate engravings were taken and distributed over the kingdom.[j] The King made him a grant of £5,000, in liquidation of the heavy expenses and losses incurred by him in the late enterprise; and, also, designated him to the Bishopric of Derry.[k] Dr. Tillotson bears graceful testimony as well to Walker's modest bearing under these favours, as to the pleasure which their bestowal afforded to the public. "The king," says Tillotson, writing under the 19th of September, 1689, "besides his first bounty to Mr. Walker, whose modesty is equal to his merit, hath made him Bishop of Londonderry, one of the best Bishoprics in Ireland; that so he may receive the reward of that great service in the place where he did it. It is incredible how much everybody is pleased with what the King hath done in this matter, and it is no small joy to me to see that God directs him to do so wisely."[l]

On the 20th of August the Irish Society desired several of their members to wait upon Walker, and render him their thanks for his services in the preservation of the city of Londonderry.[m] And, on the 11th of September, at a Court of the Society, "It was agreed to entertain the Rev. Mr. Walker, the late Governor of Londonderry, and such friends as he shall please to bring with him, with a dinner, as an acknowledgment to him for his extraordinary services to the Society in the preservation of that place; and Mr. Deputy Governor Sir Thomas Halton, Bart., Mr. Treasurer Rayley,

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the Failures charged on Mr. Walker's Account of the Siege of Londonderry; London, 1689. pp. 9, 14.

[i] *Observations upon Mr. Walker's Account of the Siege of Londonderry;* London, October, 1689 p. 2.

[j] The authoress, Charlotte Elizabeth, alludes to one of these engravings, in a letter to the *Londonderry Sentinel*, dated, "London, November 6, 1838.—I write with a fine print hanging just opposite me—an engraving by Vaudrebane—from the spirited Portrait taken by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and bearing the emphatic date, 1689. A countenance more striking, more instinct with life, cannot be imagined than that which, decorated with bushy curls, surmounting the martial figure that belies the clerical gown and bands, looks out upon me from the frame, and seems almost ready to articulate the watchword—"No Surrender!" (See *Londonderry Sentinel*, November 10, 1838.)

[k] This, it is probable, is what is meant by Walker's appointment to the Bishopric of Derry, for that See was not then vacant. The Bishop in possession, Dr. Ezekiel Hopkins, retired from Derry before the Siege, and became Rector of the Parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, or, as some say, of St. Lawrence Jewry, London, where he died on the 29th of June, 1690, only two days before Walker himself. See Ware's Bishops, 275, 295.

[l] *Letters of Lady Russell;* 4th Edition; Dublin, 1774. p. 188.

[m] *Concise View &c.* 74.

and Mr. Morris, were desired to invite him, and to make a provision accordingly, at the 'Rummer' Tavern, in Queen Street."[n]

On the 19th of November, Walker received the thanks of the English House of Commons, for his services at Londonderry; and he was desired to convey their thanks to all those who had served under him. The House also, confirmed to him the King's grant; and during his residence in London, he was frequently consulted by them on the state of affairs in Ireland.[o]

Amid these rewards and distinctions, Walker was attentive to the need of the city he had defended, and the claims of the brave men who had shared with him the perils and sufferings of the siege. On the 6th of September, he waited upon the Irish Society, and made to them such representation of the wretched condition of the town and the inhabitants of Derry, that the Society resolved to apply to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, to induce the twelve chief companies to advance £100 a piece, for the immediate relief of their tenantry. These contributions were afterwards obtained; and, on the 9th of October, Walker was requested by the Society to consider of some fit persons to be entrusted with this bounty, and to return their names at the next meeting. Accordingly at the next Court of the Society, on the 16th of October, five persons, inhabitants of Derry, were named as commissioners or trustees, to whom three others were subsequently added; and to this commission, on the 18th of December, instructions were issued to guide them in the distribution of a sum of £500, and what more might thereafter follow, among the tenants of the Society, and such other persons as had been useful in the defence of the city, and were fit objects of charity. Wood was also supplied by the Society for the repairs of the public buildings; abatements were made in the rents, and the terms of leases were augmented.[p]

Walker also made known the sufferings and heroism of the men of Derry, in his "True Account of the Siege of Londonderry," which was published by license on the 13th of September; and some months later this narrative was confirmed by the publication of his "Vindication of the True Account." Besides, he petitioned the House of Commons for some relief for the families of those who had perished during the siege, and for the clergy at Londonderry; and, in consequence, the House, in November, passed an address to the King praying that he would grant £10,000, to be distributed for this purpose. It does not appear that the request was complied with. Pensions, however, were granted to the widows of Governor Baker, and Micah Browning, Captain of the *Mountjoy*, who was killed in conveying relief to the city.[q]

In the beginning of the following year, Walker returned to Ireland. On his way homeward, on

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[n] Records of the Irish Society. Exact transcripts of these documents, as far as they relate to Walker, were courteously furnished to the writer by John E. Davies, Esq., the present Secretary of the Society.

[o] Harris, 254; Birch's *Life of Tillotson*.

[p] *Concise View*. 74; Records of the Irish Society; *Ordnance Survey of County of Londonderry*, 57.

[q] Harris, 208; Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 385.

the 26th of Feb., 1690, the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in acknowledgment of his great services.[r]

We lose sight of Walker for a few months after his return to Ireland. There is no account or tradition of his having revisited Derry; and it is probable that his steps were rather directed to his parish and residence at Donaghmore, from which he had been so long parted. Here, we may suppose, he remained until William's arrival in Ireland. On Saturday the 14th of June, William landed at Carrickfergus, and on the evening of the same day proceeded to Belfast. On the following day, William was waited upon by the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the North, in testimony of their allegiance; and Walker, being formally introduced by the Dukes Schomberg and Ormonde, presented an address of congratulation in the name of the Ulster clergy, which was very graciously received.[s] From Belfast Walker accompanied the English army to the Boyne, in the capacity of chaplain;[t] and during their progress thither, one of the Londonderry regiments made use of his mediation with the King, to be put upon the same footing with the rest of the forces, as other Derry and Enniskillen regiments had been.[u]

On Monday, the 30th of June, the armies of William and James came in sight of each other at the river Boyne, near Drogheda; and both prepared for battle on the following day. Early on the next morning, the 1st of July, a portion of William's centre, consisting of the Dutch Guards, the Enniskillen foot, and the French Protestants under Caillemote and Cambon, crossed the river by the ford of Oldbridge. Walker may have passed over at this time with the Ulster troops. They were met by the Irish forces under Gen. Hamilton, and a fierce encounter took place, in which Caillemote was mortally wounded. Duke Schomberg, eager to avenge the fall of his friend, crossed the river without his armour; and while in the act of rallying Caillemote's regiment, he was surrounded by some of James's Guards whom the French Protestants had mistaken for allies. In the

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[r] Ware's Works, Vol. II, (*The Writers of Ireland*), Book I, p. 205; Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 389. The Diploma of the Degree contained these words:—"Reverendus Vir, Georgius Walker, Strenuus ipse ac Invictus civitatis Derensis Propugnator, atque eodem facto totius Hiberniæ, uti Speramus, Conservator et Vindex."

Graham states (*Ireland Preserved*, Notes, 383), that Cambridge had conferred upon Walker a similar Degree, at the Summer Commencement, in the preceding year, when King William himself was present. On referring to the University Registers this statement is not confirmed. When William III. visited Cambridge, in October, 1689, there was a large batch of Degrees conferred by Royal mandate. Fifteen of these were D.D., and among them, certainly, appears the name of *a* George Walker. But, as the Rev. Joseph Romilly, the University Registrar, informs us—this was the same person who took his A.M. degree in July, 1678, and his A.B. in January 1674 (O.S); and who entered St John's College as a Sizar in 1671, of which there is the following record:—"Georgius Walker, Eboracensis, de Wakefield, ubi literis erat institutus, filius Georgii Walker, annos natus 16, admissus Subsizator, 13° Maii, 1671." It will be remembered, that the subject of our Notice was appointed to the Parishes of Lissan and Desertlyn, in 1669, two years before the Cambridge Walker entered St. John's at the age of 16. There is, further, no note, as in the Oxford Diploma, which would connect this Degree with Walker's services, such as might have been expected had it been conferred, *honoris causa*, on the Governor of Derry. Mr. Romilly sent the Writer tracings of Walker's signatures on taking the Degrees of A.B. and A.M. (He was apparently absent when the D.D. was conferred, as his name does not appear in the Subscription Book.) These tracings bear a great resemblance to one of the entries in the Drumglass Register which is doubtfully ascribed to the Rector of Donaghmore; but they do not correspond with the genuine specimens of his handwriting which illustrated the former part of this Notice.

[s] Harris, 265.

[t] Ware's Works, *ubi supra*.

[u] Harris, Id.

confusion which ensued Schomberg was killed by the incautious fire of his own troops; and shortly after, Walker received a wound in the belly, which he survived but a few minutes.[v]

Walker's body was interred on the battle-field; from thence, after several years, his remains were conveyed to his widow, by an old confidential servant who had accompanied his master to the Boyne, and was acquainted with the place of his interment.[w] By her they were deposited within the church at Castle Caulfield, on the South side, adjoining the chancel; and in the wall above she erected, in 1703, a tasteful monument, bearing this inscription:—

P. M. S.
Hic Juxta, Lector,
Revdi Georgii Walker, S. T. D.
Hujus Parochiæ olim Rectoris,
Ossa Reconduntur;
Ille, cujus Vigilantiâ et Virtute
Londino-Derensis Civitas,
Anno MDCLXXXIX,
A Gulielmi et Fidei Hostibus
Liberata Stetit,
Ad Boandi Fluminis Ripam,
Pro Eadem Causâ, Adversus Eosdem Hostes,
Anno MDCLXXXX,
Occisus Cecidit.
Cujus Reliquiis Et Memoriae,
Mœstissima Adhue Illius Vidua,
Isabella Walker,
Hoc Monumentum Posuit,
Anno MDCCIII.
Saxo Autem Erit Fama Perennior,
Nec Futura Minus Quam Præsentia Seeula
Tam Pium Militem Tam Fortem Sacerdotem
Mirabuntur.

[v] Harris, 269. On the reverse of one of the medals struck to commemorate this battle, William is represented about to cross the river on horse-back; on a hill in the background James is retreating, followed by Count Lauzun and his broken troops; and lower down, two dead bodies lie on the ground, designated by the words—*Schomberg* and *Walker*. See Harris, Plate III., No. 1.

It has been said, that when the news of Walker's death was brought to William he exclaimed—"The fool! what business had he there." These words are not to be found in Harris, the minutest of chroniclers; nor yet in the accounts of the battle, published by Parker and Richardson, who were both engaged in it, and the Narrative of the latter especially, is declared to be "*more particular* than any extant." The story, it is probable, is an invention of the day, which has been carelessly repeated, and was intended to reflect upon William not less than upon Walker.

[w] According to another tradition the remains were

The great claims which Walker's family had to compensation for his eminent services, and his loss of property and even of life itself in the King's cause, were not immediately recognised. After awaiting the royal or the national bounty for some years, one of Dr. Walker's sons, Mr. John Walker, brought the case of the family before the Irish House of Commons, in a petition which he had presented on the 20th of September, 1697. In this document he "acknowledged his Majesty's great grace and favour to his father by giving him a gratuity, with assurance of further bounty to him and his children; set forth that a great part of the said gratuity was expended on attending on his Majesty; and prayed that, inasmuch as his father lost his life in the King's service, and that great part of the remainder of the gratuity had been paid by him in discharge of his father's debts, the House would make such provision for him, as, in their great wisdom, they should think fit." This petition, the same day, was referred to a special committee, who, on the 22d, delivered their report, that the allegations set forth by the petitioner were true; and recommended that the sum of £2,000 be raised for the use of the family of the late Dr. Walker. It was then ordered that a Committee of the whole House should be appointed to consider of ways and methods for raising the sum; but, after several adjournments of the question, the Session and even the Parliament terminated without effect being given to the resolutions. Six years later, Mr. Walker renewed his petition, on the 27th of October, 1703, calling the attention of the House to its former vote. Thereupon it was ordered "That such members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, do attend his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, (Duke of Ormonde), and desire his Grace that till such time as the nation is in a condition to make good to the petitioner the sum of £2,000, voted him in the last parliament, his Grace will take the said Mr. Walker into his consideration, to provide for him in such manner as his Grace shall think fit." The result of this appeal was the grant of an annuity of £200, which Mr. Walker enjoyed until 1717, when it terminated on the grant of £2,000 being paid to him, "for the family of the late Dr. Walker, in satisfaction of his pension."[x]

For more than a century Walker had no other public memorial of his services than his widow's monument.[y] At length, in 1825, it appeared fitting to the citizens of Derry, that that place should have some testimonial of its obligations to the renowned Governor. On the 18th of December, the anniversary of the closing of the gates, O.S.—a meeting of the 'Prentice Boys and citizens was held

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brought to Mrs. Walker by one of the volunteers from the parish of Donaghmore, who had accompanied Walker to Derry, and subsequently to the Boyne. He was by Walker's side when killed, and afterwards dug a grave for his body. For his services he was rewarded by Mrs. Walker with a sum of £10, or, as some say, £20.

x The Irish House of Commons' Journals, for the years 1697, 1703, and 1717.

We are just informed by Mr. William Caldbeck, (formerly of Lisburn), that Dr. Walker had a daughter, Lucy, who was married to an officer in William's army named Briggham. Mr. C's grandmother, the wife of William Caldbeck, Esq., Barrister, of Dublin, was the daughter of Lucy Briggham, *alias* Walker, and died about 25 years ago, being then upwards of a hundred years of age Mr. Caldbeck is in possession of an old print of Walker, which is supposed to be a very faithful likeness, and which, he says, "certainly is as like my grandmother as it is possible to imagine." This print was received from a relative, and has been long in Mr. Caldbeck's family. By the kind permission of the owner, the accompanying engraving, reduced by the photographic process, has been taken from it.

y If we except his portrait, still extant, on the Tapestry in the Irish House of Lords.

to commence subscriptions; and, after some intermediate meetings, on the same day, in the following year, the first stone of the Walker Testimonial was laid by the Mayor, Major Richard Young. This monument stands in the centre of the Royal Bastion, and is a fluted column of Portland Stone, of the Doric order, 81 feet in height, and surmounted by a statue of Walker, 9 feet high, sculptured by Mr. John Smith of Dublin. The likeness was taken from an old painting in the possession of one of Walker's descendants: the statue represents him clothed in a clerical habit, with a sword attached to his side, having a Bible in the right hand, while the left arm is extended towards the river, in the direction whence relief approached the besieged. The testimonial was completed in 1828, at a cost of £4,200, raised by subscriptions; and the statue was publicly elevated to its place, at the termination of the work, on the 11th of August, the eve of the anniversary of the opening of the gates. (O. S.)[z]

Ten years later the remains of Walker were again exhumed, under the following circumstances. For 150 years the church of Castle-caulfield remained, with few alterations, such as it had been in the days of Walker.[a] In 1838 it was found necessary to institute extensive repairs. During their progress the pews had to be removed, and the floor to be sunk. This appeared to the rector and some other gentlemen a suitable occasion to ascertain the fact of Walker's interment in the church. Therefore, on Tuesday, the 16th of October, search was made in the presence of the witnesses whose names are annexed to the record given in the sequel. On removing the earth there was found, about four feet below the surface, a full-sized oak coffin, containing all the parts of a human body, pronounced to be that of a female, and believed to be the remains of the widow, Isabella Walker. Beside this coffin, on the same level, near the chancel, lay a small oak box, (about two feet long, and sixteen inches wide,) enclosing the remains of Walker himself. These consisted merely of a few bones—those of the arms and thighs, with the skull; in accordance with the words of the monument above, "Ossa reconduntur," &c.[b]

Until arrangements could be made for their restoration to the grave, the box was removed for safety to the glebe-house; and, whilst it was there, the rector had a few casts of the skull taken in

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[z] Ordnance Survey, 119; Annals of Derry, 247.

[a] We may here remark, in correction of a statement in the former Part, (see page 134), that the East window of this Church, is not older than the edifice itself, and was not transferred from the ancient Church at Donaghmore, as were the more graceful windows on the South side. We are informed that, about the beginning of this century, the ruins of the older building still stood in the graveyard at Donaghmore. Enough of the east window remained to indicate a work of equal beauty with the windows yet preserved. But this interesting relic was gradually destroyed by the tradesmen of the village, who carried off fragments, from time to time, to form whetstones for their tools; and at last the Roman Catholic priest was permitted, by the rector of the parish, to remove whatever remained of the old building, to furnish, in part, materials for a modern chapel.

In a petition presented to the Primate, in 1695, by the Rev. Richard Crump, then rector of Donaghmore, it is stated that the chancel of the church at Castle-caulfield had been "destroyed in the late war." (Armagh Dioc. Records)

The massive Communion Plate, still used in this church, was presented to the parish by members of the Charlemont family, from 1681 to 1685

[b] George Wade, Esq., S.I.C., Co. Cork, was present on this occasion. He informs us, that on examining the bones found in the box, it was discovered, he thinks by the late Dr. Dawson of Dungannon, that "there were two thigh bones for either the right or left side, both bones for the same leg."

Another coffin was afterwards discovered, of a smaller size than the first, and made of inferior materials. From the size of the bones they were considered to be those of a young person. This coffin was not disturbed from its position. The box occupied the space between the two coffins. At the time of discovery the whole three were without inscriptions.

plaster [c] The remains of Walker and his wife were transferred from the cases in which they had been discovered, to two oak shells or boxes, having the following inscriptions, engraved on brass plates, respectively fastened upon them :—1. "In this box are deposited the bones of the Reverend George Walker, which were found in a similar case, in this place, when the church was undergoing repairs, 16th October, 1838."—2. "In this box are deposited the bones of Isabella, widow of the Revd. George Walker, which were found in an oaken coffin, in this place, when the church was undergoing repair, 16th October, 1838." The grave itself was, also, newly cased with brick.

Thursday, the 25th of Oct., 1838, was appointed for the re interment. On that day there assembled, as witnesses of the event, the Rev. Thomas Carpendale, the Rev. John Graham (historian of the Siege of Derry), Edward Evans, Esq., (of Dungannon), his son Robert, and about twenty other persons, including the writer's father and himself. Very many more would have been present, but it was judged expedient that privacy should be observed as much as possible, and the arrangements were made known to very few, to guard against the excitement which would be created by the great assemblage likely to attend were a public announcement made. At seven o'clock, in the gray dawn of an autumnal morning, we gathered round the grave. The cover was removed from the box containing Walker's remains, and, for a few moments, we beheld them in solemn silence. Beside the remains were then placed, in a flint-glass jar, hermetically sealed, two copies of a record [d] of their discovery

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[c] These casts were taken by a Mr. Wilkinson, of London, an artisan in stucco, employed in the restoration of Armagh Cathedral, which was at the time in progress. He was sent especially to Castlecaulfield for the purpose, and about six copies were taken by him. Of these the Rev. Mr. Carpendale retained one for himself, (which has since been broken); and gave another to Edw. Evans, Junr., Esq., another to Fred. Lindsay, Esq., of Loughry, and another to Mr. John Bell, of Dungannon. Mr. Evans has obligingly furnished the cast from which the accompanying photographs have been taken.

[d] This record was as follows :—

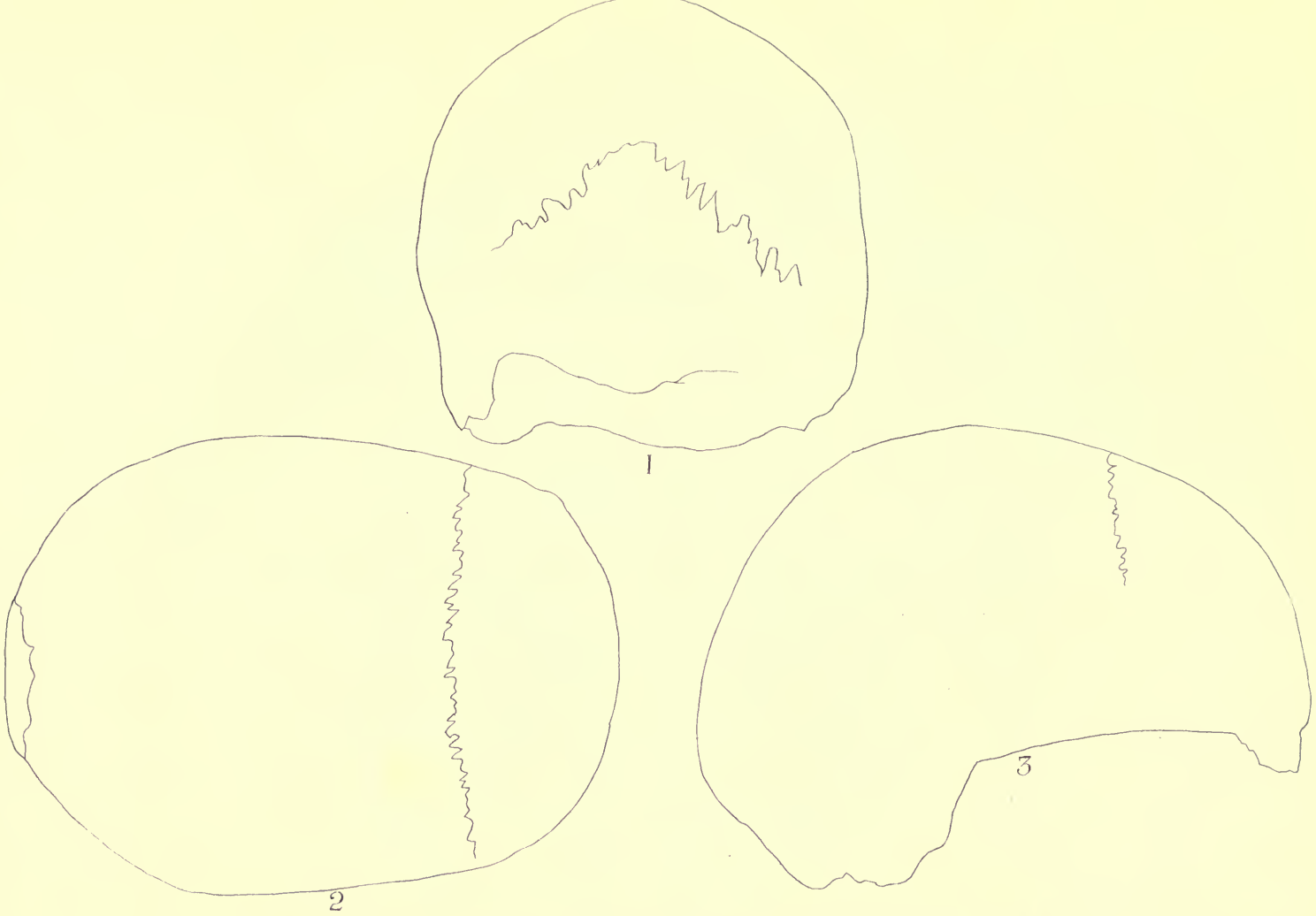
"Be it recorded, that whilst this church was undergoing repair, in the year 1838, search was made beneath the monument of the Rev. George Walker, immediately opposite to the Communion Table, at the eastern end of the church, and south side of the aisle, to ascertain whether his bones, were deposited there, agreeable to the inscription on the monument erected by his widow in the year 1703.

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having assembled in said church, on Tuesday, the 16th day of October, 1838, and having made search immediately beneath said monument fixed in the wall, have found in a full-sized oak coffin, remains supposed to be those of his widow, and in a small oaken case adjoining were deposited bones which had not the appearance of a regular interment in a coffin, but corresponding with the words of the monument, "Ossa reconduntur," &c.

"Now, to testify our veneration and respect for the memory of the illustrious Walker, we herein carefully replace the bones, and restore them in their former position, together with this record. (Signed,)

Thomas Carpendale, rector of the parish of Donaghmore.
Robert Frazer, curate of same.
Edw. Evans, of Dungannon, son of Rev. George Evans, formerly rector of said parish.
Edward Evans, jun., of Armagh, son of the aforesaid Edward.
Henry Pole, of Dungannon."

One of the copies of this record was written with ordinary writing ink, and the other with marking ink, after the parchment had been washed with a chemical solution. Each of the three documents was rolled up separately, and tied with orange ribbon. The stopper of the jar containing them was rubbed with a composition of bees' wax and lard, and the exterior covered with varnish; the whole jar was then coated with bees' wax and pitch, and, finally, surrounded with charcoal in a strong tin case. For these details we are indebted to Edward Evans, jun., Esq, by whom the record was composed, and thus secured. Mr. Evans, who was not present at the re-interment, appended the signatures, by permission, in his own handwriting, because from the shortness of the time for completing the arrangements, and from the distance of his residence at Armagh, where they were being made under his own inspection, there was no leisure to send the document round to receive original signatures.



Three outline sketches of a Cast taken from the Skull of the

REVᴰ GEORGE WALKER, — GOVERNOR OF LONDONDERRY.

Nº 1 Back view
2 Top do
3 Profile do

½ Size Lineal Measurement

and re-interment, with a copy of the inscription on the monument—all written on vellum. This done, the box was finally closed, and with the other was laid in a leaden coffin; and this, with the fragments of the former cases, was enclosed in a strong outer shell of deal, and lowered into the grave, where it was reverently placed by Mr. Carpendale, assisted by Mr. Graham, and Thomas Monahan (of Dungannon) one of the 'Prentice Boys of Derry. The whole was then carefully built up with bricks, and the work of re-interment was completed.[e]

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[e] We append the following list of Walker's successors in the parish of Donaghmore, which has been accurately extracted from the Armagh Diocesan Records, by Mr. G. D. Hughes, of the Metropolitan Registry Office:

George Walker is succeeded in both Donaghmore and Lissan by

William Nellson, on whose resignation, in 1691, the parishes are separated, and the succession is limited to Donaghmore, in which there follow Nellson,—

Richard Crump, on May 19, 1691:	resigned.
Edmund Arwaker, on March 15, 1699:	resigned.
Thomas Wadman, on Dec. 3, 1712:	
Nathaniel Whaley,	: resigned.
Richard Vincent, on Jan. 7, 1730:	died.
George Evans, on March 11, 1775:	died.
William Bissett, on August 20, 1807:	resigned.
Alexander Staples, on March 9, 1812:	died.
Thomas Carpendale, on June 3, 1824:	present Rector

PHRENOLOGICAL NOTICE OF THE SKULL OF WALKER.

At the request of the Editors, Mr. Grattan, of Belfast, has made a careful examination of the cast of Walker's skull, and has furnished them with the following particulars.

It is much to be regretted that a cast from the skull of so celebrated an individual as the Rev. Mr. Walker should only present a portion of the cranium, the entire of the facial and temporal bones and a considerable part of the occipital being absent. Hence it is not only wanting in some of the most important and expressive cranial characteristics, but we are debarred the opportunity of *accurately* comparing it with other crania. Such as it is, however, the fragment is one of great interest and value.

The head has been of *moderate size*, its extreme length being 7¼—breadth 5¼, and circumference 20½ inches. The forehead is by no means lofty, but its breadth is considerable in proportion to the

breadth of the remainder of the skull, and its projection at the base is ample, indicating rather a clear and controlling, than a profound or comprehensive intellect. From immediately above the reflecting faculties, the head ascends rapidly in the median line; Benevolence not exceeding the ordinary average, but Veneration, Firmness, and Self-esteem appearing so prominently as to give to the centre of the head in that region an elevated instead of an arched appearance. The centre of ossification of the parietal bones, the seat of the organ of Cautiousness, is markedly developed, especially upon the right side. In the occipital region Philoprogenitiveness, the instinct which impels to the love and care of the young and helpless, is very prominent, and at the base of the occipital and parietal bones so much as remains of them indicates an exceedingly ample development of the cerebral organs there situated, Combativeness and Destructiveness. The only other organ prominently preponderant is Ideality, the sentiment which imparts refinement to the character. The remaining portions of the head are singularly well balanced, exhibiting free curves without protuberances or irregularities, the combination most favourable to rapid and harmonious mental action. Such appear to be the characteristics deducible from a *careful* examination of the cast, and to illustrate these remarks as far as possible, three outline sketches of it, half the size of the original, are given. From the absence of the bones already noticed, and the consequent unnatural aspect and position in which the cast meets the eye as placed upon a horizontal surface, a first view is not unlikely to mislead: to estimate it fairly it must be elevated as in sketch 3. The sutures are some entirely obliterated, and others but very imperfectly indicated, in chief part owing to the effects of age, but in some degree to the imperfection of the cast; those given, therefore, are only traced as probable.

REVIEW.

Notes and Records of the Ancient Religious Foundations at Youghal, Co. Cork, and its Vicinity.—By the Rev. Samuel Hayman, B.A. Youghal, J. Lindsay, 1854.—pp. 60, 8vo.

In Archæology, as in every other branch of industry, the most valuable results are reached by means of the division of labour: and students who with patience and ability devote themselves to the illustration of particular localities, and even of particular classes of antiquities which may be found in those localities, are deserving of all honour and encouragement; because it is mainly to the labours of such inquirers that we owe our knowledge of every thing that is *known* about antiquities. Mr. Hayman has done wisely in confining his attention, for the present, to one district, and to one description of topics; and, he has produced a little work of no great pretensions, but of much research and permament value.

The neighbourhood of Youghal is deeply interesting to the historian of the Irish church, seeing that it was the spot fixed upon by Declan, (one of the forerunners of St. Patrick), as the scene of his missionary labours. Here Ardmore is situated, where for years he preached the Gospel to the Pagan Irish.—Existing monuments—an *Oratory*—a *Cathedral Church*—a *Well* or *Baptistery*, still bear his hallowed name. A monastery too once existed at Ardmore, which claimed Declan as its founder: and Mr. Hayman has not only given well-executed wood engravings of the most interesting of these remains, but has carefully collected together all the historical notices which throw any light on their former condition. We think that he is mistaken in viewing the Synod of Cashel in A.D. 448, as a historical reality, and in supposing that at Ardmore an episcopal see was established by Declan, though, as he admits, "the names of his successors are nearly all lost." Such no doubt is the opinion of the majority of church historians; but, for our parts, we incline strongly to the theory advanced by Dr. Reeves, in his Ecclesiastical Antiquities, that in those early days the episcopate was a personal, not a local dignity, and that the establishment of *sees* was of a much more recent date. But these are matters of disquisition on which learned men will come to different conclusions; and, we are bound to say that Mr. Hayman has displayed learning, ability, and diligence, which entitle his judgment to the greatest weight. We copy his description of the Round Tower of Ardmore; regretting that we cannot lay before our readers the engraving by which it is illustrated.

"The *Cloig-theach* of Ardmore, owing to its beauty and fine preservation, is one of the best known structures of its kind in Ireland. It is built of a hard sand-stone chiselled to the curve, and brought from the mountains of Slieve-

grian, about four miles distant. The Tower is about 15 feet in diameter at the base, whence it gradually tapers to the apex, 97 feet above the surface of the ground, and terminates in a conical roof now half thrown over by injuries from lightning. Four string-courses divide the exterior into five stories. The entrance is in the East side, at the distance of 13 feet from the ground. It is circular-headed, and tapers from 1 foot 11 inches at springing of the arch to 2 feet 7 inches at base. The full height of this fine doorway is 5 feet 9 inches. Around the outer edges is cut a bold Norman bead ; and inside are bar-holes, two at each side of the entrance, for securing the door. Access to the interior is now rendered easy, by means of the ladders and floors provided by Mr. ODELL, the lord of the soil. The lower stories are lighted by splaying spike-holes, some square, some with circular heads ; and as the vistor ascends, he meets grotesque corbels at intervals, staring at him from the concave walls. The highest story has four tapered windows, facing the cardinal points. Each of these presents on the exterior a triangular arch, and on the interior a trefoil head. In height, they are respectively 3 feet 9 inches. The stone lintels remain over the opes, where the beam for the Bell rested, which Tradition says was of so deep and powerful tone, that it was heard at *Glaun-mor*, or The Great Glen, 8 miles distant. The apex of the roof was once surmounted by a Cross of stone ; but this was some years since shot down by a person firing at birds.

" Excavations were made, in the year 1841, within the base of this Tower, under the superintendence of Messrs. ODELL, WINDELE, HACKETT and ABELL, and led to the discovery of two imperfect human skeletons at a considerable depth of earth. This circumstance induced some to think that the interments took place at a period subsequent to the erection of the Tower, and was advanced as an argument for the Pagan origin of these structures. But there was no little misconception here. Instead of having been interred, with care, within the basement of the Tower, these human remains had been interfered with at the time of its erection. A foundation-stone occupied the place of one of the crania, and the skeleton evidently had been decapitated and otherwise injured by the workmen who cut the circular trench for the foundations of the Tower. We have no hesitation in assigning this noble structure to the ninth or tenth century, A.D. ; for the mouldings of the doorway, the grotesque corbel heads in the interior, and the square trefoil-heads of the windows of the upper story, all belong to this period. And, perhaps, we may find the reason for the erection of the *Cloig-theach* at this time, in the unsettled state of the country owing to the predatory landings of the *Dubh-Galls*, *Fin-Galls*, and other sea-rovers."—*p.* 9.

Mr. Hayman next describes the ancient church of *Teampul Deisceart*, the Abbey of *Molana*, and the *Shanavine* Monastery at Kilcoran, (hitherto unnoticed by ecclesiastical antiquaries), all of which are in the immediate neighbourhood; but he devotes his principal labour to the illustration of the celebrated structure which attracts the attention of all who have visited that locality, the *Collegiate Church of St. Mary*, in the town of Youghal. He also treats with due respect the other ecclesiastical establishments of that ancient borough : which included a *Preceptory of the Knights Templars*, a *Nunnery or Chapel of St. Anne*, (whose inmates were bound by their foundation to maintain a Light-tower at the entrance of the harbour) ; a *Franciscan Friary*, founded by the Geraldines soon after the Conquest :—a *Dominican Convent*, founded by the same family, a few years later ;—a *Monastery of Benedictines*, commonly called St. John's House, hitherto unnoticed, though situated in the very heart of the town ; and lastly, the *College of St. Mary, Youghal*, one of the richest institutions at that time in Ireland. The houses, lands and hereditaments, were, in troublesome times, and perhaps not altogether with the free-will of its Warden and Fellows, devised to Sir Walter Raleigh. He occupied its principal mansion as his dwelling-house for some years ; in its gardens he is said to have planted the first potatoes that ever grew in Ireland ; and, in its halls he is recorded to have enjoyed the society of Spenser, as his frequent and ever-welcome guest. On the attainder of Raleigh the property of the college passed into the hands of the celebrated Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork ; by his descendants it was alienated to the family of Giles ; and, from them it was purchased in 1811, by the present Duke of Devonshire. We must add that Mr. Hayman altogether misconceives the design of this College, when he speaks of it as an " Educational Institution." It was a *college*, not in the modern but in the *ancient* sense of the word : not a seminary of learning, but a

society of *colleagues*, who were jointly engaged in the ministry of the Church of St Mary at Youghal, enjoying its emoluments and performing its duties in common.

We have perused this little work with no ordinary gratification; and can cordially recommend it to the notice of all students of our ecclesiastical antiquities. In addition to the literary merit which it displays, the engraved illustrations, which are numerous and well-executed, aid as well as interest the reader.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Wolves in Ireland.—The following order copied from the Commonwealth Records, shows that wolves were troublesome in Ireland as late as the year 1659. C. Archbold.

Capt. Tomlins to take care yt ye Toyles for taking Wolves bee brought from Greenhill. d. d. to Mr. Hunt.

Whereas some mony hath been issued upon Accompt to Coll. Daniell Abbott and others for providing of Toyles for taking of Wolves, which have been brought over for publique use, and understanding that part thereof is at present at Greenhill near Kilcullen, Ordered that Captn. Tomlins, Comptroller of ye Trayne do forthwith take care that ye sd Toyles and other materials thereto belonging bee brought from Greenhill or any other place, and layd in the publique stores, and there kept untill further directions shall be given concerning ye same.

Dated at Dublin, 29 Augt. 1659.

Thos. Herbert, Secretary.

Travelling 70 Years Since.—"A gentleman intends setting off for London, by way of Portpatrick, the beginning of next week, and would be glad of a partner in a chaise. Enquire at the Printers hereof."—From the *Belfast News-Letter*, January, 1785.

About twenty years since a person from the county Tyrone, named John Russell, was employed here as a farm-labourer. This person repeatedly affirmed that the last wolf seen in Ireland was killed at a place called Glenelly, by a mare in defence of her foal! He could not, however, give the date. This fact might lead to an answer to the inquiry of your correspondent, Senex. J. Bell, Prospect, Ballymoney.

The Antiquity of Letters in Ireland.—Some short time since there went the round of the public journals an extract from "Notes and Queries," referring to a work recently published at Leipsick, purporting to be "The Cosmography" of a certain "Hicas," a Pythagorean philosopher of the second century, and said to contain evidence of the antiquity of letters in Ireland. I ordered the work at once through Mr. Marcus, of Oxford-street.

The name of the original writer is not "Hicas," but "Aethicus," so that "Hicas" can only have been a misprint occasioned by the illegible scrawl of some editor. The work bears the following title: "Cosmographiam Aethici Istrii, ab Hieronymo, ex Græco in Latinum Breviarium redactam, secundum codicem Lipsiensem separato libello expressam, primum editit. Henricus Wuttke. Lipsiæ, 1854." There is no Greek text of the "Cosmography," and the Latin version appears to be, not a translation, but a hasty running summary of the original Greek, by Hieronymus, or Jerome, who is described as a "presbyter" or priest. It is very meagre and general; the reader will in vain look for one of those facts

or circumstances which indicate the character of a people or an age better than volumes of vague generalities. I cast my eye hurriedly over it to discover the passage relating to Ireland, which I quote verbatim at full length :

" Hiberniam properavit et in ea aliquandiu commoratus est *eorum volumina volvens*. Appellavitque eos ideomochos, vel ideo histas, id est imperitos laboratores vel incultos doctores. Namque pro nihilo eos ducens ait ; Mundi finibus terminare et Hiberniam pervenire onerosus est labor, sed nulla facultas horrorem nimium incutit, sed ad utilitatem non proficit. In peritos habet cultores et instructoribus habet destitutos habitatores."

" He hastened to Ireland, and made some stay there, *examining their volumes*. He called them *ideomochos*, or *ideo histas*, that is unskilful workmen or rude doctors. For making little of them he says ;"——the remainder of the passage being obscure and very bad Latin, I decline the responsibility of a translation, and so leave every classical reader to exercise his own judgment on it ; but its general import is, that the voyage to Ireland, on the extreme boundaries of the world, was a " heavy labour," and unprofitable to boot ; that its " husbandry was rude," and its " people destitute of instructors." He speaks of Ireland, in fact, like one who had been sea-sick on the voyage to it, and was anxious to quit it again as soon as he could. The general statement that its people were rude and unskilful as teachers and husbandmen gives us no new information, for this was true of all the nations outside the Roman Empire at the time (2nd century). But the three words, " eorum volumina volvens," closes at once and for ever the controversy on the question, whether the Irish had written documents before the age of St. Patrick (5th century). The writer of this " Cosmography" was born in the year 103, and supposing him to be 40 or 50 years of age at the time of his visit to Ireland, this will bring us to, say the 153—the middle of the second century—at which time we thus have indubitable testimony that the Irish were acquainted with letters, and had national documents of some kind.

August 1854, C. M'Sweeny.

Note.—At page 94 of the prefatory German dissertation by the editor, we have the following reference : " A. Letronne, Recherces geographiques et critiques, sur le livre, " *De mensura orbis terræ*," composè en Irelande par *Dicuil* Paris, 1814. S. 215." Here is a work by an Irishman of which our Archæologists should not have left us in ignorance so long.

N.B—The date of the birth of *Aethicus*, or *Hieronymus*, (for I cannot say precisely to which of the two reference is made) as given above is merely conjectural. For the year 103, therefore, rather read the beginning of the 2nd century. But the conjecture cannot be much wide of the truth. C. M'S.

Local Tokens.—As an appendix to the papers by Mr. Benn, in your Journal, on this subject, I send you two advertisements from *Belfast News-Letter*, which may interest your readers. H. P.

Tickets Local.—Whereas there are some persons betwixt *Lisburn* and *Belfast*, who have counterfeited my Tickets with a Dye and Press, and sell them to the Country People, at half what they pass for—Therefore these are to give Notice to all Persons, who have any of my Tickets, that they bring them unto me at any time before the first of *March* next (Counterfeits excepted) and I will pay them in Gold, or Silver, and will give two Guineas Reward to any Person or Persons who will discover the Person or Persons who made these Counterfeit Tickets with the Dye and Press, so as that they may be convicted of said Cheat.

Dated this 4th of January, 1738-9.

Alexander Beith.

Tickets Local.—Advertisement.—Whereas some Persons with a Dye and Press, have counterfeited the Tickets put out by *John Gallway* of *Portaferry*, Merchant, and sell them to severals at half what they pass for—Now, I do give this Public Notice to all Persons who have any of my Tickets, that they may bring them unto me at any Time before the first of May next (Counterfeits excepted) and I will pay them in Gold or Silver, and will give two Guineas Reward to any Person or Persons who will discover the Person or Persons that made these Counterfeit Tickets with the Dye and Press, so as they may be convicted of the said Cheat. John Gallway.

Dated March 12, 1738-9.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

DERIVATION OF NAMES.—The writer of some observations in the last Number of this Journal, offers an opinion that *Owen O'Cork* is probably but a corruption of the old name of the stream itself, and that this was properly *Amhuin na ccearc*, signifying "the Hens' River." But *corc*, in Irish is a name applied to a rough piece of ground. In its derivation, *corcas*, the signification is scarcely varied, and the rough meadow-lands by the side of the Shannon, where it passes between the county of Clare and those of Tipperary and Limerick, are still known by the name of "corcasses." May not the appellation now rendered "*Owen O'Cork*," have originally been "*Amhuin na ccorc*," signifying "River of the rough lands?"

T. Waller, Eyre Evans, has given his opinion that the term *Bonny-clabber*, is a compound altogether English. *Clabber* may be an old English word, but *Bonny* is merely *Boinne*, the common Irish word for "milk." *Clabber* is in general use in the North to signify "wet but thick mud" on a road. *Bonny*-Clabber would, accordingly, appear to denote "milk," resembling "clabber" in consistency.—*Bonny-rammer*, is simply the Irish *Boinne reamhar*, "thick milk,'; *reamhar* (pronounced *ra-wir*) signifying "fat," or "thick."—

JAMES MACGRADY.

HISTORIC DOUBTS.—Your correspondent, FITZBARON in No. 3 of the Journal, seems to doubt whether Sir Phelim O'Neill had actually forged a commission from King Charles at the time of his rebellion. If evidence given under the most solemn circumstances, can be considered of any value, there can hardly be any doubt on the subject. When that chieftain was seized in 1652, and tried in Dublin for high treason, he was pressed to declare that he had received a commission from the King authorizing the rebellion. Nay, at his trial, the judges promised that his estates and liberty should be restored to him if he could prove the existence of such a commission. But O'Neill firmly persisted in declaring, even at the moment previous to his execution, that he never had any commission from the King for levying troops or prosecuting the war.—[*Carte.*] In the course of his trial he stated that he had removed the seal from a patent which he had found in Charlemont, and affixed it to a forged commission, and that Michael Harrison, who was then in court, *had stitched the cord of the seal with silk of the same colour.—Cox. CharlesII., p.* 70.—*Leland*, vol. 3 p. 394.]

O'NEILL.

SENEX.—One of the Querists in your July Number, p. 206, asks what the beverage is to which the French give the name of *Scubac*, and which Roquefort in his dictionary describes as a "liqueur spiritueuse de safran inventeê en Irlande," *Scubac* must be a corruption of *Usquebaugh*; and the allusion to saffron shews this.

W. W. E. T.

In reply to your Querist as to "Lancashire Castle, Lisburn,"—From enquiries made among some of the oldest inhabitants as to its situation, it is supposed to have been the House on the West-side of the one belonging to the Marquis of Hertford, now occupied by the Very Rev. Dean Stannus, and adjoining thereto; but why called "Lancashire Castle" cannot at present be discovered. It is told, that one of the last Lord Conway's had it occupied by a female friend, and who, after his death, was excluded by his wife, Lady Conway, all the furniture burnt, she having come from London specially, and immediately following his death! Quere—"Lancashire Castle" from the *Lancashire Witch* then inhabiting it.

MAC STEPHEN.

On the suggestion of your Correspondent ERIGENI—in the July Number—I have had an examination made of the Armagh Diocesan Records, to ascertain whether the name of the clergyman in the *third* fac-simile of Walker's handwriting—published in your April Number—be with greater probability *Houlson*, as your Correspondent suggests, than *Lawson*, as I read it. Mr. E. D. Hughes, of the Armagh Registry Office, by whom the examination was kindly made, states that in the Visitation Book of 1679, at a Triennial Visitation held in that year, and at which Geo. Walker is named as rector of Do-

naghmore, *Thomas Lawson* appears as curate of "*Guil.* Brown," then rector of Donoughhenry, (Stewartstown) which is not far from Dungannon, where the baptism took place. No mention is made of any person named *Houlson*, nor of any other of the name Lawson; it seems probable, therefore, that Thomas Lawson is the corect reading of the fac-simile, and that the names in it and in the Visitation Book denote the same person. ABRAHAM DAWSON.

REPLY.—The Memoirs of the unfortunate Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, quoted in Bankes' "Story of Corfe Castle," was written by Sir George Ratcliffe, and is attached to "Strafford's Letters and Despatches." In the early part of the seventeenth century, the southern coast of Ireland was one of the favourite Summer cruising grounds of the Algerine Corsairs, then known in England by the generic appellation of Turks. In one of Strafford's Letters, contained in the above-mentioned collection, he says, alluding to the Algerines—"This is an oppression to make a wise man mad, indeed, that these miscreants should, at our own doors, do us this open dishonour; and it is most certain that on this account there has been a loss of £8,000 in the Irish Customs during the last half year."

Other notices of the mischief and consternation caused by these pirates, on the south and west coasts of Ireland, may be found in the same collection of letters. The "Sack of Baltimore," so well known by the beautiful poem of the late Thomas Davis, occurred in 1631. To the very meagre and indeed erroneous account given of it in Smith s "History of Cork" or "Kerry," I forget which, I may add a few particulars.—There were three, instead of two, Algerine vessels engaged in this affair, not Gallies, but round (full-decked and square-rigged) ships. They were commanded by Morat Rais—Captain Mahomet as we would say, a Flemish renegade. He had, on the same cruise, made a descent on the coast of England, but succeeded in securing only a few captives. At Baltimore, however, he landed 200 men, at night, and carried off in all 237 captives, men, women, and children. Some slight notices of the subsequent fate of those truly unfortunate creatures, may be traced in the records of the Order of Redemption and other writings of the period. Pierre Dan, a Superior of the Order, when on a voyage of Redemption to Algiers, saw many of them. He says, in his *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires* (Paris, 1637), after mentioning their capture—"Cela fait, ils les menerent en Alger, ou ce fut une chose pitoyable de les voir exposer en vente. Car alors on sépara les femmes d'avec les maris, et les enfans d'avec les pères. Alors, dis-je, l'on vendit le mary d'un coste, et la femme de l' autre, en luy arrachant sa fille d' entre les bras, sans esperance de se revoir jamais plus. Je l' ay ainss appris dans Alger de plusieurs esclaves de ce nombre, qui m' asseuroient qui' il n'y avoit point de Chrestien qui ne fondist en larmes, et qui n' eust un extrême regret de voir tant d' honeste filles, et tant de femmes de bien abandonnées a' la brutalitie de ces Barbares."

In 1646, the Parliament of England sent out a Mr. Cason, with a large sum in money and goods to redeem the captives. He succeeded in purchasing upwards of 200 at the average price of £38 each. Among those were two natives of Baltimore, Joan Bradbrook and Ellen Hawkins,* in all probability two of those who were captured at the "Sack" fifteen years before, and the only two, who ever regained their native land. Twelve natives of Youghal are also among this list of the redeemed.

Might I crave space for a word or two more on this little-known subject, but one with which I happen to be pretty conversant. The Irish were the least valuable slaves captured by the Algerines. In the first place, their poverty precluded them from being ransomed, the most profitable method of disposing of them; secondly, they were less valuable from their ignorance of trades; and thirdly, their *inferior physical strength* unfitted them for hard labour or to be employed as rowers in the gallies. To this very curious passage I cannot at present give the exact reference, but the reader may rely upon its accuracy.

I may add that, in the course of considerable research on the Barbary system of slavery, though

* At the period of the "Sack," Baltimore was an English colony.

I have met with notices of innumerable renegades of all nations, yet I only encountered one Irishman who had abjured Christianity and embraced Islamism.

I must yet attach a Query to this perhaps, too long reply. That noble order of Monks, the Trinitarian Brothers of Redemption, or Mathurins, as they were termed in France, from the name of their founder, had, previous to the Reformation, several religious houses in Ireland, or, at least, were in close connexion with them. Are those establishments, some of which now, probably have not one stone upon another, known —or would a list of them be of interest—to the student of Irish Ecclesiastical History?

W. PINKERTON.

QUERIES.

Townland of JORDANSTOWN, near Belfast.—Can you afford any information as to the origin of the name of this townland, which is on the Carrickfergus road, and close by Whitehouse? There is a castle at Ardglass, called "Jordan's Castle;" and about the year 1600, A.D., there was a military officer named Jordan in command in the district. I believe there are some traces of a castle, or stronghold of some description, at Jordanstown. Is there any historical link to connect the locality with the General? or any record of the ownership of the lands before they passed under the grant to the Chichesters?

E. T.

OLD BELFAST.—Please place the following Queries, chiefly relating to "old Belfast," before your correspondents. Is there any tradition about the old church at Shankhill, beside Belfast? It was at the present grave-yard. Is there any record of the old monastery of Shankhill? It was situated where the present Chapel of Ease is built.

Is there any tradition or record of the Siege of Belfast by Cromwell's forces? and where were the batteries placed?

Is there any record of the places in Ulster where Cromwell placed his garrisons? more especially in Down and Antrim.

Is there any tradition respecting two barrows situated in Christ Church district, Belfast.

Is any thing known regarding a sepulchral mound at New Grove, in the parish of Drumbo, about four miles from Belfast? Can any of your readers enumerate the old castles that surrounded Belfast?

Is it known to what neighbouring district the native Irish inhabitants of Belfast retired when expelled by the new settlers?

Where are the old Corporate Records of Belfast preserved? They are known to have been in existence not many years ago. ALPHA.

Can any of your readers remember to have seen a copy of the Map of the County Down, advertised in 1785 to be published by Lieut. Taylor, the partner of Skinner, in the well-known book called "The Roads of Ireland?"

Has any reader met with a set of engravings published by Hincks in 1779, illustrating the various processes in the linen manufacture; and if so will he oblige me by mentioning where they may now be seen?

A picture of the "Battle of Ballynahineh" was exhibited in Belfast in the year 1798. It contained portraits of several public characters of that period. Can any of your readers or correspondents state whether it is still in existence and where? H. P.

Is anything authentic known of the place in Lisburn which was the residence of Jeremy Taylor, formerly Bishop of Down and Connor? Any traditions respecting him would be valued by Querist, as he has some inquiries at present on foot relating to the life of this noted individual. W. H. D.

INDEX TO VOL. 2.

A

Abbadie, Thomas 176, 176, n.
Abbey of St. Mary de Jugo Dei, 51, n.
Abbey of Molana, 280
Abbey of St. Patrick, 25
Abbey lands, farm, 58 n
Abbot of Down, *ex-officio* bishop, 51; of Clonard, 214; of Bangor, 214; of Eecolmkill, 238; of Magh Luing 240; of Balkynglas, 40; of Achadhur, 215; of Newry, his appointment, 47
Abbott, Col. Daniell, 281
Abby De Viridi Ligno, 47 n.
Abell, Mr. 280
Aberfoyle, 205
Abernethy, tower, 67
Achadh-cail church, 50, n.
Acæmetæ or Watchers, 45 n
Achil, island of, 57 n
Acregar, 57, n., 38, n., 42, 123, horsemen kept for 38, n; granted to Ed. Jacob, 38, n.
Act of attainder, James II., 132, n., 263, n.; of indemnity by English parliament, 263, n; of parliament nominating a chapter for bishopric of the isles, 235; of uniformity, 130, 131, 132; for defence of the marches, 43
Acta Sanctorum, 47, n, 48, n, 160; Maii 237, n.; Junii, 234, n., 236, n.
Acts unpublished, of Ed. IV. quoted, 43
Adamnan, 236, 237, 239, 241, 241, n., 243; his life of Columba, 57, n, 233, 233, n., 234, 234, n., 235; Pinkerton's, 234, 234, n.
Adderton, Capt. Henry, 73, n., 76, 88, n., 90; or Atherton, serjeant major or adjutant, his personal history as governor of Mountnorris
Additional MSS. in British Museum, 140, 155, n.
Adventurers, 125
Adventures, private in Ulster, 143
Advertisements of local tokens, 282
Aedh, 47 n
Aedhethchair bishop of Aondruim, 54, n.
Aedus, 214, 215
Aengus, calendar, of, 54, n., 241; the Culdee, 50, n., 240, 241; Kelcideus, 240, n
Aethicus, 281, 282
Affrica-ny-Donella, 51, 51, n.
Affreca wife of John de Courcy, 56, n
Agenois, 170
Agnew, 56, n.
Agricola, 204
Aidith, 47 n
Aidus, King, 48 n
Ailech, 236, 236, n.
Aird-Mic-Nessi, 56
Aitkin, Thomas, Belfast, 232
Ajax, 78
Ala (Ale) 87, n.
Albalanda, 54, n.
Albanachs, 36 n.
Aldermen's feasts, 83
Alen, 155, n.
Alençon, 167; synod roll of, 175, 175 n
Alexander the Great, 96, n.
Algiers, 284
Algerian Corsairs, 284
All Saints, P. 58 n
Allemand, Monasticon, 54, n.
Allen, J. Chancellor of Ireland 41
Allin, Edward, 115, 116
Alphegne, Bishop of Winchester, 111 112
Alva, duke of, 83, n.
America, 212, 213
American Indians, 108, n.
American packet station proposed, 160
Amhain-na-Cearc, 203,
Amhain dheas, 201
Amhra Choluim-chille, 47 n
Amsterdam, 224, n.
Amyrant, Mons. 168
Anaghe castle, 149
Ancient Irish boat, 197: Irish bells, 197; enamelled copper vessel, 192
Anderson, Mr. 213
Anglesey, Marquis, 45 n; represents Sir A. Bagnall, 46 n
Anglici, 43
Anglican heresy, 59, 59 n
Anglo-Norman charters, 45
Anglo-Saxons, 186, 204
Anglo-Norman, 254
Anglo-Irish chiefs, curious circumstance respecting, 140; chivalry, 141
Angus, 47, n, 204
Anguish Rocks, 53, n.
Anrerie, 144
Anna Liffey, 43
Anne, Queen 31; time of, 1
Annadorn, 50, n.
Anna, soror, abbatissa de Y. 239, 239, n.
Annagh, 5,
Annals, Irish, 57 n.
Answers to Queries, 283
Antiquities, Belfast Exhibition, 197 Celtiques, 108; dangerous result of comparing, 105; Irish, investigation of, 22; of Down and Antrim, of easy access, 23
Antiquity, relics of at Youghal, 114; of Letters in Ireland, 281
Antiquarian Notes and Queries, 67, 200, 281, 282, 283, 284,
Antony 88
Antrim, 48 n, 57 n
Antrim county, 22, 39, n., 46, n., 56, n., 57 n, 97, n., 138, 145, 205, 211, 212, 285; few architectural remains, in 55, n.; its bounds, territories, captens, buildings, &c, 154; earldom of, 156, n.; tower, 202
Antrum, Mithræ, (New Grange), 105
Antwerp, 255
Annals of Ulster, 201, 202, 240, 45, n. 54, n. 70; of Derry, 268, n., 263, n., 267, n.; of Elizabeth, 93, n.; of four masters, 74, n. 141, n., 53, n.; Irish, 186; of Connaught, 202; of St. Peter and St. Paul, Armagh, 51; of Tighernach, how preserved, 242; Tighernach, 45, n.; of Four Masters, 45, n; of Connaught, 202; of Dudley Firbisse, 36; of Kilronan, 36; monkish reference to 38, n.
Annals, 46 n
Aodha, 237, n.
Aodh, earl of Tir-oen, 205
Aondruim, meaning of term and description of place, 54
Aongus, 47 n
Appagh (Fitzgerald) 118, 118, n.
Apostles, Peter, and Paul, 111
Apostelle Paul, his chyrche, 109
Apologie des Refugiés, 168, n.

Apolyon, temple of (now Westminster) 113
Aqua-Vitæ, Irish, 85, n.
Arcadius, 184, n., 190
Arch, not found in Scandinavia, 107
Archbishop of Dublin, 88, n.; 41, 43, Cassils, 85, n.; of Canterbury, (Dunstan), 111; of York, (Oswald) 111; Usher, 47 n.
Archbold, C., 281
Archæology, Northern, 107
Archæologia, reference to, 106, n., Hibernica, referred to, 41; referred to, 108, n.
Archæology of Scotland, reference to, 108, n.
Archæology 279; the great object of this Journal, 137
Archæological Society of Kilkenny, 106, n.; Journal, 54, n., 55, n., 58 n; 70, 193; quoted 20; Society, 149, n.
Archæologists, pabulum of, 1
Archdall, 50, n. 51, n.
Archdall's Peerage, 222, n.; Monasticon, 47 n, 54, n. 55, n., 56 n, 59, n., 217
Archdeanery Seals, 199
Architectural Soc. church, 49 n
Arann, 160, 161, 161, n.
Arran, man of Danish type, 167; Celtic, do. 167; island, 161; portraits of its inhabitants, 161; south islands of. 161
Ardagh, diocese of, 52, n.; dean of St. Patricks, 176
Ardaghy, 46 n
Ardaghie, 46 n
Ardbraccan, 88, n.
Ard-mic-Nasca, 44
Ard M'Criosq, (M'Niosg) grant of 56, n.
Ardea, 122, 200
Ardee, p. 146, n., 200, 254, n.
Ardes, little, 153, 151; great, 143, 151, 154; almost an island, 154 51, n., 53, n., 219, n., 235
Ardglass, earl of, 52, n., 285
Ardkirknish, 241, 244
Ardkeen 54; n. estate of 54, n. savages, 57 n.
Ardmacnasca, Holywood, 56, n. 57 n
Ardmacha, 210
Ardmache, Archebushop, 150
Ardmagh, 147, n.
Ardmaghe county, its contents, captens, territories, buildings, &c., 149, 150
Ardmaghe, general session at, 27
Ardmore, 279; round tower of, 279; Ogham inscription at, 60; human remains in tower of, 280; its supposed pagan origin, 280
Ardneish, 244
Ardree, 200
Ards, 53; lower or great, 57 n; two, 57; greater, 57; greater, or Upper Claneboy, 57, the patrimony, of the Yellow O'Neills; 57; lesser the patrimony of the Savages, 57
Ards upper, 211; barony of, 207, 211 6, 25, 40, 54 n.
Ardtchain, 241
Argyle, earl of, his widow married to O'Donnell, 2; his daughter marries Turlough O'Neill, 3
Argyll, Duke of, 234, n. 242, 243, n. preserves the annals of Tighernach 242; lord, 156, n.
Argyleshire, 204
Arintluich, 244
Arm of St. Patrick, 207; no conclusive argument respecting its identity. 208
Armache, 150
Armada 5, 83, n. 98
Armagh County, 44, 45 n, 46 n, 47 n; priests of, 46 n; diocesan records, 283; registry office, 283; old registries, 48 n; Stuart's History of, 42, 85, n; annals of, 51; governor of, 75, 75, n.; county, 75, n., 85, n., 97, n.; the metropolitan see, 250; subscription to act of uniformity, 130; diocese, 131; bishops of, 202; plundered by pirates, 45, n 90, n 95, 96, n., 132, 142, 151, 208, 209, 210, Archbishop of, 130, 146; Chancellorship of, 130; abbot of, 85, 85, n.; O'Neill's best mansion at, 151, n.; library, copy of Fleming in ,260; to be the seat of government of the president of Ulster, 143, 250; diocesan records, 130, n., 131, n. 132, n., 134, n., 277, n.; Inquisition, 55, n.
Armaghe county, 145
Army, proposal to reduce, 250
Arst, 43
Art Roe, 47, n.
Artan, race of, 49, n., 50, n.
Artchain, 233, 234
Artchaoin, 238
Arthur 47, n.
Artillery, 98
Arwaker, Edmund, 277, n.
Ashes, 164, 165; with bones in cairns, 102, 105; inurned, found in tumuli, 105, 105, n.
Assassination of Irish chiefs, 218, n. 219
Asses' manger, 196
Assizes for Ulster, 159
Assyria, 202
Attainder of the house of Kildare, 248
Athboy, freemen of, 41 p. 43
Athens of Ireland, 231
Atherton, 99
Athirdee, barony, 43
Athlone castle, 40, 96, n.
Athlone, 37 n.
Atye, John de, 155, n.
Auditor-general's office, 42
Auonia island, 217
Ausonius, quoted, 104
Austin, quoted, 162
Australia, 98, 187, n.
Aughy, 45, n.
Avon, 203
Avon-na-Cark, hens river, 203
Awdleis, 153
Azorcs, 98

B

Babe of Dervor, 146, n.
Bæotia, 46, n.
Bachal Murry, staff of St. Murry, the oath of the O'Neills, 126
Backgammon, 89, n.
Baculus Bromana, 48, n.
Badoney, p. 129, 129, n.
Bagenal property, admirable state of reported, 151, n., 152, n.
Bagenal, Sir Henry, godson to Sidney, 152, n.; Sir Henry, recommends dividing Ulster into shires, 144; led a foray into Monaghan to force a sheriff on that county, 144; his advice to Sir John Perrott 145; his divisions, &c., of Ulster, 145; Dudley, 222, n.
Bagenal, Sir Nicholas, 152; notices of his history and connection with the O'Neills, 7; pardoned at O'Neill's request, 7; their great enemy afterwards, 7
Bagenal, Sir Henry, celebrated in "Rokeby," 7; wrote description of Ulster, 7; Sir Nicholas, settles at Newry, the key of the north, finds the passes possessed by O'Neill, 141; order to recompense, 142; his MS. correspondence, reference to, 142, n.; his despairing letters to government, 142; Sir Henry, 142, 143; praises the loyalty of Maguire, 142
Bagenal, 8; Sir Nicholas, refuses alliance with Turlough O'Neill, 3; Sir Henry, hereditary hatred to the O'Neills, 4; their enmity, 5; his cruel injustice 5; defeated and

killed at Blackwater, 5; Mabel, elopes with Hugh O'Neill, 5
Bagenal, Marshal Sir N., complaint against by O'Neill, 151, n.
Bagenal, Sir Henry, 137, 138. 140; Marshal, his description of Tyrone very brief, 147, n. ; he omits Blackwater fort, 147, n.
Bagenal's, Marshal, description of Ulster, 137
Bagenal's description &c., its value and defects, 137; his notice of an olde defaced castle, 137; Marshal, 158, n.
Bagnall, Sir Henry, his defeat, 95; Sir Samuel, 96, 99
Bagnall, Sir Arthur, 46, n. his territory, 46, n. ; Sir Henry, 160
Bagnall, Sir N., patent of, 47, n.
Bagenalde. Nycholas, 7. 7, n.
Bagnoll, Sir Nicholas, 146; good effect of his government, 151; owns Lordships of Newry and Mourne, 151
Baile Cathail, 200
Baile, a Celtic prefix, 238
Baile-n-t-salainn, 205
Baile-nua (Ballynue) 55, n.
Bailey's dictionary, reference to, 87, n.
Baithene, 233, 234, 235, 235, n., 237, 239, 239, n., 240, 240, n.
Baithenus, 235, n.
Baker, Major, joined with Walker as governor of Derry, 263, 263, n., 264, n. 269
Balder, 204
Balderdash, 204
Ball, Henry, 133
Ballablaught, 43
Ballachanary, 49, n.
Ballach-a-neaghri, pass of the wood, 49, 49, n.
Ballads of the Boyne Water, 9, 11; external evidence of authenticity, 9; internal, 10; not given by C. Croker, 10; not known by Dr. T. Gregg, 10; Irish, 9,
Ballaghaderreen village, 240
Ballekeyll, 56, n.
Balentyne, 219, n.
Ballentlewe, 51, n.
Ballibragan, 146, n.
Ballicale, 122
Ballicullane, 42
Ballimartin, 238; farm of, 238
Balimartin, 244
Ballimeanach, 238
Ballinrees townland, 182
Ballinteskin, 46, n.
Ballinoe, 238
Balliphail, 238
Balliphetrish, 238
Balliranan, 37
Balliston, 58. n.
Balkynglass, notice of a castle at, 40
Ballor, Richard 43
Balloroddery, 123
Balphetrish, 241, 244
Balls of stone found in Scotland, 107, n.; their supposed use, 108; n. found in ancient French graves, 108, n ; found at hill of Dowth, 108, n ; in a cairn, 107
Baltimore, sack of, 284, 284, n.
Ballyaghagan, 58, n.
Ballyboggane, its Ballyneboddagh, 123
Ballycaltragh (cultra) 56, n.
Ballycale, 123, 200; castle and lands of, 38, n,
Ballycale, 42
Ballyan, Baron of, 222, n.
Ballycarrol, 122
Ballychire, 43
Ballycrassell, 122
Ballycrassen, 124
Ballycrossel, 42
Ballycrossel, manor of, 38, castle and lands of, 38, n.
Ballycrossell, 122
Ballycowleyne, 123, 201
Ballyculane, 122
Ballicullane, 38, n.
Ballycullenbeg, 122
Ballycullenbeg, 123
Ballyclough, 187, n.
Ballycrovae ogham, 63, 65
Ballycahill, 200
Ballycarroll, 200
Ballyculleenbeg, 201
Ballyderry, 56, n.
Balydovenald, 50, n.
Ballylarge 51, n.
Ballymanack, 56, n.
Ballymaghery, 48, n.
Ballymena, 9
Ballymena, 205
Ballymore manor, 41
Ballynagarike, 51, n.
Bally na managh, 58, n.
Ballynascreen parish, 74, n.
Ballyneboddagh, 123
Ballyneglasse, 123
Ballynure, county Wicklow, 36, n. p. 203
Ballyonan, 46, n.
Ballyrichard, 51, n.
Ballyvaston, 58, n.
Ballywodan rectory, 51, n.
Ballywoodan, 51, n.
Ballywonan, 46, n.
Bannaghar, 53, n. p. 203; mountain 157, n.
Banba, 221, n.
Banbury, 174
Ban castle taken, 149, n.
Bann river, 48, n, 54, n, 56, n, 152, n, 154, 157
Bann, castles on, 149; salmon fishing, 149, 149, n.
Bann, little, 150
Band, 156
Bande, 155
Bandon, borough of, 96, n.
Bangor, 55, n. 57, n. 253, massacre of monks at, 45, n. church and bell tower, 55, n ; abbey seal, 55, n. ; abbey, 55. n. ;abbot of, 214; monastery, 214; in the Ards, 235, 236 n.
Banke's story of Corfe castle, 284
Banks, Thomas, 226; family of, 246.
Bannockburn, battle of, 213, 213, n.
Bannockburn, 155, n., 204
Bar, 175
Barrapoll farm, 243, 244
Barrapoll, (name) 238
Barber-surgeon, 75, n.
Barcley, Rev. James 132
Bards, dread of their ridicule, 220
Bards, hereditary, of the O'Neills, 56, n.
Barith, 53, n.
Barnan Coulawn, 197
Barnan term, explained, 197; Erin, 197,
Barnet, 269
Barnewall of Ratheskar, 146, n.
Barrack life, temp. Eliz., 95
Barrett, 162, 167
Barretstown, co. Dublin, 36, n.
Barhastle, 204
Barnewell, Patrick, abbot of Mellifont, 55
Baron's wars, 140; injurious to Ulster colonists, 140
Baron's wars in England, 152
Baron Dungannon, 4
Barons of Exchequer, 33
Baronies, Irish, 245
Barrow river, 201
Bastile, 180
Battle of Ballynahinch, 285
Battle of the Boyne, title of an old ballad, 9, 11; author must have been present, 10; ballad of, contains many Hibernicisms, 10 ; writer likely of Scotch descent, 10; its measure 10 ; rude rhymes, 11; 273, n.
Battle axe, given to Galloglasse by the English, 41 ; guard, 41
Battle-axe of silver, 183
Bateman, T. of Yolgram, Bakewell, Derbyshire, 118
Baudrons, (a cat,) 206

Bavan, 46, n.
Bawne, 46, n.
Bealach-an-Mhaighre, 151, n.
Beale, Joseph 201
Bealashanen, 251
Beall-fearst, 58; (Belfast,) 57, 57, n, its castle, formerly O'Neills, now Chichesters, 57; the town, 57; accessible by Scotch, 57
Beanna Boirche, 48, n.
Beargues, 170, 171
Bearrigrein, 244
Beani-borphies, 48, n.
Beauclerk's remark on poetry, 9
Beaver, John, 198
Bede, Hist. Ec., 71; Bede, 56, n., 59, n.
Bedford, Earl of 219, n.
Bedlowe, Sir John 146
Beer, 87, 87, n.
Beith, Alex. 282
Bel-atha-Lagain, 254, n,
Bel-atha-boy, O'Neill's victory at, 95
Belfast, siege of, 285: old, 285; barrows near, 285; old castles near 285; its old inhabitants, 285; its records, 285; local tokens, 230, 231; Vicar of, 176, 177; Saint George's church, 176, 176, n.; old parish church. 176, n.; museum, 174; local coins numerous, 29; High street market-house, 30, 31; corn-market, 30: castle, 31; notices of, 57, n.; river, 31; bridges, 31; exchange, 31; castle demolished by O'Donnell, 141; elevation of, 58, n.; antiquities accessible from, 23; tickets (a local coin) 29; ticket, 231; exhibition of antiquities, 187, 108; lough, 57, n, ancient name, 56, n.; castle, 157, 157, n.; it and two other piles, there burned, 157, n; ancient map of, 58, n., 157, n.; "News-letter," 31, n, 281, 282; 49, n., 56, 177, 183, 206, 231, 232, 272,
Belfast tokens forged, 282; 161, 166, 169, 170, 193 203
Belfarsad (co. Mayo) 57, n.
Belfarst, 57, n. river, 154
Belfeirste, 57, n.
Belgian, feasts, 78; company, who came to Ireland, 254
Bell, J. 281
Bell found in Killarney lough, 206
Bell, James, 187, n.; on coins found near Giauts' causeway, 187, n
Bells, ancient Irish, 197
Bell of Donaghmore church, re-cast, 134, n.
Bell and ship, a common Belfast device on tokens, 231
Bellew, Sir John, of Castleton, 146, n
Bellisle, duke of 180
Ben Au, 204
Ben Lomond, 204
Ben Ledi, 204
Benburb, Beann-borb, derivation of name, 148, n; Benburb, 262; battle at, 151, n.
Benburbe castle, 148, 148, n.
Benchor monastery, 55, 55, n.
Benn, Mr. Geo. 29; on local tokens, 282
Beneschow, 255
Bennet, John, bishop of Cloyne, 117; his possessions in Youghal, 117
Bensons, 153
Bergerac, 167
Berlin, French church at, 176, n.
Bernard, life of Malachy, 210
Berwick memoirs, 268, n.
Betham, Sir Wm., 50, n.
Bible in France, 172
Bible, French, 224, 224, n.
Bigger, Michael, in Belfast, 232, James, in Belfast, 232
Bingham, Orig. Eccles. quoted, 45, n
Biography of Rev. Geo. Walker, of Derry, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135
Birch's life of Tillotson, 131, n,
Birminghams, 41, 43, 174
Birrell, 178
Biscuit, 75, n., price of, 75, n.
Bishops, Irish leases 249; of Cloyne, 117, 118; of Cashel. 85, 85, n.; of Meath, 88, 88, n.; of Winchester, (Alphegne) 111; R. C. of Cloyne resided at Youghal, 117; of Kildare, 43; of Meath, 43; of the Isles, 283; of Down, also abbot, 51, 51, n.: of Achadh-ur, 215; Irish, to be limited in grants, 251;
Bishoprick of Derry and Connor, 153, n.; of Down, 153, n.
Bishoprick, held in commendam, 249; of the isles, 238; unfit to support bishops, 249; limits as to leasing lands, 251
Bisset, Hugh, 57, n, 155, n.; his island of Rathlin, 155, n.
Bisshett, John, accompanied Bruce from Scotland, 155, n.; Sir Hugh, 155, n.; John. married O'Neill's daughter, 156, n.; became Clan Mac Eoin, 156, n.; Hugh son of Walter, 156, n.; Walter, 156, n.
Bitter ale, 87, n.
Blaeu's map of Ireland, 147, n.; maps 239, n. 150, n. 251, n, 256, n.
Black mail, 38
Black's atlas, 234
Black book of Christ church, 43
Blacke, Rev. Bartholomew, 132
Blackstone, Sir Wm. 211
Blackstaff, co. Down, 57, n.
Blackwater, 158, 158, n.; battle of, 84, n., 95; bridge, 150; fort, 147, n.; river, co. Cork, 114; castle, 148, n., 150; victory at, 5; Scott's reference to, 5; skirmish at, 97, n., action at, 151, n.; 95, 147, 148, 150
Blackletter character, 117
Blair Drummond, 204
Blangar, 167, 181
Blaney, Sir Edward, 99; lord, 99
Blanzac, 181
Bledach, 236, 236, n.
Blosset, 178
Blount, Chas. lord Mountjoy, 99; his character, 99; well adapted to the duty he was sent on, 99; garrisons Ulster, 99; his mode of warring, 99; 52, n.
Board of first fruits, its records referred to, 129
Boat Irish, 197
Boate, Dr. 53, n.
Bobio becomes a bishop's see 253
Bodies found in cairns not laid in any fixed direction, 106; unburnt, found in tumuli, 105, 105, n., 106
Bodley, Capt. Josias, notice of, taken Prince's Worthies of Devon, 97, 98; his family connection with the founder of the celebrated library, 97; employed in every branch of the military service, 98; captain, 74, n., 75, n., 76, 79, n., 82, n.; captain, governor of Armagh, 75, n.; a good Latinist, 84, n.; capt. 83, n., 85, n., 87, n., 90, 90, n., 91, n,, 93, n., 96, 97, n., 99
Bodley's visit to Lecale, 73, 73, n., 79, n., 89, n., 97, 99; Journey, remarks on, 95; campaigns in Ireland, 95; connection with the plantation of Ulster, 95; his companions, 96, n., John, 97
Bodley, Sir Thomas, founder of the library, 97, 98
Bodotria, 204
Boethius, Hector, 213, n
Bohemia, 255
Boirche (Boreky) 48, n.
Boisleduc, 180, 181
Boisrond, 224; Miss Benin, 224, 227; Theophile, 225
Book of Ballymote, 62, 237, n.
Book of Armagh, 53, n.
Boll, Teutonic suffix, 238
Bombs thrown into Derry, 267, 267, n.
Boone, T. & W. publishers, 118, n.

Bonace, 178
Bonaghts, 38
Bonaght of O'Neill, 152
Bonail, 204
Bones, burned, in cairns, 102, 105; in cairns, 102, 103
Bonfire, 204
Bongran, 204
Bonnibell, 204
Bonley, 178
Bonny-clabber, 204, 283
Bonny-rammer, 205 283
Bonvla, Jean 181
Bordeaux, 171
Borlase's Cornwall, 106, n.
Borrowes, Sir E. 200
Boulter, Dr. 176
Boullaye le Gouz, reference to, 118, 118, n., 119
Bourdieu, lord of, 167
Bourne, Sir John de, 33
Bourto, 178
Bovevagh, 53, n.
Bowndes of Louth, 146, n.
Boxing, 163
Boyne, 274, n.; battle of, 273, n. 273; tumuli, 100; battle of, 170; 151, n.; ballad by an Eniskillen man, 16, n.; a comparatively modern song, 9, 11; its heroes, 9; vulgarisms in ballad, 11; and Blackwater, quoted, 106, n.; river, 146, n.; ballads, notes &c. respecting, 18, 19, 20, 21; ballad of, 9, 10, 11; 272
Boyle, Sir Rd., 117; his grave, 117, n.; 203; Rd. first earl of Cork, 280
Brabazon, treasurer, letter of, 147, n
Bradbrook, Joan, rescued from slavery, 284
Bradley, 162, 167
Brampton, Johannes, 209
Bramhall, bishop of Derry, 130; a patron of the elder Walker, 130
Brandenburghers, 14, n.
Brash, Mr. 67, 68
Braskelough or McCan's country, 44
Brass money, its origin, 93, n.
Brass money and wooden shoes, 16, n
Breadalbane, 204
Breachachadh, 244
Brechin tower, 67, n
Brecani, 61
Brecan the pilgrim, 61, 62
Bregia, 48, n.
Bregia, 48
Brehon laws, 64, 71
Breifney, 7
Brena, 53, n.
Brennanstown, 196
Brenny, 146, n. 151, n.
Breny, 145
Brereton, Mr. 222, 222, n. 223
Brethit, 178
Bretonniere, Compte de la, 176
Brian Caraghe's country, 154
Bridgid, saint, 236, 336, n,
Bridget, gapped bell of, 197
Bright, parish, 192
Brigid, her bones translated, 208, 209
Brigida, 208, 209
Brigham, Lucy, 274, n.
Bristow family, 169, n.
Britain, 49, n., 185, 186, 235, 236, 236, n
Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, quoted 209
British, tumuli, 105; museum, 40 54, n. 156, n.; museum, MS. 73, n., 74, n., 82, n.; association, meeting, 197; notices of saints omitted in Four Masters, 240
Broadway, New York, 166
Bromana, 48, n.
Brown, 162
Bruce, Edward, his defeat, 151, n.; his invasion of Ireland, 140; its injurious effects, 140; invasion, 153, n.; plundered 'Down abbey, 210; 155, n.; Bruce, 155, n.; Robt. his advice to his successors, 139, 140, 140, n.; king, 213, 214
Bruce family, 169, n.
Bruce's invasions, 57, n,
Brudeus, a Pictish king, 237
Brussels, 44
Brussius, Rex Robertus, 213, n.
Buanan Cylle Ruayd, 59, n.
Buchanan used the name Hethland, 233
Buckhurst author of the plan of base Irish money, 93 n.
Bui, or boy, soubriquet of, means, yellow or fair, 38, n.
Bull regulating appointment of abbot of Newry, 47
Bullet, every, has its billet, 15, n.
Bulletin, de la societe de l'histoire du Protestantisme Francais, 168, n
Bulroy, 178
Burgesses, 41
Burgo, Wm. de, 57, n.
Burgundy, 253
Burghley lord, 160
Burghley, lord, his additions to marshal Bagenal's description of Ulster, 145, 152, n.
Burgo, Richard de, 50, n.
Burial, ordinary mode of, and cremation in contemporaneous use, 106
Burke, Sir William, 120; bishop, his history, 120, 120, n.
Burke's baronetage, 97, n.
Burke, Walter, 149, n
Burkes, 36
Burleigh, lord, 156, n.
Burleigh lord, 137
Burleigh, 1, 2
Burnet, bishop, 12, n.
Burn, Saxon word for stream, 59, n.
Burus, quoted 89, n.
Burt, 90, n.
Burto, 178
Burying-places, in Tiree, 243
Bush, John, in Belfast, 232
Bushmills, 187, n.
Bushops sea of Downe, 153
Buttevant, county Cork, Franciscan convent, at, 197
Buttevant, county Cork, local antiquities of, 197
Butler, Sir James, Earl of Ormond, 40
Butler, Very Rev. R. 156, n.
Butler's wars, 36, n.
Butter, price of, 75, n.
Byrnes, 43
Bysede, five of this name summoned to parliament, 155, n; John, 155,n; Hubert, 155, n.; William, 155, n.; Hugh, 155, n.
Byssett, baron of the Glynns, 141
Byset, Elizabeth 156, n.; Marjory, 156, n.; Sir Hu, summoned to parliament of Edward III., and Richd. II., 156, n.; his business, 156; baron, joined Scots under Bruce, 155, n.
Byset, Hugh 153, n., 155, n.

C

Cabinet of antiquities, Paris, 193
Cael-uisce, strangers of, 45, n.
Caermarthenshire, 54, n, 174
Cæsar, 5, 86
Ca Fedan, 151, n.
Caffre war, 74, n.
Cahal, 53, n.
Cailgach, 205
Caillemote commands French at the Boyne, 272
Cairbre, 62, 63
Cairn, definition of, 100; Scotch stone hammer found in, 107; globular stone ball found in, 107; plated cup found in, 108
Cairns, Scotch, 100, 102, 103, 104 105, 106, 107, 108
Caislean-nua, 49, n
Caithness, 101 105; shire, how divided, 100

Cajare, 170, 171; Louis Geneste Pelras de, 170
Caldbeck, Wm. 274, n
Calderwood, 132 n
Caledonia, map of, 234 n
Calendar. Pat. 138, n, 240, 242; of Aengus, 54, n; of patent rolls 132, n
California, 98
Caliver, 14, n, 20, n
Callen, 43
Cal. Rot. Pat. Jac., 157, n
Calvission, 175
Cambon commands French at the Boyne, 272
Cambridge, degree to Walker, 272; college, 131
Camden, 4, 195, n; quoted, 5, 6 42; reference to, 73, n, 79. n, 83, n, 85, n; annals of Elizabeth, 85, n, 95, Britannia, 184, n, referred to, 101
Camerarius, 213
Campaigns of Mountjoy's armies, 95
Campion's statement respecting the Savages not building castles, 40; absurd statement of, 40; quoted, 41; referred to, 2
Campbell's strictures on the Ecc. and Lit. history of Ireland, 205; lady Agnes, wife of O'Neill, 221; influence in north of Ireland, 3
Campus Lunge, 233, 234, 239, 239, n, 240, 240, n; Navis, 234, Lyffe, 234, n
Camster, 100
Canterbury, 111, 217, n.
Cantire, 2; in Scotland, 155; lord of, 156
Canon of Westminster, privileges of, 111
Cannon employed against Dungannon, 141
Cantwell, Wm. 222
Cappog, p 130
Carryne, 42
Castlemore, p. 240
Castlehill, 50, n
Castlereagh, lord, 177 : lower barony of, 54, n
Castlering, 146, n
Castleton, 146, n.
Castletown, 143
Castlewellan, 210, 211
Castles, Irish, dismantled, 41; inhabitants of, 41; cruelty practised in, 41; defended by females, 71; built by Scots in Ireland, 147, n.
Castellans of Europe and their cruelties, 41
Castile, governor of, 149, n
Catalogue of Roman coins, 183; 187 to 192
Catharine, 162
Cathreimh Conghail Clairingnigh, 56, n
Cathaoir, his descendants, 221, n.
Catholic emancipation bill, 178
Cathedral and capitular seals, 199; of Down; 51 n, 52 n; of Waterford, fabric, plate, &c., 197
Cato, 81
Caulfield. Richard, 199; Wm., I34, n; Captain, 73, 73, n, 76, 78, 88, 88, n, 90, n, 96 96, n; his personal history, 96, n. 97, 97, n; Captain Toby, extensive grants to, 97 n; member for Armagh, 97 n; master of the ordnance of escheated lands, 97 n; got a peerage, 97, n; baron, 97, n
Causie of Moierie, 151, n
Cavan, 36; county, 7, 46, n, 97, n, 256, n
Cavanagh, Art Boy, 222, 222, n; his murder, 222
Cavellus, Hugh, 255
Ceann-an-mhara, 242
Cecil. 1; Sir Wm. lord treasurer (lord Burleigh) on O'Neill's death, 142; Robert, 98
Cell of St. Domanghard, 49, n
Celt, dark, of Connaught, 161
Celtic, septs seem anxious to substitute English law of succession for their own, 8; chiefs pride, 3; society, 74, n; works, 8; Society's Miscell., 55, n, 149 n; man of Arran, 167; people, 161: continental people, 161; type, 161; peasantry of south, 162
Census of Down, 53, n
Cerevisia (beer,) 87, n.
Caol, 47, n
Caoles, 243, 244
Capella de Sancto Joanne Jerusalimitano, 25
Capella di Styoun, 24
Cappagh, 129, n.
Cappa Keel, 123
Captain, pay of, 75, n
Captaynes. three cheefe, of Clandonnells, 38; not to wear armour, 38
Captives at Algiers, 284
Carbury, Rev. Mr. 121
Cardinal Archbishop Bonzi, 168
Cards, tables, and dice, 89, 89, n.
Cardynall Wolsey, 248
Carew, Sir Geo. 36, n.; MS. 7, 146, n, 149, n, 218
Carhin, 122
Carleton, lord chancellor, 124
Carlier, Jean 181
Carlow county, 36. n; 222, n
Carlingford. 45, n, 75, n, 142, 146, n haven, 145; bay,47, n; liberties of, 46, n; a favourite station of the Danes, 45, n; lough, ten townlands at, how named, 46, n; town 46, n; manor, 46, n; fight, 96 n, 97, n
Carn, 122
Carpendale. Rev. Thomas, 132, n, 276, 277, 277, n
Carifergus, 157
Carrickyna, 51
Carrickfergus, 2, 6, 7, 74, n, 96, n, 142, 149 n, 153 n, 156 n, 157 n, 272, governor, 220; inquisition at, 155, n; castle held against Irish 141, finally taken, 141; Franciscan friary reformed, 56, n, King John holds his court at, 138; abbey there considered his palace, 138, n.
Carrickmacross, 254, n.
Carricknegawny, townland, 44
Carruthers, Mr., 182, 183, 184, 185; his catalogue of Roman coins found near Coleraine, 183
Carte, quoted, 283
Cary, 155; Sir George, treasurer of Ireland, 79, n; gets patent for coining base money and fixing exchanges, 93, n; Elizabeth, 226
Cas, race of, 221, n
Cashel, rock of, 68, 216; bishop of, 85, 85, n; archbishop, 85, 85, n
Castle, Caulfield, 134; church, 273, 275, 275, n; Caldwell, 46, n; Martin, 157, n; of Caol, 46, 46, n; of Belfast, 31; Martyn, 157; Dermot in Kildare, wasted by pirates, 45, n; and forte of the Moierie pass, 151 n; building encouraged by statute 40; Robin 211
Caudle, 87
Chaigneau, 224, 225; David, 225; Elizabeth, 225; Maryann, 225
Chair, St. Patrick's, at Downpatrick, 89, 89, n.
Chalmers, Caledonia, 238, n; James, in Belfast, 232
Chambers in cairns, 102, 103
Chancellor of Down, first appointed, 51, n
Chancery, Irish, 124
Chapel at St. John's point, 22, 23, 24; Harris's account of, 25
Chappels on Mourn, 49, n.
Chapter of Down, the monks, 51, 51 n; they elected the bishop, 51, 51, remodelled, 51, n; for bishoprick of the isles, 238
Charenton, 167

Charlemont, 283; family, 97, n, 99, 275, n; fort, 261, 262; erected, 97, n; lord, 134, 134, n; gets bell of Donaghmore church recast, 134, n.
Charles I., 25; grant by, 121; king II., 283
Charlotte Elizabeth's Derry, 268, n
Charter of Edward the martyr
Charters of Westminster Abbey, 114
Chartres, 178
Chaters, 178
Chatterton, Mr, fails to settle O'Hanlon's country and the Fews, 143, 144
Cheese, 89, 90
Chelmsford, 169, 169, n.
Chichester, Jno. 133; Sir Arthur, 74, 74 n, 75 n, 96 n, 149 n; founder of the Donegall family, sergeant major of army, governor of Carrickfergus, 74, n; lord deputy of Ireland, 74, n; created a peer, 74, n.
Chichesters, 285
Chief inhabitants of Louth, 146, 146, n.
Chieftain, Irish, how elected, 138; not an owner of land, 138
Chieftaincy, Irish, 4
Chiefs, Irish, their signatures, 1
Choiseul, 180
Christ church, Dublin, 43, 97, n.; chanter of, 176; Belfast, 129
Christian, 164; churches, Irish, general description of, 23
Christmas, 84; kept in Lecale, 74
Christianity, early Scotch, 243
Christiana, daughter of John, Lord of the Isles, 154, n
Chronicles of Man, 56, n.
Church, of Stechain, 25; of St. Peter, Westminster, its privileges, 111, 112, 113; its charters, 114
Churches, destruction of, 52; how ornamented, 52
Churchwalls, townland, 192
Churns, or harvest homes, 94
Cicero, 77
Cil-chliath church, 53, 53, n.
Cinel Aengusa, 44; Fhaghartaigh, 50, n; Eoghain, 220
Cist, 105
Cistercian, abbey of Inch 52 n, abbey Newry, 47, n; monks, 56, n; catalogue, 54, n
Civil wars of Ireland, history of, 265 n.
Clandeboy, 6
Clan, Sheehys, 36 n; Connell, earl, 3
Cloigtheachs, 67
Clogher, baron, 3
Clugston, John, in Belfast, 232
Clones, 10
Cobha, 45, n.
Cocks, curious legend of, 205
Cod, 162
Codex Salmanticensis, 234, n. 235, n.
Cody, Mr., 197
Coe, Lough, island in, 150
Coins found, 182 183; at Donaghadee, 71
Coinage, Irish, 248
Cokestown, 43
Colawn, 179
Colbane, 42, 122
Colbert, 170, 178
Cole, Mr., 266
Coleraine, 138, 143, 182, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 262; Chronicle, 182; Cutts of, 56, n
Colgan, 54 n, 233, 233 n, 235 n, 240, 240, n; 241, n, 253, 254, n, 255, 256; reference to, 47, n; cited, 160, John, of pure Irish race, 254; scarcity of his works, 260
Coll, 237 n, 243, 244
Colla-da-chrioch, 46, n, 48, n
Colla Meann, 48, n
Collas, the three, 46, n
Collar of brawn, 88
Colton's Fasti, 51 n; visitation, 32, 145 n, 148 n, 150 n
Collectanea, Vallancey's, referred to, 105 n; de Rebus Albanicis, 238 n; Sacra, 253
College, ancient meaning of, 280
Collin mountain, 212
Collins, Sydney papers, 152, n; reference to, 144 n; Mrs., 121
Collis Sancti Mac Nissi, 56
Collumkill, 56, n
Colman, bishop, scribe, and abbot, of Aondruim, 54, n
Colonel, pay of, 75, n
Colquhoun of Luss, 205
Colraine, 149 n; county, 145
Colran county, its limits, chief captain, force, buildings, fishings, 149; castle. 149
Colraheen monastery, 156, n
Colum, stone of, 61
Columbanus, 234, 234 n; his life by Flemming, 253; his history, 253; found, monastery of Luxeuil, 253; founds monastery of Bobio, 253; his attachment to Irish church, 253; his theology, 253; he only of all the early Irish has left any remains, 253, 254; not included in Irish calendar, 254; an exile, 254; Fleming took him as a model, 256
Columba, 47, 208, 209; saint, 47 n; carved head of, 55, n
Columbkill, translation of his bones, 208, 209
Columkille, 67
Coluon, 224, 225; Cornet, Daniel, 225
Comair, (confluence) 54, n
Comber, 54 n; church, 54 n, 55 n; regular canons and black abbey, 54, n
Comiere, 178
Commanders in Ireland, signatures, of, 1
Commission to reduce Ulster to shire ground, 144
Commonwealth records, 281
Commor, 54, 54, n
Comor, 56
Compensation to Walker's family, 274, 274, n
Complaints of Shane O'Neill, 218
Con, his descendants, 221 n; More, 2
Conaght, 145
Conall, 43; son of Aodh, 47 n; Abbot of, Maighi Luinge, 240
Concise view of the Irish Society, 269 n
Confederacy of Irish chiefs, 3
Congall claen, 56 n; claroineach, 56, n
Congall's third, 56, n
Comgallus, 236, n
Connaught, 36, 65, 68, 98, 245; primary cause of its loss, 149 n; English colony of, its downfall, 153 n; province of, 250; earldom, 153 n; president of, 37, 37 n; Celts, 163; rangers, 163; revolt against feudal tenures under De Burghs, 141
Connamara, 161
Connellan's Annals of Four Masters referred to, 96, n
Connolly, 162
Conquest of Ireland, 245, 246
Constable, capt., 90 n; Capt. Ralf, 73 n, 77, 78: his dogs, 83, 86 n, 88 n, 97, n; notice of, 97 n; of Halsham, in Yorkshire, 97, n; of Chester, 138
Constables and sub-constables of castles, sometimes mere Irish, 41
Constantinople, 45, n, 184
Constantius, II., 188, III., 191
Consular coins, 183
Conventus Deiparae Gratiarum Yeoghelensis, 120
Coal money, 198
Cooke, J. L. 197; Mr., 197

Cook, proverb concerning, 89; the lord deputy's, 89, 89, n
Cookestowne, 146, n
Coolagh, 123
Coolbanagher, p. 122
Cooley people, 46, n
Coolnavarnoge, 123
Coolnefernocke, 123
Cooloches, als Ballyboggane, 123
Copper vessel, ancient, 192
Coppinger, 73, 73 n; tombs, 117 n; Thomas, his tomb in Youghal, 116; Ed. of Youghal, 73 n; his tomb, 116; his wife, 116
Corrakitt, 46, n
Corbett, Mary, 133
Corfe Castle, 206
Cork, 116, 118, 120, 121; earl of, 117; first earl of, 280; Huguenots at, 224; French settlers at, 67; dean of 177; co. 10, 50 n, 114, 197, 215, 223, 279; city, 245
Corkitt, 46, n.
Corlew mountains, 96 n; battle at, 97 n
Cormac, 216; king, 216; son of Airbheartach, 237 n; his chapel, 216
Corn, and other supplies, should pass freely from one kingdom to another, 252; Irish word for, Hith, 237; market, Belfast, 30
Cornaigbeg, 241 n
Cornagmore, 241, 244
Cornamucklagh, 45 n
Cornemucklogh, 46 n
Cornet, pay of, 75 n
Cornwall, 106 n
Corporations of Lowth, 146
Correspondence, Irish, 1
Corrocks, 48, n
Corry, John, of Belfast, 232
Corsned, Saxon, 211
Cosmography of Hecas, 281
Cotton, Sir R., 269; Dr., 130 n; charters, 54 n: archdeacon, 117
Cottonian MSS., 155 n, 222 n; library, 155 n
Councell board, 252
Council, of state for Ireland, 250; of five, 83 n; Irish, its proposed constitution, 252
Counsaile for Ulster proposed, 159
County Down map, 285
Counties, of Ireland, description of, 7; of Ulster enumerated, 145; Irish, 245
Courcelles, Marquis de, 175 n
Courcy, John de, 50 n, 54 n, 56 n, 138; founds Inch, 52 n; his colony did not extend into interior of Ulidia, 138; its limits, 138
Coursie, Sir John, 153
Court, of high commission records, 32; house of Lisburn, 179
Covart, 178
Cowell's Interpreter, 42
Cowley family, 197
Cox, Sir R., 151 n, 177; quoted, 42; Mary, 177
Coyle, 46 n, 50 n
Coyne and livery, 42
Craig-forth, 204, 205
Craik, Prof., Romance of the Peerage, 93 n
Crania, found in a cairn, 102, 103, 104; Britannica, reference to, 104
Crannog, O'Neill's, 142; of Loughinsholin, 148 n
Craobh-inis, 237 n
Crawford, Geo., 155 n
Creaght, 157 n
Cremation and ordinary burial, in contemporaneous use, 106
Cremourne, 48 n
Crioch Mughdhorna, 48 n
Critan in Aondruim, 54 n
Crofton, Col., 263
Crois-a-chaolis, 244
Croish-a-chaolis, 243
Croker, T C., 10, 67, 121
Cromleac, 196
Crommelin, and his colonists, 179; Alexander, 169; Louis, 169, 172, 173; John, 172; Samuel, 173
Cromwell, 174 285; Oliver, dismantled the Irish castles, 41; lord, 51 n, 52 n; Edward, his impiety. 51; who, 51 n, 52 n
Cronan, bishop of Aondruim, 54 n
Cronicon Scotorum, 67
Cross, lands of Ulster, 156 n; on pillar stones, 61, 63; pectoral, found at Youghal, 114, 115; its description, 115; discovery of, 115, 116; skeletons with, 115, 116; legends, 117
Cross, bearers, of St. John the Baptist, 50 n; at Soreby, 238, 239; legged effigies, 197; St. Columcille's, 125; mention of in a letter of Sir John Perrot, 125; question if in existence now, 126; at Youghal like those of R. C. prelates, 117
Crosses, on Round Towers, 68; at Iona, 238
Crossapoll, 243; (name,) 238
Crosspoll, 244
Crotlewe, 48 n
Crow, 165
Crown, conferred title of Earl of Tyrone on Con O'Neill, with remainder to Hugh, 1; fails in carrying out its plans to civilize Ulster, 143; has a pride in reducing Earldom of Ulster, 141; cost to, of Irish rebellions, 245; to appoint sheriffs, 144; rent, 158 n
Crownston, 146 n
Cruibh-inis, 237 n
Crumr, R. Rd., 275 n
Crumwell, 147 n, 155 n; Wingfield, 52 n; Vere Essex, 52 n; Oliver, 52 n
Cuan, Snah-each, 44; Snamh Each, 45 n; Carlinne, 45 n
Cuana, Saint, 197
Cubynhillis, 51 n
Cucaisil, 49 n
Culanus saint, 197
Cullen family, 211, 212
Culmore, 90
Culan, 197
Cumberland, 54 n
Cumber, 51 n
Cumine, b shop of Aondruim, 54 n
Cummin, 197
Cunningham, Col., 263 n; an officer, 263 n
Cup or vase, found in a cairn, 108
Curatoris missi, 184
Currency, Doctors of Elizabeth's time, 93 n; paper referred to, 93 n; question, 92, 93 n
Curry, Eugene, 215
Curse of Columbkill, 67
Cursey, John, lord of Ulidia, 51, 51 n
Cusack, Chr., the founder of Irish colleges in Flanders, 255; Sir Thomas, Chancellor, 219, 254 n; Lord Chancellor, 219; letter of, quoted, 147 n; his description of Tyrone, 147 n; his description of Tyrconnell, 148 n; Robert, 254, 254 n; Elizabeth, 254, 254 n
Cushendun, 2
Cushenstown, 254

D

Dead payes, 38
Deanery, seals, 199
Dean, of Down, 51 n; Swift at Kilroot, 71
De Berniere, 178
De Burgh, Richd., 153 n; the last, assassination of, 153, n
De Burg's of Connaught, their conspiracy, 153, n; divide into two families, 141
Declan, 279

Dagge, 219; what? 219 n
Dainties, 88
Dallan Forgail, poet, 47 n
Dalgetty, 75 n
Dalriadic Scots, 236
Dalriedia, 241, 241, n
Dalrymple's memoirs, 263 n
Dalton, 178
Daly, Wm., 228
Dan, Pierre, 284
Dancing, 162
Danes, 53 n, 161, 163; castle, 151 n; of Limerick, 216; priest put to death by, 46, n; defeat of, 46 n; tradition of, 45 n
Dangans, 122
Danish, nomenclature, 45 n; pirate, 161; man of Arran, 167; and Dutch troops at the Boyne, 10
Danvers, 224, 225; Jacques, 225; Arthur, 225; Sir Henry, governor of Armagh, 75 n
D'Anvers, Thomas, 225; Reverend Arthur, 225
Darele, 178
Dartmouth frigate, 268
Dartrey, 146
Dathan, 111
Dathais, 220
Davers, 96, n
Davis, Mr., 104, 138; Sir John, 138, n; on execution of the law in Monaghan, 146 n
Dawson, Dr., of Dungannon, 275 n; Rev. A., 129, 261, 284
Dawtrey, Nich., on assassination, of Sorley Boy, 218 n
Day, Thomas, 229; and Martin, 83 n
De Blaquiere, family, 171; seigneur de, 171; Mdlle, 172
De Brius, Godefrey, 167
De Courcy, 50 n.; Sir John, his battle in Glanree, 151, n
De Curci, Johannes, 208; John 208, 209
De Foe, 10
De Hayes, James, 226
De Hays, 224, 226; John, 226
D'Huission, Mons., 168
De Jugo Dei, 55, n
De la Cherois, Judith, 180, 181; Louise, 180, 181; family, 181
De Lap, 178
De Lappe, 226; Wm., 226; Michael 226
De Lavalade, family, 169; count, 168 169; Anne, 169; Rev. Chas., 169; Mdlle., 169
Deil's picture beuks, 89, n
Delas, 172
Del Tombe, Elic, 181
Delvin, baron, 254, 254 n; lord, on the reformation, 146, n
De Monte, 149 n
De Montmorency, constable, 175
Dempster, 213 n
Denarii, 187
Denmark, 82, 107
Denvir, 210
Denvir, Dr., 207, 210, 211
De Perthes, Antiquitès Celtiques, reference to, 108, n.
De Preston, Roger, 157, n
Deputy, and Council, to Henry VIII., 7 n; lord, 140 n; on O'Neill's death, 142
De Ros, 138
Dereenderagh, ogham at, 64
Derivation of names, 283
Dertrann's tombstone, 55 n
Dermot Roe, 15, 15 n
Derryill, 123
Derrieclony, 123
Derrie, castle and town, Queen's county, 36 n
Derriaghy, 212
De Ruvigny, 175
Derry, 90 n. 74 n, 149, 262, 263, 263 n, 269, 272, 274, 274 n; its fortifications, 264 n; its limited extent, 264, n; the activity of its clergy during the sege, 265; the dissenters, 265; Tyrconnell's attempt to seize, 261; Walker goes to, 262; parties who retire to, 262, 263; siege commences, 264; defence, 265; clergy, their exertions, 265; its sufferings, 266; failure of attempt to relieve, 266; threats, 266; bombs with addresses to defenders thrown in, 267; proposals to treat, 267; city ruined, 267; sufferings, 267; siege raised, 268; fame of the siege, 269, 270; contribution to sufferers, 271; regiments, 272; not re-visited by Walker, 272; testimonial to Walker erected at, 275; governor of, 8; siege of, 129, 129 n; diocese of, 129; bishops of 130; fort destroyed by fire, 149, n; garrisoned by the English, 141; good effects of this, 141; dean of, 177; county, 74 n, 97, n, 145, 182, 205, 262; Clony, 123, 201; Davy, 123; Chuane, 122; Gill, 123; Cappie, 123
Description and present state of Ulster, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160
Desertlyn, 131, 132, 272
Desertmartin, p. 74, n
Desiderata Curiosa, Hibernica, 156 n; reference to, 142 n, 144 n
Desmond, earl, 3: his rebellion, 4; earl, 117, 221, 248; house of, 249; wilds of 98
De Saumarez family, 168
De Saurin, (see Saurin) 175
De Vanny, 178
De Vescy, 138
Devereux, Lady Penelope, marries Lord Mountjoy, after divorced from Richd., 99 n; lives of the Earls of Essex, reference to, 151 n
Devonshire, 52 n, 97; duke of, 117, 229,
Dezieres, 224, 226; Captain James, 226
Diarmaid, 254 n
Dice, 89, 89 n; playing at, 93
Dicuil, De mensura orbis, &c., 282
Dieppe, 83, n
Diffrin, 151, 153, 154
Digby, 222
Dingan, the, 222; a Gaelic fortress, 222 n
Dinganbeg, 123
Dinganmore, 122
Dinners, 88
Dingle in the 16th century, 198
Diploma of George Walker's degree, 272 n
Discovery of Roman coins, 182
Dissolution, of monasteries, the, 25
Dobbin, Humphrey of Belfast, 232
Dockwra, Sir Henry, 74 n, 90 n
Documents, Irish historical, 245
Domaughart, 49, 49 n
Domhnach-Combuir, 54 n
Domhuall son of Gillebride, 241, 241 n
Dominican friary, at Youghal, 118, 119, 120; its name changed, 120; its riches, 120; at Cork, 120
Dominicans, order passed by general chapter respecting Youghal, 120, 120, n
Dominick, 162
Dominicus, who, 49, n
Donaghadee, inquiry about a coin found near, and other antiquities there, 71
Donaghmore, 177, 274; rector of, 272 n; p. 132, 132 n, 133, 134, 134, n, 135, 272; church, 275; corn mill, inscribed stone on, 135
Donald Gorm, 156 n
Donard, 49 n
Donegall, 237 n; county, 97, n, 262; family, its founder, 74 n
Doneneal-isle, 54 n
Donnsleibhe, (Dunlevy) 55 n

Donniloghs, a rhymer or jester of the 220
Donoghfyne, 42
Donore hill, 13 n
Dorsett, Gray, marquis of, 248
Douay college, 255
Douglass, General, 13 n
Doundrome castle, 153 n
Doune, 204
Dowdall, of Newton, 146 n; of Glaspestell, 146 n
Dowling, the chronicler, 155 n
Down, 48, 48 n, 51, 208, 209, 210; city, 50, 50 n, 52; its site and description, 50; diocese, 52 n; abbey lands of, 52 n; county, 52 56 n; few architectural remains in 55 n; burning of its buildings, 51; city, 51; ecclesiastical buildings, 51, 51 n; government, 51, 51 n; county, 7, 8, 22, 23, 24, 44, 47 n 131, 138, 152, 174, 207, 210, 211, 212; its contents, chief persons, divisions, buildings, 151; knights of the shire for, 8; precentorship, 25; Harris's, 42; R. C. bishop of, temp. Elizab., 85 n; sheriff, 153 n; its subjection, 137; copper vessel found in, 192, 193; election, 177; western half called Iveagh, 45 n; and Connor diocese, 48 n, 207; church Arch. Soc., 49 n; cathedral, 208, 209; fortress of, 208; bishop of, 208, 209
Downham, bishop of Derry, 130
Downpatrick, 10, 50 n, 53 n, 67, 77, 96, 208, 211; old map of, 51 n; castle, 77 n; antiquities at, 89, 89 n
Downe, bushop's sea of, 153; county, 145
Downes, Lord, 177
Dragoon, pay of, 75 n
Drake, 98
Drewet, 178
Drogheda, 10, 13 n, 16, 16 n, 90 n, 138, 142, 213, 272; freemen of, 41; its situation, 146; Droghed Iwrene, manor of, 221
Drogida, 146
Drommallat, 46 n
Dromcashel, 146 n
Dromgole, of Dromgolstown, 146 n
Dromgolstown, 146 n
Dromore, 174; bishop of, 177; diocese, 177; bishoprick, 177; cathedral, 177; see of, 48 n
Drumbo, P. sepulchral mound at, 285
Drumglas, register, 272; P. 133; entries in its register extracted, 133
Drumcraggan, 205
Drued, 178
Druet, 178
Drufan, 178
Druid, 178, 196; altars, 196
Druim-da-mhaighe, 222 n.
Drummullagh, 46 n
Drummer, pay of, 75 n
Drumoghan, 146 n
Drunkenness, 81; Irish, 85
Drury, Sir Wm., lord justice, 147 n
Dubhgaill, or Danes, fight with the Norwegians, 45 n
Dubh-Galls, 280
Dubhliter, priest of Armagh, his death, 46 n
Dublin, 43, 145, 165, 176, 187 n, 205, 220, 221, 250, 254; county, 36 n, 41, 43, 245; its rock monuments, 196; English planted in, 246; Penny Journal, 46 n, 50 n, 52 n; French settlers at, 67; castle, 40, 154, 223 n; Review, 210, 211; college, 130, 131; constable of, 221; Archdeacon of, 177, 178; Lawrence Archbishop of, 155 n; Society library, 37 n; parliament in 1429, 40; freemen of, 41; local tokens, 29
Dubourdieu family, further particulars of, 167, 168; Armand, 167; James, Lord, 167; Isaac, 168; the decree of the parliament against, 168; appeal, 175 n; Rev. Saunarez, last French pastor of Lisburn, 179; Isaac, attempts to bribe his son, who becomes a minister in England, 168; John, 168; Lord, his widow and son's escape, 168; Rev. Jean Armand, 168; preached to English judges, 168, 169; his sermon, reference to, 169; James, 169; his school, 177
Du Cange, 211
Duclos, 224, 226; Perot, 226; Guillaume, 226; Marguerite, 226; Hanna, 226
Dudley Firbisse, 36
Duff, Mrs., 176
Dufferin, barony, 53 n
Duffren, 153 n
Duffryn, 141
Duffy's ballad poetry, 9, 12, 18
Dugdale, 50 n
Duke of Ormonde, 274
Dulap, 178
Dullardstown, 38 n, 42
Duleek, barony, 240, 240 n
Dumbill, 178
Dumblaine, 204
Dunbar, viscount, 97 n
Duncrue, salt mine at 71
Dun-da-bheann (mount Sandal) 56 n
Dun-da-leth-ghlas (Down), 51, 51 n
Dundalk, 141, 146, 146 n, 150, 151, 210, 158 n, 90 n, 43, 96 n; French settlers at, 67; its position, 146 n
Dundroma hill, 50, 50 n; bay at fort of, 50, 50 n
Dundrome castell, 153 n
Dundrum, 50 n; 52 n, 95; strand of, 50 n; O'Neill's cellars at, 2; bay, 23
Dunegall county, its limits and contents, chief capten, forces, buildings, 148, 148 n
Dunensis, 208, 209, 210
Dunfermline castle, 213 n
Dungale county, 145
Dunbell, 197
Dungannon, 148, 148 n
Dungiven, 74 n; church, 149
Duok, Hugh, 231, 232; sovereign of Belfast, 231; made his mark, 231
Durham cathedral, 174
Durnam, 154
Dutch, guards at Boyne, 272; men, 165; propose to inhabit Lough Foyle, 251; navy, 173
Dymmok, 149 n
Dungannon, 10, 74 n, 90, 132, 261, 148 148 n, 262; Hugh, baron, 3, 223 n; baron, 142, 143, 147; castle taken by English, 141; coronation stone near, 4
Dunleer, 46 n
Dunluce, Dun-lis, 157 n, p. 39 n
Dun-na-n-giall, fort of the hostages, 54, 54 n
Dauphin, 175 n
Dunstan saint, 111, 112
Dunturk, 212
Dunwage, 156 n
Dymock, 97 n; John, his treatise quoted, 42; his treatise on Ireland, principally copied from Bagenal's, 137

E

Eaghe, Lough, 150, 152, 154
Eanach Duin Cloigtheach built, 67
Earl, of Tyrone, 4, 5, 6, 205; of Thomond and Clanrickard, 5; of Kildare, Lord Deputy, his disgrace and death, 248
Earldom, of Ulster, 141; when vested in the Crown it became a matter of pride to reduce it, 141; of Tyrone, 4
Earne, Loch, 213, and its island, 147
Earth baths, 2

Easter, Irish mode of determining, 70, 71; time of celebrating, 253
Eatha, 237
Eathach, 45 n
Ebenezer chapel, Down, 51 n
Eccles, Hugh, of Belfast, 232
Ecclesiastical, Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, 44, 45 n; commissioners, 48 n; antiquities observed in Down and Antrim, 23
Echtge, 37 n
Ecliptic, 87
Edenduchar, 157
Edgar, kynge, 113
Edict of Nantes, 180
Edinburgh, 163, 269, 269 n
Education, defective in Ireland, 249; Prince's treatise on, 176
Edward, III., a charter of, 50 n; I., 138; king III., 25, 33, 153 n, 156 n, II., 33, 155 n, 156 n; king (saint or martyr), 112, 113; IV., 41, 43, 159 n; king, establishes sanctuary at Westminster, 112
Eecolmkill, 238
Eel, 162
Eels, 90
E. F., Youghal, 68
E. G., 70
Egiises Reformees du Royaume de France, 224 n
Egypt, 185
Egyptian silver, 185
Eldorado, 98
Elector of Saxony, 255
Electric telegraph, 69
Ellesmere's, Lord, guide to northern archæology, 107
Elizabeth, Queen, time of, 1, 2, 3, 5 6, 7, 38 n, 39, 40; grants to her gallowglasses, 36 n; to Sir R. Greame, 36 n; grant to, Charles McTurlough Mac Donnell, 37 n; to Hugh McChullowe McDonnell, 37 n, 38; visited by Shane O'Neill, 42; Queen, 51, 73 n, 76 n, 83 n, 84 n, 85 n, 97, 98, 99, 117, 126, 126 n, 137, 142, 146, 146 n, 147, 147 n, 149 n, 150, 152, 152 n, 154, 156, 156 n, 157, 157 n, 158, 158 n, 159, 160, 220, 222, 50, 251; Miss Strickland's life of, 83 n; her indignation at attempt to assassinate O'Neill, 219; Camden's annals of, 93 n; strengthens her Irish armies by drawing troops from the Low Countries, 96; sets seriously to reduce Ulster, 142; autograph letter of, 143; question of her title under Earldom of Ulster, 143; freeholds, 250; estates, 250
Elrington's Ussher, 47 n; copy of Fleming, 260
Emperor's notaries prohibited, 33
Encumbered Estates Court, 48 n
Endeus, saint, 160, 161, 161 n
Engineers, 98
England, 67, 112, 142, 144, 152, 168 170, 174, 175, 176, 176 n 245, 246, 247, 248, 252, 261, 263, 269; king of, 56; great seal of, 247
English, 48, 51, 145, 152, 162, 213, 218, 222, 251, 252, 254, 262; laws introduced 246; in Ireland, 248; of Munster, their privilege of trade, 252; men of note discouraged, 249; men of worth to be of the Irish council 152; subsidy, 263; deputy, 56 n; colonies planted in Dublin, 246; law arrangements in Ireland, 247; nobility forfeited estates as absentees, 248; parliament, 248; are denizens of Ireland, 248; in Ulster driven out by Scots, 147 n; counties in Ireland, 146; settlement in Ulster. 142; history, sullied with atrocities in Ireland, 218; council, 219 n, 222, 222, n; parliament, 130; topographical literature, 106, n; language, 162; irreligious, 164;—Irish, hard drinkers, 85, n; settlers in Kiultoe, 152; customs adopted by Gaelic chiefs, 152, n; gentlemen planted in Lecahull, 153; statutes all conformed as law of Ireland, 247; peers take precedence of Irish, but have not votes, 248; do not attract mere Irish in rebellions, 246; language spoken, 246; colonies weakened in the north by Bruce's invasion, 140; colonists adopted Gaelic usages, 140; men, 140; commanders, signatures, 1; of Meath, 36 n; loss at Shruel, 37 n; settlers erect castle, 40; not Irish to guard castles, 41; put battle-axe into the hands of the gallowglasse, 41; pale, 146, 146, n, 147, 150, 222 n, 250, 252; pale, what? inhabited by noblemen and gentlemen, 245, 246; pale, marches, 42
Enis garden (Ram's Island) in Lough Neagh, 150 n
Enniskillen, foot at the Boyne, 272; regiment, 272; dragoons at the Boyne, 10. 13, n
Eniskilleners, 131
Enogh, 90, n
Ensign, pay of, 75, n
Emunctorium, pocket handkerchief, 92, 92, n; its use in Lecale a proof of Saxon or Norman refinement, and if so whether this proof of civilization marks progress or the contrary, 92 n
Entremets, 89 n
Entertainment at Lecale, 78
Epistle dedicatory to Prynne's 4th Institute, 33
Episcopal and capitular seals, 199
Eoghaidh Airgthech, pillar-stone of 62
Erc, 239
Eric, a sheriff's, 144
Erin, 50 n; sunburst of, 164
Erle of Tyrone, 7 n
Erne, Lough, 151 n
Errigal Keerogue, 132 n
Erris, barony, 48 n
Erse, 162
Eske, 162; lough, 48 n
Essex, Lord, comes to Ireland, as lord lieutenant, 96; to send all his forces against Tyrone, 96, 98; sends Sir C. Clifford to invade Connaught. 96 n; his great mistakes in conducting the Irish war, 98, 99; his interview with Tyrone, 98, 99; return to London after Irish campaign, and interview with Elizabeth, 99; his trial and execution, 99 n; his sister marries Lord Mountjoy, 99 n; R. Devereux, earl of, 125; Walter Devereux, earl of, 6, 151 n; his expedition, 151 n; earl of, attempt to conquer Ulster for himself, 148; lord, 74 n, 83 n; earl of, 51 n, 154, 290
Established church, Huguenots joined, 179
Este Saxones, 109
Estrées, duke, 180
Eth, 234, 239, 240; land of, 241
Etha, 237
Ethelbte, kynge of Kente, 109
Ethica, 239 n, 240, n; Insula, 233, 234; terra, 233, 234, 236; reducible to Tiree, 234; a form peculiar to Adamnan, 234, 236, an adjective, 234; spatia pelagi, 234
Ethicus, 237
Ethnology, 107
Ethnological proofs derived from the use of emunctoria, in Lecale, 92; sketches, 160, to 167
Ethnologist, 166
Euboea, 46. n
Eugeni, 283
Eugenius, 190
Euler river, 54 n
Euripus, Feabhail (Foyle) 46 n; ex-

pression applied to narrow-water, 46, 46 n
Europe, 185; its proposed connection with America, 160
European aboriginal remains, 105; comparison with Polynesian, 105
Eustace, Alison, 36, n; Sir Rowland, 36 n, 43
Evaghe, 152
Evans, George, 277 n; T. W. E. 283; Edward, 276; Robert, 276
Excavations of Scotch Cairns, 100
Exchequer, records, 154 n; record office, 33; of Belfast, 31; charged with pension of the Mac Donnells, 38
Exeter, 97, 174
Exham, John, clerk of Hanaper, 124

F

Fac-similes of, Walker's writing, 129 133n; of signatures of Irish chiefs, 1
Faghartach, 50 n
Fagharty, race of, 50 n
Fairhead, 156 n
Fairies, 205
Falkland, 132 n
Falstaff, Sir John, 98
Falquiere, 224, 226; Jane, 226; Isaac, 226; Eliz., 226
Falkirk, 204
Fanait, 50 n
Farnemagh county, 145
Farnmanagh, its contents, chief captain, forces, lakes, buildings, 146 n
Farrer, Mr., of Wardour Street, 67
Farganamyn, Rithmater, 220
Farney, Shirley's admirable work on topography, &c., of 144 n, 145, 146, 150 n, 151 n
Fasach 244; lands, 43
Fastness, O'Neill's, to be secured for the Queen, 142
Fastnesses in lakes, 150 n
Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ, 130 n,
Fathom, 46 n; in Glenree, 151 n
Faughard, 151 n; Tyrone, and O'Donnell, encamp at, 151 n
F. D., 67
Feachna, 239
Fearsat at Newcastle, 49 n
Feddan, 46 n
Fedom, 151
Feilire of Aengus, 50 n
Felones Hybernici, 43
Ferdinand II., emperor, 195
Ferdoragh O'Neill, 4
Fergus, 206
Ferney, 6
Fermanagh, settlement of, 144; county, 46 n
Ferrard, lord, his second title, 46 n
Ferbane, p. 54, n
Ferrers, earl of, 138
Ferrinedonoghtinc, 122
Ferry between Strangford and Portaferry, 53 n
Ferryne, 42
Feudal, system, 138; colonies of Ulster and Connaught, 153, n
Fews, 143, 144. 145, 150
Fibulæ, 186
Fife, 204; shire, 213
Figeac, 171
Finance, questions of arising out of new Irish coinage, 92 n, 93 n
Findchan, 233, 241
Fin-galls, 280
Fingonius, 241
Finn, 263
Finnguine, 241, 241 n
Finnloga, 236, 236 n
Fiodh, 151 n
Fiodha, 150 n
Fionn-lochlann, 237 n
Fiord, 45 n
Fires, Scotch signal place of, 2
Firth, Pentland, 100
Fish, names of, applied to men, 162, trade, 149
Fishermen of the Claddagh, 160, to 167
Fishery of Bann, 149, 149, n
Fitton, Sir Edward, 37 n
Fitz-Alan, Wm., 51 n;-Gilbert Duncan, grant to, 157, n;-Ellyse, Wm. 32, 33;-Walter, Thomas, lord justice 221 n,222; lord deputy, 156 n; -Eustace, Robert, 41;-Gerald-Maurice, 46 n; Simons, 153; Walter Robert, 138;-Herbert, 138;-Eustace Sir Rd constable of Ballymore, 41; Wm. lord justice, 126; -Gerald, Sir John, of Cloyne, and Ballymaloe, 120; Maurice of Castle Liffing, 120; Ellen, 120; Mary, 120; Honora, 120; Thos. Fitzmaurice, 118; Honor, 120. 120 n; Sir James, of Desmond, 120; Jno. seneschal of Imokilly, 120, 120 n; Sir Edmond, 120
Flanders, 82, 94 n, 99; Irish colleges in, 255
Flemings came from Belgium, 254 n; came from England to Ireland, 254 n
Fleming, 255 n, 256; Patrick, 253 254 n; Thos. titular archbishop, 254 n; Richard, 254 n; Christopher 254 254 n 255; Garrett, 146 n; P. his, mode of investigation, 253; his life of Columbanus, 253, 254; his present history, 254; of Belgian and Anglo-Norman race, 254; his family descent, 254; enters Franciscan order, 255; president and theological lecturer, 255; before going to Prague proposes Collectanea for the press, 255; driven from Prague, 255; his murder, 254 n 255, 255, n; burial, 255; St. Columbanus his model, 256; publication of his work, 256; title of his work, 256; its contents, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260; its great rarity, 260; price, 260; possessors of copies, 260; cause of rarity, 260
Flesh-meat, price of, 75 n
Flowerhill, 187, n
Fludde, Wm., notary, 32, 33; capt. Walter, 97 n
Foguy, 178
Folk lore, 196, 197
Fontaine, And., 215
Fontevraud abbey, 208
Food, variety of taste in, 90
Forde, Wm., of Seaford, 50 n
Forests of Derry and Tyrone, 74 n
Forgetfulness of ancient works, 46, 46 n
Fordun, John, 237, 237 n; his Scotichronicon, 52 n, 140 n
Forgend in Fife, 213
Fortescue, Ann, 228
Forth, 204; ford of, 204
Fort or Dun at Downpatrick, 89, 89 n
Forts ordered to be erected, 143
Forfeited estates, French, 171
Four Masters, 6, 7, 8, 36 n, 37, 45 n, 46 n 47 n, 48 n, 49 n, 50 n, 56 n, 67, 145, 148 n, 149 n, 151, 156 n, 215, 216, 221 n, 222 n, 223 n 240, 254 n; reference to, 96 n, 157, 158 n
Foyle, 46 n, 263, 263 n, 148, 148 n, 149, 149 n
France, 108. 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 175, 176, 179, 180, 181, 206, 245, 253; court of, 180; king of invited to aid O'Neill, 2; sends auxiliaries to James, II. 11
Franks, 186;
Frank, tenants, 41
Franciscans, Irish, 253; friars, 85 n; convent Buttevant 197
Frayne in Athboy, 43
Freeholds, Irish, on church lands, 150 n
Free schools, proposals to establish, 159
French, Protestants at the Boyne, 10, 272; settlement in Ireland, 66; settlers in Ireland, 167, 223, 224; scriptures, 224; coast, 83; Pres-

bytery in London, 168; navy, 173, families, 174; Protestant church, London, 176; community of nobles, minister extraordinary to, 176; names, 178 179 n; Protestants settled at Lisburn, 179; proverb, 179; chapels deserted, 179; soldiers on both sides at the Boyne, 16, n
Freshford, 215
Frobisher, 98
Froyle, in Hampshire, 96, n
Fryer's, bog, (Down) 51 n; lane, (Down) 51 n
Fue's country, 146 n, 149
Funeral customs in the building of cairns, 106
Furnival, lord, 41

G

Gael, Scotch and Irish, 139
Gaelic, people of Ireland, 218; tongue, 220; races, resisted the introduction of the feudal law, 221 n; chief of Ulster, mode of life of, 137; rule in Ireland, 138; policy to offer no temptation to invaders, 139; chiefs, some of them inclined to adopt English customs, 152 n; customs, 155 n
Galam ap Liennaue, 205
Galgacus, 71, 205
Galgahann, 205
Gal-glee, the courageous hand (gallowglasse) 42
Gallanach, 244
Gall-ogla, the English waiter (gallowglasse) 42
Galloglach, in the Western Isles, an armour bearer, 42
Gallowglasses, 34, 35, 36 n, 38, 41, 42, 124; how appointed, 41, 42; the service of this body to the English, 41; as described by Stanihurst, 41: allowance to, in lieu of coyne and livery, 42; the derivation of term, 42; Jenkins supposes them Scotch, 42; Scottish, 37 n; to be kept at Tennekille, 38, 38 n; to attend governor and go against Irish, 38
Galway, 37, 37 n, 160, 161, 162, 166, 167; bay, 160, 161; state of society in, 161; its connection with Spain, 162; county, 162; warden of, 162; fish market, 163
Gallway, John, 282
Galmoye, Lord, 14. 14 n
Galmonstown castle, 42
Gambling, 93
Game, pies, 88; of skiver or skewer the goose, 94, 94 n
Garonne. 172
Garran, 178
Garrycastle barony, 54 n
Garth, 174
Garthe, 51 n
Gascony, 162
Gastronomy, archæology of, 88 n
Gaul, 185, 186, 253
Gavelkind. 138, 138 n
Geese, stuffed, 88, 88 n
Genealogical MS. 241 n
Geneste, Louis, 170; Daniel, 170; visits France in hope of recovering estates, his report thereon, 171; Marguerite, 170; family, 170; Gerard de, 170; Jacob de, 170; Gabriel de, 170
Geneva, 67. 97, 175
Genevese bible, 224, 224 n
Genterry, 42, 122
Genu, 224
George I. 31; II., 176: III., 176; IV; deputation to, on Catholic emancipation, 178
Geraldines, 196, 280; revolt in Munster, 120
Germany, 82, 175 n. 176 n; Pearsall's researches in, 41
German, 78
Gernonston. 146 n
Gernon, of Drumoghan, 146 n; of Gernonston, 146 n
Gerrard. Sir Thomas, attempts to plant Glynnes, &c., 143
Giant's, graves of Ireland, 106. 107; some cruciform but chambers never vaulted, 106. 107; chambers of Scandinavia, 103 n; causeway, 187, 187 n
Giles family, 174. 280
Gillebride, 241. 241, n
Gilles family, 174
Gillet family, 174
Gillot family, 174
Gilmour, Mr., finds coins. 182, 183
Giraldus Cambrensis, 45 n, 49 n; quoted, 208, 209
Givan, John, in Belfast, 232
Glanarme, 155, 157
Glandore harbour, county Cork, 50 n
Glaun-mor 280
Glasgow, 161, 166. 237, 269. 269 n; city record, 269 n; university, 269 n: college, 131
Glaspestell, 146 n
Glastonbury. 174
Gleanings from country churchyards, 198
Glenree, 151 n
Glenoe, 262
Glenfinlass, 205
Glenarm, 2; castle, 121; manor, 155 n
Glen-da-lough, church of, 24
Glen Taisi, battle of, where? 39 n
Glencullin, 196
Glentegys, 48 n
Glenconken, wood of, a fastness of Hugh, O'Neill, 74, 74. n, 96 n; called by O'Donovan Glean Concadhain, where situated? 74 n
Glenelly, 129 n
Glenconcan, 157 n; fastness, 147 n
Glenurchy, 210
Glin-Seichis, 48 n
Glendun, 155 n
Glensechis, 44
Glenelg, 46 n
Glynarm, 157 n
Glyns, 157
Glynnes, 143, 154, 155 155, n, 156 156 n; baronies, 155
Glynns, 141
Gaol delivery, Ulster, 25
Goat's stone, 196
Goban Saor, 71; Goban the mason, who? 71
Godefrey, 181
Godefroy, 181
Godolphin, 96 n
Godred, king of Man, 51 n, 56 n
Goliath, 164
Gornal, 178
Gothard, 178
Gothic, type, 161; origin of Scotch stone monuments questioned, 105
Governors of Derry, 264 n
Grace before meat, 78
Grace's annals, 52 n, 54 n, 56 n, 149 n, 153 n, 156 n
Græme, Sir Rd., 36, n; grants to, by Elizabeth, 36 n; bound to keep gallowglasses and horses, 36 n; family, purchases by, 36 n; Geo., 36, n; sent to Ireland by James I., 36 n
Graham's, Derry, 266 n, 267 n; history of Ireland, 269 n; John, Rev. 276 277; Ireland Preserved, 129 n, 130 n, 131 n, 132, n, 269 n, 272 n: Iona, 239 n; Derriana, 129 n
Grainey, 162, 167
Gratian, 187 n, 139
Granard Cistercian monks, of, 52 n
Grattan, John, 277; on Walker's skull, 277
Graves of the giants of Ireland, 107 n

Graves, Dr, on Oghams, 60; one of his readings, 66, 197
Gray, Mr., Castle-place, Belfast, 197
Grey, Abbey, 55, 55 n; lord, 152, 153 n; Leonard, 52 n; deputy, destroys abbey of Down 210; his expedition into Lecahull, 153 n
Greagraighe of the heroes, 237 n
Greamsary, 244
Greece, 185
Greek, silver, 184, 185; authors, 77
Gregg, Rev. T, 10
Green, Miss, of Youghal, 118 n; Simon 225; park, Youghal, 226,
Greencastle, 149, 149 n, 152 n; taken from certain felons, 153 n
Griffin, 162
Grimalkin, (a cat) 206
Gros-Cheret, 170 n
Guard Island, 142, 148 n
Guerin, 181
Guide to northern archæology, 107 107 n
Guienne, 170
Guillot family, 173, 174
Guilton, Mons, 168
Guin, 226
Guise, cardinal, 2
Guyenne, 167

H

Hackett, Mr., 280; a fanatic, 73 n his execution, 73 n
Haidsyor of Keppogh, 146 n
Haidsor Rd, 245
Hagans, 147, 150
Hague, 176
Haggerston family, 97 n
Hair powder used by boys, 174 n
Hake, 162
Halberdiers, 41
Haliday, Ed., 240 n
Hall, Roger, 46 n
Ham, 180, 181
Hamilton, general, 266, 272; sends his addresses into Derry in bombs, 267, 267 n; James, 55 n; Andrew, Rev., 132 n
Hamlet, quoted in illustration of Bodley, 91 n
Hampshire, 96 n
Hampton Court, 269
Hanmer, referred to, 40
Hand, St. Patrick's, 207, 208, 210; of Sir T. Heyden, 217 n
Hanaper office, 124
Hanmer, Dr., 156 n
Hanson, captain, 200, 201
Harbison, Mr, D., 9, 18, 19
Hardiman, Mr., 160
Harris', 255 n, 272 n, 273, n; Ware, reference to, 130 n, 131 n; Hibernica, quoted, 40; list of islands in Strangford lough, 54 n; King Wm., 262 n, 263 n, 266 n, 267 n, 268 n; Down, 25, 42, 47 n, 48, n, 49 n, 50 n, 51 n, 52 n, 53 n, 55 n, 89, n; map of Down, 50, n
Harrington, Sir Henry, 97 n
Harpool, George, 38 n
Hawks and hounds, 198
Hawkins, Ellen, redeemed from slavery, 284
Hayes, 226
Hayman, S. H., 223, 279, 280; Matthew, 229
Haytown, 51 n
Hearne, captain, 222
Hebor, Mr., his copy of Fleming, 260 descendants of. 221 n
Hebrides, 34, 39; lord of, 36, 39, 51, n
Hebridean Scots, murder O'Neill, 2; are punished by his successor, 3
Heidh (Armorican) 237
Helipoll. 243, 244 (name) 238
Henry VIII., 4, 7 n, 49, 51 n, 117, 138, 246, 247, 248; first King of Ireland, 246; seizes on lands of English nobility in Ireland 248; also the Irish nobility's, English estates, 248; time of, 40; VII., time of, 43; attempts to reduce Ulster, 141, 158; pensions lord of the Isles, 159 n; IV., 112, 113, 114, 149 n; II., king, 158; his tomb, 208; did not imitate policy of Wm., but allowed Irish kings, &c. to remain in the country, 246; VII, his regulation of Ireland, 247
Henschenius, Godefrid, 256
Herbert, Thomas, 281
Hermitage, Mourne, 49 n
Herr Van Puzzlem, 71
Heron, Sir Nicholas, 222 n
Herons of the borders, 222 n
Heremon, descendants of, 221 n
Heth, 237
Heyden, Sir T., 217, n 218
Heynish, 243, 244 (name) 238
Hibernia, 208; Dominicana, quoted, 118, n; 120, 120 n
Hiberno-Latin, 46 n;-Celtic, 162, 163
Hicks, Sir Michael, secretary to Lord Salisbury, 98
Higgins's Celtic Druids, 101 n
High Street, Belfast, 30
Highlander, 204
Hiland, John, notary, 32
Hillsboro, 10 174
Hill, forts, 100; of Dowth, 100, n 105; where O'Neile is made, 149 n
Hinba Island, 237
Hinck's plates of linen manufacture, 285
Hippocrates, 82
Historic doubts, 283
Historian, 166
Hitchcock, Mr., 198; on Oghams, 60, 63
Hith, 237
Hithe, 235, 235 n; monastery, 235
Hith-land, 233, 234 n, 235, 235 n, 236 236 n; used for Ethica, 244
Hoar, Mathew, 255
Hoare, Sir R. C., 106 n
Hock Massarene, 205
Hodges & Smith, their copy of Fleming, 260
Holland, 67, 169, 170, 173, 176 n, 18,
Holm Cultram, in Cumberland 56 n
Holy war, 167
Honorius 184 n, 185, 187 n, 190
Hooker, the chronicler, 220
Horace, 77; quoted, 82, 84
Hore, abbey, 55 n; H. F., 126, 145, 205; Sir John, of Shandon Castle 120
Horizon, 87
Horse Shoe superstition, 206
Horseman, pay of, 75 n
Horsemen, kept for Acregar, 38 n
Hospital, of St. John the Baptist, 50 n; of St. John of the English, 50 n, 51 n
Hospitallers, 50 n
Hough, 237; (name) 238
Houlson, 283
House of Lords, 178
Howth, 196; lord, 254 n
H. P., 285
Hudson, W. E., his copy of Fleming, 260
Huede (Danish) 237
Hugh Gaveleach O'Neill, 2
Hughes, G. D., 277 n, 130 n
Huguenot, 169, 223; settlers, 66, 67; at the Boyne, 14 n, 16 n; at Cork, merchants at Youghal, military men, 224; had no separate church service at Youghal, 224; Irish House of Commons recommended endowment of their clergy at Lisburn; their hope of recovering their properties; joined established church and abandoned their own chapels, 179; desire of returning to France, 180; refusal of Louis XV., 180; certificate to two ladies, 180, 181; spinning wheel, 181; colony at Lisburn. 167; decree of

Nantes assembly professing to restore their estates, 170, 171; preachers, 172
Human remains, in round tower, 280; at Tiree, 241; in cairns, 102
Hume, Dr., 18, 19, 21; Mr., of Belfast, 9
Hunt, incident at, 2
Hy, 240; abbot of, 241; Baithene, abbot of, 240; Fiachrach, 240 n
Hynish, 237
Hyt, (Cornish) 237
Hyth Island, 234

I

Idolatrie, 125
Idrone, 222 n
I.H S, 207
Iland Magye, 154; belongs to castle of Carrickfergus, 154
Illegitimacy did not bar succession under law of tanistry, 4, 7
Illustrated London News, an erroneous statement in, 116
Image, miraculous, of Youghal, now at Cork, 120; of Virgin at Youghal, 118, 119
Imokilly, 120
Imperial library, Paris, 193
Iubhar, 47 n; chin-tragha, 47 n
Inchiquin, Dermoid Lord, 120
Inchaffray, abbot of, 213, 213, n.
Indian tobacco, 90
Indenture, curious, 38
Inch, 46 n; island, 266; monks of, 52 n
Iriell, 146
Innes, Robert, 100; Miss of Thrumster, 107
Inis, 52 n; Coucry, 52 n; Cumscraidh, 52 n
Inishowen, castle, 149 n; lord of, 8
Innis, or Inch, 52 n; James Thomas, 233, 233 n
Innerth, 157 n
Innishannon, French settlers at, 67
Inish-na-gardy, 142
Inscriptions on shrine of St. Lachtin, 215, 216
Insulense or Insulanum, 52
Inquisition, 3 n; Ed. VI. 47 n; at Youghal, 117; post mortem, of Hugh Bui Macdonnell, when held, 38 n; a second 38 n; of Calvagh McDonnell, 38
Inquisitions of Leinster, quoted, 42
Inyshkellyn, 146 n
Iona, 35, 210, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 239 n 241
Ir, descendants of, 221 n; race of, 49 n
Ireland, 51, 160, 161, 162, 164, 169, 170 172, 173, 175, 176 n, 177, 186, 218, 218 n, 219, 153 n, 156 n, 159, 139, 49 n, 223, 252, 239, 240, 245, 246, 234, 235, 235 n, 236 n, 280, 205, 248, 242, 254. 272, 252, 262, 200, 247, 208, 210, 211, 215; treasurer of, 254, 254 n; marshal of, 254 n; ruled as a distinct kingdom, 247; lord of, 246; to be united in feeling with Great Britain, 250; its fertility, how divided, 245; petty kings of, 245; chief king of, 245; division into counties, baronies, &c., 245; conquest of, 247; its viceroys since, 247; preserved, 269 n; prosperous while governed by English and their descendants, 246; monarch of, 56 n; has no mint, 248; plan for its reduction, 250; its monasteries, 253; learned men should be advanced, 251; great seal of, 247; French settlers in, 167; silver manufactured in, 185, 186; its intercourse with Roman provinces, 185; unfortunate management of, in 16th century, 218; lord justice of, 222 n; Moryson's history of, 5; south of, its antiquities, 22; north, its antiquities, 22; governor of Macdonnell's gallowglasses, to attend in, 38; its castles of two kinds, 40; king's castles in, 40; MS. account of its reduction, 40; treasurer of, 79, 79 n; north of, common game in, 94 n; wild and uncultivated, temp Elizabeth, 95; troops sent to, from Low Countries, 96; forfeited estates in, grants of, 98; reformation of 153 n; reformation in, 146; north of, 145; how affected by Bruce's invasion, 140; High constable of, 146 n; salmon fisheries, 149 n; plan for reformation of, 152 n; Dymock's notice of northern counties, 137; state of north part as described by Bagenal, 137; and Wales conquest of, compared, 138; retained gavelkind and repartition till 17th century, 138; east side ravaged by northmen, 45 n; its pagan deities, 196; hawks and hounds, 198
Irish, 153 n 251, 252, 262; bad treatment of by certain monks, 52 n; hagiological movement, 255; calendar, 253, 255; coin made in England, 248; rebels, 248; kings &c., received into allegiance by Henry II., 246; missionaries earliest, 70, 253; college at Prague, 255, 256; ecclesiastical literature, 253; Franciscans, their exertions in favor of literature, 253; baron of exchequer, 254; if united would be dangerous rebels, 249; church lands, 251; army, proposals to reduce, and trust to the inhabitants, 250; ethnology, 67; corp. commission, 205; lands to be settled by a fixed tenure, 251; Christian saints and bishops put sign of cross on pillar-stones, 61; nobles and gentlemen to be councillors of state, 250; commons, 274, 274 n; forces at the Boyne, 272; use of salt by, 205; annals, 240; lords held by tanistry, 246; laws, how passed, 247; saints, lives of, 234; history illustrated, 245; Franciscans, 255; town and cities planted with English, 246; council, how to be constituted, 252; statutes, assent to, 247; library, 253; meere, 248; chronicle, 248; council of state proposed, 250; viceroy, 250; uncivil for want of education, 249; church, its discipline, 253; house of lords 274n; parliament, 247; rebels, 251; courts of justice, 252; army, 263 Christian architecture, 68; parliaments, 247, 248; certificate of acts to be sent to king under great seal of Ireland, 247; have no voice in electing viceroy under their charters, elect their magistrates, 247; man may be viceroy by royal appointment, 247; nobles give place to English, and have no votes in English house, 248; peers mode of trial, 248; men are English citizens, pay same duty as English, 248; Wardships, 248; titles of honour granted under great seal of England, 248; grants are under great seal of England, 248; church, 215; Itinerary of Ed. MacCana, 44, 45, 217; fishery stations, 160; people, 160; bar, 177; episcopal and capitular seals, 199; merchants imported silver, 186; did not use Roman money, 186; merchants mode of payment, 186; art, how affected by Roman, 186; and Scotch soldiers of fortune, 196; bells, 197; chiefs complained of broken faith, 218; lords deceived, 220; dread of sarcasm, 220; chief's signatures, 1; men as suppliants,

I: ballads, 9; Protestants, 9; Christian churches, general description of, 23; Quarterly Magazine, 23; enemies, 40, 41; said to leave right arm unchristened, 41; chiefs employing Scotch, 42; archæology, 44; Franciscans, 44; archæologists, 100; antiquities, 101, n; tumuli, 105; giant's graves, 106; bed chamber, 78; gentry, amusements of, 92; coins, Simon on, 93 n; Archæological Society, 97 n, 137; drunkenness, 85, 85 n; described as living without houses, 138; resist change of law of tanistship, 139; Spencer's wish to trace some of their surnames to British origin, 140; chiefs had more ground than the greatest English nobles, 142; grants to be made to, 142; spoil the Pale, 146 n; men, 140; chiefs assisted by Scotch against English in the north, 140; archæological publications, 140 n; history, 140 n; counties to be reduced to civility, 143; captains to civilized, 143; driven out or subjected by Scots, 147 n, 148 n; topographical history, 150 n; slain at Moyrey Pass, 151 n; correspondence in the State Paper Office, 137; shire ground, 138; annalists contract proper names, 44; annals, 45 n; gave name to districts, the Saxon custom was the contrary, 45 n; calendar, 47 n
Irishe lorde, 156
Irishry, 152, 157
Irisshe capteyns of the north, 140
Ita, 148
Island of Corn (Tiree) 237; house, (Tiree) 243
Island Magy, 157
Islands of Lough Cuan, 53 n
Isle of Man, 153 n, 170
Israelites at the Red Sea, 265
Italy, 253
Ith, 237; descendants of, 221 n
Itinerary of Father McCana, 44, 45; manuscript preserved at Brussels, 44
Itinerarium in Hibernia, 44
Iveagh, 45, 45 n, 47, 48 n, 49 n, lord, 47, 47 n, 211; upper and ower baronies, 45 n; viscount, 16 n, 47 n
Ivechia, 48 n, 50

J

Jacob, Ed., 42; grant to, 38 n
Jacson, Father Wm., 254
Jættestuer of Scandinavia 106, 107 n; sometimes cruciform, but never with vaulted chambers, 106, 107 n;
James I., 51 n, 256 n, 55 n, 245, 139, 147 n, 22, 25, 38 n, 42, 48 n 84 n, 97 n, 98; sends Scotch borderers to Ireland, 36 n.
James II., 262, 273 n, 261, 262, 263; at Boyne, 272; guards at the Boyne, 272; crown grant of confirming enjoyment of a relic, 214; his forces at the Boyne, 11 n, 13 n; act of attainder by his parliament, 132 n; not the originator of brass money, 93 n
Jenkins Lionel, his opinion of the meaning of gal'owglasse, 42
Jellett, family, 173, 174; Wm. 174; Mr., preached at Durham, 174; Mrs., curious interview with King Wm., and anecdote, 174; Rev. John H., F.T.C.D., 174; captain Henry, 174; Morgan, Esq., presented copy of Solemn League, and Covenant to Belfast Museum, 174, 174 n
Jephson, Captain 73, 73, n, 74 n, 84, 96, 96 n, 97 n, 98; Sir Denham 96 n; his personal history, 96 n; his exploits, 96 n; Wm. of Froyle, in Hampshire, 96 n
Jewelled gloves, 207
Johannes Duns Scotus, 71, 208; de Insulis, dominus de Dunwage et de Glynne, 156 n
John, King, 247, 203, 162, 158; earl, 208; held his court at Carrickfergus, 138, 138 n; why he stopped at Holywood, 203
Johnson, Captain, 74 n.
Johnstone, Ed., 51 n, Dr. 9; Mr. of Ballykilbeg, house, 10; Wm. his halfpenny token, 30, 31
Jordan's 153 town, 285; castle, 285
Jones, 162; Val. of Belfast, 169
Josepha, 162
Journey of Captain James Bodley, 73 n
Jovianus, 188
Judas, 111, 114
Judges, Irish, should be good, 250; of Irish counties, 250
Julian II., 188
Jurors, Irish, 251
Justice should be administered in Ireland, 250; administration of, 252

K

Karrick-Fergus, 56, 56 n
Kavanaghs of Idrone, 222 n
Kavanagh, Murragh, 222 n; son of Maurice, 222 n; Caher Mac Art, 222 n
Kean, Aaron, Malone, 232
Keating, 53 n, 47 n, 48 n, 49 n; his history, 240, 240 n
Kellics, 152; a savage people, 152
Kelis, 243, 244
Keltar of Ulster, his Dun, 51 n
Kennavara, 242, 237
Kenny, Wm., 131 n
Kennacht, 153 n
Kenoway, 241, 244
Keppogh, 146 n
Kerne, 41; how appointed, 41, 42; Irish, 249
Kernes, 35, 39; general of, 35; how armed, 35
Kerry, Patrick, Lord of, 120
Kesshbargue, castle of the new fashion built at, 41
Keylultagh, 152 n
Kickshaws, trifles, 89 n
Kilbrony church, 48 n
Kilcoo, p. 48 n
Kilkenny, Arch Society, 106 n
Kilmallock, 120
Kilmore, p. 130, 130 n
Kilmore and Ardagh, bishop of 132
Kilnekessaghe, 122
Kilnacash, 122
Kilmongan, 123
Kilmainham, 123
Kilcubin, 51 n
Kilroot in connexion with Swift, 71
Kilsyth, 204
Kilkenny, 215; Arch. Society's transactions, 195; castle, tapestry, 195; castle, 197, 198; Co. cross-legged effigies, 197
Kilmegan, p. 48 n
Kilternan, 196
Kilshannys Bell, 197
Kilcronnaght, p. 74 n
Kilfillan, 213
Kilulto, 151
Kilwarlyn, 151, 152
Kiltoe, 152
Kiltagh, 152
Kilwaren, 152
Kilcolyn barony, 43
Kilmainham near Dublin, 32
Kilronan annals, 36
Kildare, Maurice Fitz Thomas Earl of, 40; county, 40, 41, 43, 45 n; earl of, lord justice, 41
Kilcommon, the largest parish in Ireland, 48 n

Kilkeel, p. 48 n, 49 n
Kilchennichmor, 235; beg, 235
Kilfinnan, 238
Kilbride, 238
Kilwillan, 238
Kildare, 210; Gerald, 8th earl of, 36 n, 37; earl of, 248. 157 n, 153, 51 n; his power, 36 n, 222, 222 n; Leeahull his inheritanee, 153; county 245
Kilkenny, 235; Freneh settlers at, 67; book of, 235 n, 236 n; tradesmen's tokens, 198
Kileoran, 280
Kilbride, 238, 244; Brigid's church in Tiree, 241
Kilfinnaig, 244
Kilelief, (hurdle church), 53 n
Kilpatrick, John, in Belfast 232
Kilchennich chapel, 235
Kilkennich, chureh, 241, farm, 242, 244
Kilfinnan, 241,
Kilehainnich, 238
Kilmoluag, 238, 242 244
Killin Seon, 50; chureh of St. John, 50
Killinehy, 53 n
Kill Cummar, burned, 54 n
Killarney, 206
Killeedy, 234
Killala, Wm. Smith, bishop of, consecrates Donaghmore chureh, 134
Killard, 51 n
Killyleagh, P. 54 n
Killaloe, dean of, 176 n; bishop of 36 n
Killetra, woods of, 147 n
Kill-Snabha monastery, 45, 45 n; number of monks in, 45; wasted by pirates, 45 45 n; only the abbot eseaped, 45; in O'Meath, 46 n; some account of, 45 n
Kill-an-Snaw, 45 n
Killevy, 46 n
Killdallan ehureh, 47, 47 n
Kill-ruaidh, 44
Killough, 24
King, should preside sometimes at eourt and councils, 252; Wm., 264, 264 n, 269; William's pilot, 69; appoints judges &c., in Ireland, 247; grants titles under great seal of England, 248; John 205; first, of Ireland, 246
Kings, of Ireland, 48 n; beneh, Ireland, subject to that of England, 248; of England rule Ireland as a separate kingdom, 247; county, 54 n; country of Leeale, 153 n; farmed by lord treasurer, 153 n; castles in Ireland, list of, 40; Munimenta Antiqua referred to 101
Kinnelfagartay, 50 50 n
Kinnard ogham, 63, 64; cross on, 63, 64
Kinsale, 5, 84, 84 n, 96 n; siege of 36 n, 90 n, 97 n;
Kimmeridge eoal money, 198
Kinalarty barony, 50 n
Kinalewrty, 151
Kinalewrtie, 152
Kinelarty, 52 n; barony, 45 n
Kirk, general, 269; major general, 266 267
Kirkapoll, 238, 244; bay, 241
Kerstown, 211
Kiss of the Virgin, 41
Knight's Cyclopedia of London, reference to, 114
Knock, church, 56 n; Breda, 56 n; Columkill, 56 n; a-ehlaodh, 243, 243 n, 244;-fergus, 149 n, 154; river of, 154; castle, 40; haven of, 154; Mary, tomb, 196;-nagoran, 46 n
Knox, Dr., 163; his Raees of Men referred to, 163 n
Kyle, Rhea, 46 n;-Akin, 46 n
Kyles of Bute, 46 n
Kylkeoran, Michael de, joins Bruce in his invasion, 155 n
Kylwarlyn, eapten of, 160
Kymrie, 205

L

La Brel, 178; Briol, 178
L'Abbadie, 178
Labady, 178
Labatte, 224, 227; Isaac, 227; Jos., 227; Elizabeth, 227; Peter, 227; John, 227; family of Kilkenny, 227 n
Lachlin, 217
Lacy, Hugh de, 51 n; joined Bruce in his invasion, 155 n
Lade, 155
Lagan, river, 254 n; bridge, 254 n; townland, 254; river divides counties of Louth and Monaghan, 98, 99
Lake Cuan, 50, 50 n, 52; its mouth, 53, 53 n; its salmon, 50; its fertile lands, 50; Lir, 45, 45 n
Languedoe, 162, 167, 169, 175; Lower, 168
Languel, 178
Lann, Leire, 46 n; mhic Luachain (Lynn) 46 n
Land in Ireland, belonged to the clan, not to the chief, 138; its divisions, how regulated, 138
Lancashire Castle, Lisburn, 206, 283
Lancaster, house of, 248
Land of Hugh, 237 n
Lanigan, Dr., quoted, 209
Lansdowne MS., reference to, 237 n
La Plucette, 276 n
Laragh, 42; castle and lands of, 38 n
Larne, 155
Larragh, 122
Laragh, 122
Latin, language used by O'Neill in his letters, 220; inscriptions on silver, 185; authors, 77; speaking, 80
Lascelles, 178; Chr., 124; Liber Hib. 153 n
Lawson, 283, 133; Thomas, Clerk, 133
Laws, Eng., of different kinds introduced into Ireland, 246
Law, Irish, tanist, 7; Eng., 7, 8
Lauragh, 42
Laval, 169, 169 n
Lavalade family, 169
Lausanne, 175 n
Lea, p. 122
Leaba, (bed or grave), 196
Leabhar-na h-Uidhre, 62
Leac, 196
Lear, gen., lir, the sea, 45 n
Leeale, 50 n, 53 n, 74, 76, 83, 23, 96 n, 92, 97 n, 141; proofs of advancing civilization in, 92 n; Thomas, Viseount, 526 n; governor of, 52 n; annoyed by Scots, 147 n; to be recovered, 142; visit to, 73, 73 n, 76, 96; barony, 192; amusements, in, 80 n
Leeahull, 151, 152, 153, 153 n
Ledrue, 178
Lee, Captain, 151 n; statement of, 144 n
Lefevre, 178
Lecayll, 153 n; its eastles taken and warded for the Lord Treasurer, 153 n; a beautiful eountry, 153 n
Legardere, 224, 227
Legends of Roman coins explained, 191
L'Eglise Walonne de Lejde, 180
Leicester, 83 n, 93; lord, 142
Leighlin, 222 n; castle, 222 n
Leinster, 215, 253; kingdom of, 254, n; inquisitions, 42; gallowglasses, 35 n; McDonnells of, 26 n; settlement of, 37 n; memorial for winning, 148 n; perambulation of,

146 n; Duke of, 118 n; kings of, 222 n
Leix, 36, 38, 96 n; castles of, 34;
Leland, quoted, 42, 43
Lempriere, 224, 228; Clement, 228
Lennox, 205
Lent, 75
Leo X., 69
Leroy, 178
Lesley the Scotch historian, 213
Lessan, p. 131, 132, 135
Letters, ancient form of address put on, 92 n; patent to James MacDonnell, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125
Leth Cathel, 50 n, Cailia, 53, 53 n; Cathail, 53 n
Lettres de cachet, 180
Lewis, the (island) 233, 234
Leyden, 181
Leynster, province of, 250
Leynstre, 245
Library, Irish, 253 n
Libran, 239
Liberties of Carlingford, 46 n
Lieutenants, Irish, 250; pay of, 75 n
Liffer, 147
Lifford, 90 n, 262, 263, 268; lord, 170; (Port-na-citri-namhad) 148 n
Light infantry, 98
Lilli-bur-lero, 12 n, 13 n
Limerick, 216, 221; co. 234; castle, 40
Limoges work, 193, 194
Lingfield, Mrs. R., 118 n
Linen trade, 179
Lipsana, 210
Lisburn, 173, 174 n, 274 n, 206, 211, 177, 179, 169, 170, 172; French settlers at, 67, 167, 179; vestry book, 180; Huguenot colony, 180; linen colony at, 169
Liskley, 46 n
Lislea, 46 n
Lismore, 242, 242 n; inscription, 62
Lissan, p. 272 n
List of local tokens, 230, 231, 232
Little Ards, 151
Liverpool, 161
Llandovery, 174
Local tokens, 230, 285; of Ulster, 29
Loch, Laodh, 56; (Belfast lough) 56 n; Ard, 205; Cuan, 54, 54, n; Laogh, 44; Carling, 45, 45, n; Alsh, 46 n
Lodge, reference to, 118 n, 120, 120 n
Logan, Jno., 155 n; one of the murderers of earl of Ulster, 153 n
Loghe, Eaghe, 152, 154; Strangford, 153 n
Lombard, Peter, 85 n; could not reside in Ireland, 85 n
Lombardic legends, 116 n
Loghtie, 146
Lokart, Will., Belfast, 232
London, 264 n, 269, 109, 137, 168, 176 n, 193, 97; mayor and aldermen, 88; Derry, (see Derry) 261; visited by O'Neill, 2, 131. n, 132 n
Londure, 181; synod of, 168
Long Causeway, 263
Lord, of the Isles, 34, 35, 39; poem, 159 n; (John,) 154 n, 156 n; pensioned by Henry VIII., 169 n; his titles, 156 n;-ship of Omee, 46 n; justices, 39; deputy and council, 149 n; deputy, 147, 147 n; mayor's feasts, 88
Lorraine, 175 n; cardinal, 2
Loth, 237
Lough, Insholin, 142, 148 n; Coe, 142; Corrib, 161; Neagh, 54 n, 67; Foyle, 148, 148 n; proposal to inhabit by Dutchmen, 251; Swilly, 266, 267; Cone, 53n; Orbison (Corrib) 44; brickland, 11n; Erne, caol, applied to a part of, 46 n; Swylic, 148; Eske, 148 n; castles on, 149; Coc island, 150, 150 n; Neagh, island in, 150 n
Louis, King, 16 n, 18 n; XIV., 173, 175, 180; XV., 180
Louth, 48 n; county, 40. 43 45 n, 46 n, 138, 141, 145, 245. 205; sheriff of, 43; ravaged by pirates, 45 n, 144; perambulation of, 146 n
Loundres, 155 n; Sir Wm., 155 n
Louvain, 256; college, 255 255 n, 256; Irish Franciscans at, 44
Low Countries, 83 n, 96; wars, history of, 83 n; troops sent from, to Ireland, 90 n, 96, 98
Lowha abbey, 217
Louth, lord baron, 146; county 97 n, 99; how bounded; its inhabitants, &c, 145; its principal inhabitants, 146, 146 n; principal surnames, 146; list of residents, 146 n
Loyalty of English settlers in Ireland, 246
Lucullan entertainment, 77
Lugh or Luc, the name, 64
Lughaidh of Lismore, 242. 242 n
Lune, barony, 155 n; baron, 155 n
Luke, 162
Lundy, 263, 264; lieut. col. Robert, 262, 263; his treachery, 263; deposed from his office, 263; escapes, 263; lands in Scotland, is arrested and sent prisoner to London, 263; a Scotchman, 263 n; attainted by James's parliament, 263 n; excluded from act of indemnity, 263 n, cashiered, 263 n
Lung, townland, 240; river, 240
Lurgan, 10
Luxeuil, 253
Lyffer castle, 168
Lymbevadie castle, 149
Lymrycke, 221
Lymerick city, 245
Lynch law, 98
Lynn, 46 n
Lyons, 42
Lyte Rev. H. F., 132 n; Mrs. has Walker's watch, 132 n

M

Mac, 246
Macartan family, their generosity to the church, 50; Felix, of Lisle, 50 n; Dr. Andronicus, 50 n; family, 50 n; their principal seat, 50 n; their burial place, 50 n
Mac Awnleys, 186
Mac Aengus, Mac Gennis, Guiness, 44
Mac Anna, (McCann) 44
Mac Artan, (McCartan, Cartan,) 44, 45 n; family, 49, 49 n
Macbeth, 35
Mac Caughwell, Hugh, titular Primate, 255
Mac Carnocks, 156
Mac Canns, 54 n
Mac Cana, 54 n; the chief of this name fell in the battle of Down, 55 n; Father Edmund, 44, 45; a Franciscan friar, 44; his family, 44; his account of Sanda, 217
Mac Conor, Lord of Thomond, 221 n
Mac Cartan family, 49, 49 n
Mac Carten's country, 143
Mac Carthy, 216, Tadhg, 216; Righ, 216; Rig-dhamna of Munster, 216
Mac Donnell, Fergus, son of Hugh Boy, 38 n; his possessions, 38 n; Inquisition of Hugh, 38 n; Fergus, grant by, 38 n; Terence, grant to, 38 n; his attainder, 38 n; high praise of, in Annals, 38 n; Alexander, son of John Cathanach of John Scotland, his sons, 38 n; James, 38 n; wounded, 38 n; taken prisoner, 38n; death, 38 n; Angus, 38 n; slain, 38n; Sorley, 38 n; James, 39; a leader of the confederate Catholics, 39; reward for his head, 39; property confiscated, 39
Mac Denise, 216
Mac Donnells of Leinster, their genealogy, 39; Flora, 39; Ronald,

of Scott, 39; of the gallowglasses, 39; of Tenekille, 36 n, 37; a wealthy family, 37; of Rahen, 36 n; of Wicklow, 36 n; Alexander filius Terentii, 38; Calvagh, post mortem inquisition, 38; time of his death, 38; Hugh Boy, his death 38, 38 n; Fergus, his death, 38; of Western Isles, 35; Alexander, of Antrim, 35; Surley, 36; Callen, son of Hugh, 36; Marcus, 36; Leinster branch of, 36; Turlough Oge, 36; John, "the best captain of the English," 36; Colla, son of Colla, 36; the last patent granted to them forfeited, 125; family, 217, 222 n; captains of the O'Neill gallowglasses, 222 n; letters patent to James, of Tenekilly, 211, 122, 123 124, 125; manorial rights to hold courts, &c., granted, 123; to attend hostings, 123; to give one plow-day annually, 124; to use the English language and dress, 124; to appear on a fixed day and give in names of family, &c., 124; of Leinster, three septs of, 37; of Queen's County, 37; of Talbot's-town, 37; Calvagh, constable of gallowglass, 37; Hugh Boy, 37; Alexander, 37; of Antrim pedigree, 156 n; their lands, how got or kept, 156 n

Mac Donnell, Gillespie, 36; Sorley Roe, 36; Alexander filius Terentii Malmore, 37; Alexander, 36 n; Donnell Oge, his death, 36 n; gallowglasses of, killed, 36 n; their hereditary bravery, 36 n; Conor Oge, 36 n; Conor Caoch, constable of gallowglasses, 36 n; Malmorey Mac Edmund extensive grants to, 36 n; forfeited by him, 36 n; clan, grants to, in Leinster, 36 n; Alexander Karrogh, 147 n; John Mor, his marriage, 156 n

Mac Duibhne, 47 n

Mac Duibhne family, 46, 46 n, 47, 47 n

Mac Ennis clan, 138

Mac Eoin clan, 156; feud with Savages, 156 n; (Byssett) his treatment of O'Donnell, 141

Mac Eochay, 54 n

Mac Eochys, 48, 48 n

Mac Firbis, 237 n, 241

Mac Fuinguinc, 241

Mac Grady, James, 283

Macgarragh, Hugh, 231, 232

Mac Gregor, 204

Mac Gwillin, captain of the Route, 140; forced to side with Irish, none of, "dyed in their beddes," 140

Mac Geoghegan, Abbe, history, 16 n

Machaire-ratha, 49 n

Mackenzie's narrative of siege of Derry, 265 n, 268; Mr. 265; Alexander, 134 n, 135, 135 n

Mac Kayes, 156

Mac Keon, 156 n

Mac Kinnon, 241

Mac Lachlann, Maurice, 47 n

Mac Leans, 159 n

Mac Llewelyn, 140

Mac Mahonde, 223

Mac Mahon, pedigree, 48 n; Hugh, 48 n; Roolbh, 48 n; Eochaidh, 48 n; Niall the proud, 48 n

Mac Mathgamhain, 48 n

Mac Mahon, Bryan, 36; Hugh, 36;

Mac Murcheda, 254 n

Mac Morysh, Morgh, 219, 222 n

Mac Murrough, 222 n; Art Boy, 222 n

Mac Neill, Hugh, 141

Maeosquin, P., 182

Mac Quillin, Garrett, 157; Walter, 157 n

Mac Ronain, mhic Lugh, 64, 65; Carlle, 64, 65

Mac Randal Boy, 222 n

Mac Raiden, 160

Mac Stephen, 283, 205

Mac William of Clanrickard, 36 n

Mac Y Gilles, 156

Maelcoe, Abbot of Aondruim, 54 n

Maer-an-mail, 237 n

Magenis, Arthur and his son in banishment, 47, 47 n; family, 49; their burial place, 47 n; seizes improperly Origellia, 46; used English dress, 152; Sir Hugh, 47 n; Art Roe, 47 n; Arthur, 47 n; Soreha or Sarah, 47 n; Hugh, 47 n; Art or Arthur, 47 n; Sir Con, 47 n; country, 151; family, 210; Mr. of Castlewellan, 211; island, 76, 76 n; Arthur, 76 n; Sir Hugh, 8; sat for Down with Sir Nicholas Bagenal, 8; John of Corrocks, 48 n; Hugh of Milltown, 48 n; Brian of Muntereddy, 48 n; Felix, 49; family, 49 n; created a peer, 76 n; Lord of Iveagh, 76 n; Lady Sara, 76 n, 77; a daughter of Tyrone, 77

Magenises, 76 n

Maghain, 49 n

Maghara monastery, 49 n

Maghare-rath, 49, 49 n

Maghbile, 55, 55 n

Magheralegan, 51 n

Magh, Luinge, 240, 241, 241 n; Lung, 241

Magistrates, Irish, should be good, 250; their errors, 252; inferior unfit, 249

Maglunga, 234, 234 n

Magna Charta, 138

Magnus maximus, 190

Magrath, Meyler, bishop, 85 n

Maguillen, his submission to Henry VIII., 140; desires to be reported an Englishman as his ancestors were, 140; meets Lord Deputy, 140

Maguire, 156 n; Con, 146 n; The, prevents any one in English hat or cloak passing through his country, 146 n; John, complains of O'Neill, 142; his castle, 142

Maguire's country, 151 n

Maguyllen, 140; came from Wales, 140

Mag Willen, a more Englishman, 156 n

Mah Inis, 53 n

Mahee, ward, lower, 54 n; island, 54 n; notices of, in annals, 54 n

Maine, abbot of Aondruim, 54 n

Mainster Imusi, 52, 52 n

Manister-liath, 55, 55 n

Malachi, bishop, 25, 54 n, 209, 210, O'Morgair, 47 n

Malby, Sir Nicholas, 146 n, 156 n; never allowed to enjoy Mac Cartan's country, 143

Malbie, Sir Nicholas, 152

Malice Doire, 214

Mallow, 96 n

Malta, 187 n

Mamman, Lieut.-general, 256 n

Manachan county, 145

Manchester yarn trade, 149 n

Man, chronicles of, 51 n; lord of, 51

Manors, Irish, 245

Mansfield, Sir R., 217 n, 218 n; James, 228

Manufactured relics not found in cairns, 102

Manuscript, curious, exhibited by Lord Massereene, 108

Manvill, Walter, 117

Maol-na-teampull, a name of reproach, 51, 52 n

Mandeville, Richard, custos pacis, 153 n; John, sheriff of Down and Newtown, 153 n; Henry, custos pacis, 153 n; Sir John, instigated by his wife (according to Grace) slays the young Earl of Ulster, 153 n; Clyn gives a different account, 153 n; Robert, son of Richard, one of the murderers of the Earl of Ulster, 153 n; Richard,

153 n; Robert, son of Martin, one of the murderers of the Earl of Ulster, 153 n; Martin, 153 n; 253 n; Sir Richard, Clyn says his wife instigated murder of Earl of Henry, takes Greencastle, 153 n; Henry, made constable of Greencastle, 153 n; Richard, leads Scots into Isle of Man, 153 n
Mandevilles, amongst the first to rebel against the Earl of Ulster, 153 n; the assassins of the last De Burgh, 153 n; their conduct led to the overturn of feudal colonies of Ulster and Connaught, 153 n; instigated Irish chiefs against the Seneschal of Ulster, 153 n; four of them summoned to one parliament—three of them got offices in Ulster, 153 n; the family became a clan, 153 n
Map, in the State Paper Office, 151 n
Mara, 46 n
Maraculous image, &c., at Youghal 118; and history, 118, 119, 119, n; how preserved during banishment of its monks, 119
Mareh, or border, term how used, 43
Marches, 42
Marchers, 43
Marcus Coriolanus, 86
Mariani, reading of an Ogham, 64
Marianus, a celebrated name in Irish ecclesiology, 64
Marie, Queen, 153
Marius, 85
Market house, Belfast, 30
Marleborough, 209
Marmion, 222 n; poem of, 211
Marot, Clement, 224 n
Marret, 178
Marrew, 88, 88 n
Marsh's library, 235 n; copy of Fleming there, 260
Marshall, Mr., 221, 221 n
Marshall's-town of Carlingford, 146 n
Marshalsea Dublin, 227
Martine, 178
Martin, Josiah, of Belfast, 232; George, 232
Martin's Western Isles referred to, 42
Marvault, 224, 228; Ann, 228; Jno., 228
Maryborough, 42; castle, 124; grant of, 36 n
Mary, 132; Queen, 97, 117, 219 n, 222 n; le-bone, 176 n; street, Down, 51 n; Queen, 250
Maskers, 92
Maskue, 178
Maslin, 178
Massareen, 143
Massareene, lord, 108, 205; viscount, 46 n; barony, 46 n
Master, of Rolls, 124; and slaves mode of burial, 106
Masselin, Edward, 170
Mathias de Monte, 149 n
Mathew, 162
Mathgamhain, 48 n, 49 n
Maundeville, Wm. De, 51 n
Maundevilles, 153
Maude, Sir Wm., 50 n
Mauriee, major Theodore, 133; revd. Peter, 133; Peter, 133; Elizabeth, 133
Mauritius abbot of Inehpeffray, 213 n
Mawkie, (a cat) 206
Mayo, county, 37 n, 48, 240, 240 n
Maxwell, Isabella, wife of George Walker, 131
Maxwell, Robert, of Finnebrogue, 131, 131 n, 132; William of Falkland, married to Ann Walker, 132; his murder, 132 n; bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, 132; Mrs. narrative of her escape in 1691, 132 n; family, 132 n; of Calderwood, 132 n; William of Falkland, supposed to have been murdered for protecting Protestants, 132 n; attainted by James II., 132 n
Mazicre, 224, 228; Lieut. Pierre, 228; David, 228; madam, 228
Means of reducing Ireland, 249, 250
Meath, 145, 155 n, 240 n; eo. 254 n, 40, 41, 43; east, 48 n
Medals commemorating the battle of the Boyne, 237 n
Medraighe, 160
Meith, 255, why so called, 245; eo., 245; east and west, 245
Mellifont, 55, 146 n; abbot of, 55, 55 n
Melloniere, general, 16 n
Melromez, Seigneur de, 170
Memoires des Antiquaries du Nord, reference to, 107 n
Memorial for winning Leinster, 148 n
Menteith, 204
Meridian line, 86
Merlinston. 146 n
Merret, 178
Merron, 178
Merton College, Oxford, 97
Mess room, temp. Eliza, 95
Metropolitan registry office, 77 n
Meyrick's ancient armour, 20 n
Michael, 162,
Miccartney, Geo., in Belfast, 232
Militia, Irish, disarmed, 261
Mitchelborn, John, 264 n; governor, 239
Millmount at Drogheda, 17 n
Milltown, 48 n
Mince pies, 88 n
Minchin, Humphrey, 227,
Miner's town, 192
Minister of Justice, Freneh, 171
Miscellany of Celtic society, 149 n
Miset, Wildelm, 155 n
Misset, Peter, baron of Lune, 155 n; his co-heiresses, 155 n
Moat of Bennaborckey. 48 n
Mochaoi of Aondruim 54 n
Mochua of Aondruim, 54 n
Mogumrius, the Scotchman, 55
Moierie pass, 151
Moira, 173
Molua, saint, 197
Monaghan, result of introducing a sheriff into, 144; Sir John Davis held a session at, 146 n; perambulation of, 146 n; its contents, forces &c., 146; its chief Capten, 146; general sessions at, (1615) 25
Monaghan, 36, 85 n, 99; county, 254 n, 132 n, 151 n, 97 n, 46 n, 48 n
Monahan, Thomas, of Dungannon, 277
Monastery, of Inis (Down) 52, 52 n; of the Yew, 46 46 n
Monasteries ruined, 146
Monasteries, primitive of Ireland, 253; at Comber, 54, 54 n
Monastic order banished, 120
Money, new, introduced into Ireland by Elizabeth, particulars of, and discussions respecting, 92 n, 93 n; coined, scarce in Ireland, new, coined for Ireland, 92, 92 n; its history and general effects, 93 n
Mougarett, Visct., 222
Monk, general, 174
Monks, of Down, 51; of Westminster claim fish of the Thames, 104
Monkish rhymers, 92; annals, 38 n
Monroe, general, 148 n
Montacaute, captain, 97 n
Montgomery MSS., 55 n
Montgomerys, 55 n
Montmorency, Duchess, 175 n
Montpellier, 168
Monument of Bishop Jones, 83 n
Monuments, rock, 196

Moore, red, of Athye, 40
Moore, Sir Edward, 146
Moore's History of Ireland, reference to, 139; quoted, 2
Moran, 162, 167
Mordaunt, Sophia, 55 n
Moret of Antwerp, 255
Morgan, Captain James, 174; family, 174
Morning star, weapon so called, 108
Morrell, 178
Mor Rinn, 48 n
Morris, Captain, 90, 90 n
Morrison, Sir Richard, 96 n; his personal history and employments in Ireland, 96 n; his death, 96 n; Sir Richard, 75, 75 n, 76, 77, 78, 79 86, 88 n, 89, 89 n, 97n, 99; Fynes, 75 n, 79 n, 85 n, 89 n his notice, of Lord Mountjoy, his habits &c. 99 n; Sir Richard, 73, 73 n, 74, 96; captain, (i.e. Morris) 90 n
Mortier, Pierre, 224 n
Moryson, 5, 90 n Fynes, 96; his history, 96 n; Sir Richard, 96 n; governor of Dundalk, 96 n; Fynes, 151 n, 144 n, 158 n; referred to, 42; description of Hugh O'Neill, 5; Fynes, tables of merchant's profits on base coin, 93 n; his personal history, 96 n; referred to, 93 n, 94, 95, 97 n
Moryson's History of Tyrone's rebellion, 93 n
Moulins, 175 n
Mounster, province of, 250; English of, allowed to send produce of to England, 252; south, 245; north, 245; English settlers in, 246
Mount,-Alexander, 55 n;-Venus, 196;-Sandal, 55 n
Mountgarrett, Viscount, 222 n
Mountnorris, 90 n
Mountnorris fort, 97 n
Mountjoy, Lord, 52 n, 74 n, 75 n, 84 n, 89, 89 n, 96 n; his campaigns in north of Ireland, 97 n; his secretary killed at Carlingford is succeeded by Fynes Moryson, 96 n; lord deputy, 88 n, 90 n; his gourmet propensities, 89 n protests against depreciated coin; 93 n; opposed in pass near Benburb, 148 n; storeship, 268; took and fortified the Moierie pass 151 n
Mourne, 45 n, 48 n; river, 268; lordship, 151; barony, 45 n, 46 n, 48 n
Movilla, near Newtonards, 55 n
Mowbray, 155
Mylung, 237, 238
Moyrey pass, 151 n, 97 n
Mucknoe, 149, 150
Mugharna, 48 n;
Mughdhorn, 48 n; Bregh, 48 n
Mughdhorna, in Oriel, 48 n
Mughorna of Ui Eathach, 48 n
Muighe Lunge, 240, 240 n
Muile (Mull) 237 n
Muiredach, 6
Mullaly, 162, 167
Mullamore, townland, 134
Mullagruen, 135
Mumhain Echach, 216
Murphy, 162, 167
Muscadel, 88
Muscraighe, 215
Muskerry, 215
Musselburgh fishermen, 163
Mustard, 88
Mutton, chops, 90; island, 160
Muiredhach Meith, 46 n; gives name to certain territories, 46
Muiriertach Mac Neill defeats the Danes, 46 n
Munstereddy, 48 n
Munster, 95, 98, 120, 250; president of, 98
Murray, 265 n; proposed as governor of Derry, 263
Mussetts, 156

Mc

McAlans, 159
McAlennan, Rev. J., 210
McCall, Revd Archibald, 244
McCane, 55 n
McCanna, Toole, 44; Rory, 44; Patrick, 44
McCarten, Phelimy, 52 n; his country, 52 n, 152
McCartie, Dermot, 245; families, 240, 245
McCartan, Acholie, 152; he only obeys the Queen, 152
McDermot's country, and corn burned by O'Donnell, 126
McDonald, Alexander Carragh, 155 n
McDonnell, Somairle buoy, 125; Alex. Oge, 2; lord of Cantire, 3; Hugh McCallogh of Tennekille, 42; Fergus, 42; James, 42; C. B. 44
McDonnells, Glimpses of the, 34; references to, 42; all descended from gallowglasses, 42
McDonyll Gillaspick, constable of lord Con O'Neill, 147 n
McEdmond, Walter, captain of gallowglass, 42
McEny's, Sir Hugh, 137, 152, 159; his house and mode of living, 137
McFirbisse, 39
McGaughey, 48 n
McGenis, "capten" of Kilwarlyn, 152
McGeoghegan, Brian, 8
McGies, 154
McGoolechan, 151, 152
McGreybyn, 149 n
McGwire, Sir Conohour, 142
McGwillim, "capten of the Route," 156; his tomb, 156 n
McGwyre, Sir Conohour, capten of Fermanagh, 146; inclined to Queen tho' under Tur. O'Neyle, 146
McGyes, 154
McGynis country, 152
McGynou's countrey, 153 n
McHenry, Mr., 207, 210, 211; family, 210, 211; Henry Oge McMahon, 85, 85 n
McKinley, Alex., Roman coins found by, 187
McKnight, Dr., notes on ballad of the Boyne water, 18, 19
McKonnell, Angus, 156
McLean, 2
McLeod, 156 n
McMahon, Sir Rory himself willing to submit to Queen, 146; chief captain of Monaghan, 146; refused to admit a sheriff into Monaghan, 144
McMorrough, Dermot, 245
McMurcha, Dominus, 220
McNeil, Cannock, capten of Kilulto, 152; brought to obey the Queen, 152
McNeill, Hugh, 157, n; Sir Con, oge, 154; Neill McBrian Ferto, 154
McNeills of Coll, 243
McNeyle, Sir Con oge, 159
McOnulles, 154
McRandyl boy, 222 n
McRorie, Ever, 152
McQuarrie, Lachlan, 243
McSkimmin, S, 18; his annals, 205
McSweeny, Mr., 67, 61, 282
McSwyne Bane's tower, 148
McSwynes, 148, 148 n

N

Nagle, Richd., of Youghal, his tomb, 116

Naas, barony, 43
Napier, Charlie, 83 n
Narford Hall, 215
Narrow Water, 47 n, 48 n; castle, 45 n
Nash, D. W., 60
National, Assembly, 170, 171; style of architecture, 67
Nativity, 75
Natural History and Phil. Society of Belfast, 69
Nay in Bearn, 176 n
Neagh, Lough, 150 n
Nebur, 178
Nedrum, 54 n
Neevowgi, an idol, 69
Neils of Clandeboy, 154
Neligan, Revd. Dr., 118, 118 n
Nellson, Wm., 277 n
Nelson, Frances, 133
Nendrum, 54 n
Netherland wars, 83 n
Newcastle, 76 n, 49, 49 n
Newcastell, 137
Newe-castle, (in Tyrone) 148
Newcastle, near Lyons, 43
New-house, 146 n
New Grange, sepulchre, 100 n, 107 n; a pyramid, 101; its resemblance to a Scotch mound described, 101; little doubt it was sepulchral, 105; not a pagan temple, 105; its chambers vaulted, 106, 107
Newry, 7, 75, 90, 90 n, 97, 98 99; old map of, 137; pass, its importance, 151 n; to be recovered, 142; lordships, 151; poverty of, 75, 75 n; governor of, 75; river, 45 n, 137, 141, 143, 150, 151 n, 152 n; town commenced and castle built by Sir H. Bagenal, 7; Telegraph quoted, 132 n; monastery, its property, 47; church and lands, 47 n; river, 47 n
Newrie may be fortified by the ability of Sir Nicholas Bagnall, 152 n
Newton, Ards, 55 n;-Butler, 268, 146 n
Newtown, 55, 55 n
Newton (Ards) sheriff of, 155 n
New York. 166
Neyles, 147 n, 250
Niall, the great, hostages kept by, in Strangford Lough, 54, 54 n; Naoighiallach, 54 n; the proud, 48 n
Nicholas de Trym, 51 n
Niell Connallach, 2
Nismes, 175; diocese of, 175; royal academy of, 175, 175 n
Nobility Irish, royal wards, 248
Noblet, 178
Noblemen, Irish, 85
Nois, 178
None bell, 235
Nonere, 172
Norden's map, 151 n, 156 n,
Norfolk county, 215
Norman 85 n; architecture, 67; of Connaught, 161; invasion, 166; settlers in Lecale, 92 n; baron, 176
Normans, 140, 166, 246
Normandy, 208, 246
Norragh, half barony, 43
Norris, 83 n; Sir Thomas, 96 n; his death, 98
Norse termination, Fiord, 45 n
Northern Archæology, Lord Ellesmere's guide to, 107
North-burgh castle, 149 n
Norwegian, king of the Isles, 51 n; king of Man, 51 n; invaders, 45 n
Notaries, public, 32; history of, 33; papal and imperial, prohibited, 33
Note on Colton's Visitation, 32
Notes and Queries, Antiquarian, 67, 200; of London, 92 n
Notices of Youghal, 279; of existing monuments, 279
Noailles, Duke de, 168, 168 n; his family papers in the Louvre, reference to 161 n
Nugent, Richard, 254 n; Sir Christopher, 254, 254 n; Catherine, 254, 254 n, Col., 211
Nuncio, papal, 209
Nun's Island, 45 n
Nutmeg, 87

O

O, 246
Objects, "de opere Lemovitico," 193
O'Birnes, 41
O'Breyne, Donell, 221; Morghe, 221
O'Brian, 162
O'Brien, his grammar, 62; his examples of Oghams, 62; Kennedy, 216; Toirdhealbhach (Turlough) 216; Diarmid, 216; Conor, 221, n; Donough More, 221 n; clan, 221 n; objection to its becoming a hereditary earldom, 221 n; the young bishop, 36 n; Turlough, bishop of Killaloe, 36 n; Donnell, 221 n; Turlough, 221 n; the, 221 n
O'Brienc, Teige Mac Morghe, how treated, 221
O'Bryne, Donell, 245
O'Byrne, Phelim Mac Pheagh, 97 n
O'Cahan, 95; names of, 149 n; country, 149; Rory, 149
O'Cahane, (O'Cahan) cast a shoe over O'Neill's head at his inauguration, 149 n; his inclination to support the Queen, 149 n; his tomb at Dungiven, 149 n
O'Callaghan Mailseachnaill, 216, 217
O'Cathan, expedition against, and his castles taken, 149 n
O'Chane, 149 n; called the "cheefest of O'Neill's Uriaghts," 149 n
Ochellensis, 205
O'Clery, 156 n
O'Conghoars (O'Conors) 43
O'Conohour Sliagh, 145
O'Conor, Rev, Dr., Hib. Sc., 240 n; his copy of Fleming, 260; Donagh, his fate, 222
O'Connor, 16
Kerry, 216
O'Daly, John, 195
Odds and ends, 205
Odell, Mr. 280
O'Docartaid, Down, 220
O'Docherty, 220
O'Doghertie, 148, 148 n
O'Dogherty, 95; Sir Cahir, 8; nominated chief of Innishowen, 8; quarrels with Sir Geo. Paulet, 8; surprises Derry, 8; Sir John, 8
O'Dohertie's countrey, 148, 148 n; invaded by Scots, 148
O'Donnells, 1
O'Donel Callough, 148 n
O'Donnell, 1, 95, 162, 167, 141, 149, n, 151 n; Hugh Roe, his escape from Dublin, 223 n; prepares to attack Maguire in his islands, 142; demolishes the castle of Belfast, 141; Tillough, had the soubriquet of "an Fhiona," 149 n; his war with O'Neill, 36 n; Sir Hugh, chief of the Cinel Conaill, 6; his descent, 6; Hugh Roe, son of Sir Hugh, 6; submission, 6; his patriotism, 6; Sir Neill Garve, his descent, &c., 7; Manus, 6, 148 n; memoir of, 7; Con, 7; Hugh Roe, his Highland followers, 156 n; his life, by O'Clery, 156 n; depends on Scots, 147 n; burns Strabane, 148 n; induces the deputy to march against O'Neill's castle of Dungannon, 141; he destroys it, 141; his son surprises Mac Eoin, and carries off his wife, &c., 141; neither he nor his people will an-

swer the king's courts nor obey his laws, 142; the greatest lord of fish in Ireland, 149 n; called by foreigners the king of fish, 149 n; offers to aid Queen to conquer Ulster for herself, 143; Red Hugh, his captivity, 145
O'Donnllus, clan, used St. Columbkille's copy of the Scriptures in ordeal, 126; threatens to burn Clanricard, 126, 126 n; his refusal of Lord Clanricard's daughter to marry him, 126; ravages McDermot's country, 126
O'Donell, 148, 148 n
O'Donovan, Dr., 48 n, 49 n, 240 n; his annals, 74 n; his Hy Fiachrach, 64, 65
O'Doonelle's 147
O'Donohue, 162
O'Dugan, annals of, 48 n; his topographical poem, 46 n, 48 n
O'Dymsy, Donagh, 40
O'Eacac, name of, on an Ogham, 65
Ofaly, 36
O'Farrel, 39
Officers, English, in Ireland, 87 n
Officina Patricii, 184, 184 n
O'Flagherty, 162, 166, 167; his Ogygia, 56 n; reference to, 46 n
Ogallochelles, 148
Oghams, question of their great antiquity, 60; inscriptions, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66; language of, 61, 62, 63; Craobh, 62, if Druidic or Christian, 60, 62; mode of cutting 63
O'Gilmer's, 154; followers of the O'Neills of Clandeboy, 154
O'Gnive, Fearflatha, a bard to O'Neill of Clanabuoy, 137
Ogygia, quoted, 49 n
O'Hagan, his defence of Guard Island, 148 n; Henry, Tyrone's foster-brother and secretary, 150 n
O'Haideth family, 47 n
O'Halloran, 162
O'Hanlon, 144, 167
O'Hanlon's country, 143 n, 146
O'Haryes, 157
O'Kane, 158 n
O'Kathan Commog, king of Kenacht, instigated to ravage the lands of the seneschals of Ulster, 153 n
O'Kearney, Mr., 196
Okeham, baron, 52 n
O'Kelly Thomas, prior of the Dominicans, at Youghal, 120
Old Statistical Survey, 241 n, 242 n
Oldbridge, 13 n, 15 n, ford, 272; Olderfleete haven, 154
Ollamh Fodhla, 71, 205, 206
O'Luinigh, 2
Omagh, 262
O'Meath, notices of the territories so named, 46 n; of the sea, 46 n; men pedlars and cadgers, 46 n
O'Mee, lordship, 46 n
O'Meith of Macha (of the land) 46 n
Omission in Crystal Palace, 202
O'More, clan, 222 n; Conell, his death, 222; vanquished by Earl of Ormond, 40
O'Morgair, Malachi, 47 n
O'Morra, Connall, 220 222 n
O'Mulrenies, 156
O'Neill, 148 n, 149 n, 158, 283; Con, 56 n, 221 n; 1st Earl of Tyrone, 1-4; Hugh buy, 56 n, 95; held a commission in army of Elizabeth, 95; created earl, 95; Brian Ballagh, 56 n; Col. Gordon, 262; Phelim, 262; Nial, 56, 56 n; Donald, 52 n; Hugh, 205; Art, 223; Shane, objected to introduction of feudal tenures, 221 n; elected in opposition to Con, 221 n; baron, his death, 221 n; Ferdoragh, son of Con Bacagh, 221 n; John, 221 n; the proud, 158 n, 220; complains of rhyming insults by letter, 220; Shane, complaints of, 220; attempted assasination, 218, 218 n, 219; epigrams on, 220; his letter to Queen respecting attempts on his life, 219; his murder, 220; John or Shane, his signature, and notice of him, 1; Henry, 196; clan, 6; constable of gallowglasses, 36; John, son of Con, son of Henry, routs the Mac Donnells, 38 n; war with O'Donnell, 36 n; his mother, daughter to the Earl of Kildare, 36 n; John, or Shane, his hereditary feud with the O'Donnells, 2; reward for his head, 7; Shane, 143, 158 n, 223; his abduction of O'Donnell's wife, and making of himself prisoner, 2; his wife, Mary O'Donnell, dies of grief, 2; his debauched habits, 2; his visit to court, 2; his earth baths, 2; his guards, 2; his letter to the cardinals, Lorraine and Guise, 2; Lord Sussex advances against, 2; his lordship's endeavour to procure his assassination, 2; finally murdered, 2; his tanist, 143; Turlough Lenough, (Luineach) 2, 149 n 138, 157, 158 n, 22; tanist and their chief, 2; keeps Scots in his service, 156 n; not implicated in the death of Shane, 2; routs the Hebridean Scots, 3; contentions with Hugh, 3; proposed to marry Bagnall's sister-in-law, 3; marries the Earl of Argyle's daughter, 3; submits to Sir Henry Sidney, 3; created Baron Clogher and Earl Clan Connell 3; asks to be king of Ireland, 3; revolts, 3, 4; his power declines, 4; death, 4; Sir A., 4; the Great, 4; Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, putative son of Con, 4; his mother, 4; his father created Baron Dungannon by Henry, VIII., 4; protected in his youth by the State, 4; effect of his military appearance, 4; his his intrigues, 5; became "the O'Neill," 5; opposed by Bagnal, 5; gains the battle of Black Water 5; his death in exile, 6; "O'Neill, the," 5; high title, 5, 6; Sir Brian, chief of the clan, 6; Hugh Boy, Lord of Clandeboy, 6; objects to the grant to Thomas Smith, 6; his great herds of cattle, 6; carried to Dublin and executed, 6; Surley boy, 125; (Tyrone) 75 n; Harry, 223, 223; attempt to abolish title, 158 n; Brian Caraghe, capten, 155; Dungannon taken from, 141; destroyed, 141; Shane holds passes of the North, 141; Lord Sussex sent against, 142; Lord Con, 147 n; depends on Scots, 147 n; Owen, 148 n; Shane the Proud, 148 n, 150; his fastnesses, 150 n; Owen Roe, victory near Benburb, 148 n; of Clanabuoy, 137; Conan More, warned his posterity against building, &c., 139; sovereign over Con Maguire, 146 n; election stone of, 147 n; Turlongh Brislelache, 150; Hugh Boy, his issue to be driven from Kilultach and the Pheux, 152 n; Turlough Luineach wore privately English dress when attending parliament, 152 n; his guards defend the Moyrey pass, 151 n; Odo, king of the Clan Eoghain, incited to ravage the lands of the seneschal of Ulster, 153 n; Sir Hugh McPhelim's sons get half of N. Clandeboy, 154; Shane, 156 n;-land, East, 44; West, 47 n; Hu, his daughter wife of Magenis, 47 n; corn and butter his chief property, 139; retired before invaders, 139; his descents on English pale, 139; meet-

ing with Lord Deputy, 140; conflict with, 140; defeats men of Louth, 141; exacts tribute, 141; rise of, on the ruin of the feudal system, 141; Con, his victory in Lecale, 141; aided by the Whites, 141; victories over Sussex, 142; possesses all from Sligo to Carrickfergus, 142; from Carlingford to Droghcda, 142; dispossesses inferior chiefs, 142; his conduct towards Maguire, 142; Sussex proposes to hold a parley with, 142; his assassination, 142; his fastness to be secured for the Queen, 142; Turlough Luineach gets share of Tyrone, 143; of Tyrone, 56 n; sons combine with the Scots to deprive him of his succession, 223 n; gallowglasses of, 42, 222 n; his visit to Elizabeth, 42; kerns oppose Mountjoy, near Benburb, 148 n; daughter marries Bysshett, 156 n; the great, 95; his favourite oath, 126
O'Neile, 149; mode of creating, 149 n
O'Neiles, to be weakened, 158
O'Neil's bondage, 152
O'Nele, 155; Sir Con O'Neil Oig, captain of south Clandeboy, 154; Hugh McPhelim, captain of north Clandeboye, 154; Sir Brian McPhelim, 154; his sons granted all north Clandeboy, 154
O'Neylan, 149, 150
O'Neyl, 148, 148 n; Turlough, 146, 147; his arrangements with Earl of Tyrone, 147; Shane, 148, 148 n
O'Neylles, 147
O'Neylle, 246; of Tyreown's sons had no hereditary lands, 138; the greate chief captayne of the regyon of Tyreown, 138; fate of his family, 138; Turlough desires from Queen Elizabeth a grant for his son, 147; demands Blackwater fort, 147 n; Shane, influence of his sons, 147
Onulchalons, 154
Opus Hibernicum, 215
Oran's graveyard, 241
Orange, Prince of, 223, 224, 169, 170, 173, 176; Boven, a collection of songs, 18 n
Orangeism, 18 n
Oratory of St. Domangart, 49
Orbsen, 161, 161 n
Ordnance, 47 n, 49 n; Survey, 48 n, 24, 46 n, 254, 275 n, 53 n, 54 n, 240, 240 n, 122; master, of 149
Orelyc, 145
Orgiell, 36
Orgellia, Lord of, 46 n; territory, of 46 n; notice of, 46 n
Oriel, Lord of, 48 n
Oriellian, race, 44
O'Reilly's country, objections to sheriffs in, 244; of Cavan, 36
O'Reilly, Malachias, or Melmora, and his son, 7; asks loan of Crown 7; his son chief of Breffney 7; disputed succession by his sons, 7; his rental, 7; Sir John, 7; Edmond, 7
Oriental invasions, 70 n
Orier, upper, 47 n
Ormond, Duke of, 272; Earl of, 222 n, 248; Marquis of, 235 n; Sir John Butler, Earl of, 40
Ormonde, Erle, 221
O'Rogan, Lawrence, sub-constable of Ballymore, an Irishman, 41
O'Ronan, name on an ogham, 64
O'Rorke, Brian, of Breffney, 85 n; his execution, 85 n; had no knowledge of the English language, 85 n; ridiculed Bishop McGrath, 85 n
O'Rourke, 162
O'Rowr* King of Meath, 245
O'Rourk's country, 145
O Sheereen, 256 n
O'Sheredane, 256 n
O'Sheridan, 256 n
O'Sherrin, Thomas, 256, 256 n
O'Siridan, 256
Osseous remains in a cairn, 102
Ossory, 32
O'Sullivan More, Owen, 120
Oswald, bishop of York, 111, 112
O'Tooles, 41
Outrages by Lord Deputy on Irish chief, 221
Ovid, 78
Owen O'Cork, 283;
Oxford, college, 131; copy of Fleming, 97; University, 272; Bodleian Library at, 97; shire, 96 n

---

P

Pacata Hibernia, quoted, 75 n
Pagan monuments, destruction of, 60
Pagan, Irish, 279; origin of Round Towers, 280; temple, Vallancey considered New Grange erroneously to be, 105
Palace of Downpatrick, what? 77 n
Palatine, 86, 86 n
Pale, 151 n, 254; its four counties and defences, 43
Paraiziare, Margaret, 170
Paris, 8, 83 n, 171, 175 n, 255
Parker, Wm., 226
Park, 155
Parliament, held by Wm., bishop of Meath, 43; held at Dublin, in 1474, 43; 1476, 43; 1477, 43; of Naas, 1480, 43; at Naas, 1481, 43; of James II., and of attainder, 132 n
Parliaments, 263 n; Irish, 297
Parma, Prince of, 83 n
Parishes, Irish, 245
Parker, account of battle of Boyne, 273 n
Parochial records of Ireland, loss of, 132, 133
Pasties, of marrow, 88; with plums, 88; with milk, 88
Patrick, 162, 208, 209
Pastilli, (cream tarts or cheesecakes,) 88 n
Pass, of Leny, 204; of the wood, 49; into the north of Ireland, near Newry, 151 n
Patent rolls, 50n; of James I., 52 n; referred to, 97 n; of Henry IV., 149 n; of Ed. III., 25; of chancery, 124
Patents of James I., 48 n
Patricians, 208
Patricius, his mint, 184
Paul, 162
Pay, military, 75 n
Paulet, Sir Geo., 8
Peers, Captain, 154
Pelras, 170, 171
Pembridge's annals, 52 n, 54 n
Prendergast, Mr., 198
Pennant, quoted, 149 n
Penny-burn mills, 205
Pentland Firth, 100
Penthurst castle, 20 n
Percy, 138; bishop 12 n; Society, 10
Perrot, Sir John, 3, 158 n; supposed son of Henry VIII., 159; letter of, 125; his memoirs quoted, 3, 4; takes Dunluce, 157 n; ordered to appoint a president of Ulster, 158 n; recommended Tyrone to Government on promising a large crown rent, 158 n; his precautions against Spanish invasion, 145
Persone of Sorbie, 238
Perambulation of Leinster, Meath, and Louth, 146 n
Perdu, 224, 228; David, 228
Perrina French teacher, 173
Perrin family, 172; Compte de 173; Louis, 173
Perthshire, 213, 214
Pers, Captain, 220
Petraponte, Stephen, 51 n

Peterborough, Earl of, 55 n
Petersfield, 96 n
Peter III., 112, 162
Peterhouse, Cambridge, 96 n
Petrie, Dr., 22, 197; his Round Towers and Ancient Architecture, 24; his opinion on Oghams, 60, 61, 62
Petty, Sir Wm., 7
Petticrew, 178
Phettiplace, the pirate, his account of O'Neill's fastnesses, 150 n
Pheux, 152 n
Phiala, 193
Philip, King of France, 167
Phœnix, store-ship. 268; Park, 196
Phondana, countess, 196
Phrenological notice of Governor Walker's skull, 277
Picardie, 180, 181
Picts, 235, 236, 236 n, 237; houses, 100
Pictet, 176
Piers, Sir Henry, Bart., 7; Sir Wm., 220; governor of Carrickfergus, 7 plans death of O'Neill, 217
Pillar stone, 242; cross on, 61
Pine wood lights, 77
Pinkerton, 233, 234, 285
Pirates, or Northmen, their ravages, 45, 45 n
Place where O'Neill was slayne, 2
Plan, for the reduction of Ireland, 250; for the reformation of Ireland, 152 n
Plain of Liffe, 234, 234 n
Pledging healths, 79, 83 n, 85
Plunket, Lord, of Louth at Tallanstown, 146 n; of the new house, 146 n
Plunkettes, 146
Pocket-handkerchiefs used in the time of Bodley, 92 n
Poets, O'Neill's, endowment of, 56, 56 n
Poetry, not preserved by tradition, 9
Poland, 80, 82, 98
Policy pursued in Norman conquest of England and Ireland contrasted, 246
Political economy in relation to new Irish coinage, 92 n, 93 n
Poll, Teutonic suffix, 238
Polynesian savages, their tools, &c., compared with aboriginal European, 105
Pompey, 86
Port Timothy, 239 n
Pontefract, 130
Pope Joan, 205; Urban, IV. 111; John, XXI. 111., Clement, IV. 111; Benedict, XII., 111; his support of Wm. III; Leo. X., 111., XII.; Adrian IV. 111; Alexander III. 111; Celestine, III. 111; Gregory, 109
Porte-mucke. 157
Portaferry, 207, 211
Portraits of Governor Walker, 274 n
Portraits of Claddagh men, and Arran men, 161, 167
Port-na-lung, 239
Port-na-luinge, 239 n
Portarlington, 122; French settlers at, 67
Portnahinch, 122; barony, 121
Portenehinche, 122
Port-na-dtri-namhad, 148 n
Porter, Rev. J. S., 187
Potatoes introduced, 280
Pottery in Scotch cairns, 102, 105
Preceptory of St. John, 25
Prague, 108, 196, 255, 255 n, 256
Preachers proposed to be sent to Ulster, 169
Prebendaries of Down, first appointed, 51 n
Pre-hist. Annals of Scotland, 106 n
Precentorship of Down, 25, 51 n
'Prentice boys of Derry, 277
Prendergast, Fras., 195
Presidents, and governors should be good, 250; of Ulster recommended, 250; of Munster, 96 n
President to govern Ulster. 143
Preston, Robert, souldier, 133
Prices of provisions in Ireland, 75 n
Primate, 275; of all Ireland, 85 n; of Armagh, 43; Colton's visitation, 32
Prim, Mr., 197, 198; J. A. G., 106 n
Prince's Worthies of Down, 97
Printed state papers, 153 n, 155 n, 147 n, 148 n, 149 n, 152 n, 157 n
Primacy, Irish, 130
Primate, lord at Termonfeghan, 146 n
Primeval Antiq. of Denmark, referred to, 103 n, 106 n
Primogeniture, 138
Princess of Wales, 176
Prince Frederick of Wales, 176
Prior, of Down, 51 n; Nicholas, of Conall, 43
Prorie, 178
Protestants, 211, 223, 228, 178, 179, 180, 261 262, 263, 266, 272; French 170, 171; religion, 264, 267; foreigners, 225 n; Boys, tune of, 12,
Proverbs, Rustic, of Ulster, 126, 127, 128, 129; philosophy of, 126
Provost, Marshall, 146 n
Pro-consul, 185
Provinces, Irish, 245
Prynne's 4th Institute, 33
Publicanus, 185
Pun, 86 n
Purdue, 178
Purdec, 178
Pusignian Major. General, 265
Pyramid, Irish, of New Grange, 101

Q

Quain, Revd. Mr. Wm., 133 n
Quarterly Review quoted, 174
Quarter Sessions for Ulster, 159
Quavert, 178
Queen's O'Donnel, 7
Queen, Mary, 250, 264, 269; Elizabeth, 250; of Scots, 150 n; Anne's farthing, 68; Caroline, 176
Queen's county, 39, 96 n, 121, 122, 124, 125, 177, 200, 222 n
Queen's town, (Cork) 118
Quelq. choses, (Kickshaws,) 89, 89 n
Queries, 198, 200, 205; replies to, 203
Querimonia of Donald O'Neill, &c. 52
Queylan, erection of a castle at, 40

R

Rabelais, 82
Race of men similar in various parts of Ireland, Britain, &c., 161
Raghlin Isle is counted a half barony
Rahin castle and town, 36 n, 38
Rainey, 162, 167
Railway through Newry pass, 151 n
Raleigh, 98; Sir W., 280
Ranelagh near Wicklow, 97 n; battle at, when English fled, 97 n
Randall Boye, 222, 222 n
Randolph, 219 n
Rauchlin, Isle of, 155 n; part of Ireland, not of Scotland, 155 n
Ranelagh family, founder of, 38 n
Raughery Isle, 155 n
Ranulphus Cestrensis, 209
Rash, 262
Rath, 49 n; at Dunbar, 197; things found on excavating, 198
Rathconnyll, erection of a castle at, 40
Rathesker, 146 n
Rathfriland, 10, 47 n
Rathlyn, 155 n
Rath Keltair (Down) 51 n

Rath-murbhuilg, 49 n
Rathmullan, P. 24
Ray's Historia Plantarum, quoted, 91 n
Raynie, Elias de, 130
Rebellion, Tyrone's, 5; great, 261; how caused, 249; Irish, 259; cost of, 245
Record Reports, 117
Records, of Youghal, 279; of Irish Society, 264 n
Rectorial tithes, 178
Redbay, 157 n
Redbaye, 155, 157
Redemption. voyage of, 284
Reefert church, Glen-da-lough, 24
Reeves, Dr., 44, 45, 47 n, 48 n, 49, n, 145, 148 n, 217, 233, 253, 279; Eccl. Antiq., 50, n, 51 n, 52 n, 53 n, 54 n, 55 n, 56 n, 89 n, 192; Antiquities, quoted, 24, 47 n; his copy of Fleming, 268
Reflections in Walker's Apology, 269 n
Reformation, 33, 167, 169; in Ireland, 146 n, 152 n, 153 n
Reformed church, 175
Reginaldus, Dunelmensis, 237 n
Registry, of Furness, 52 n; of French confiscated estates, 170 n
Relics, of St. Patrick &c., destroyed 51; of antiquity at Youghal, 114
Religious places of Tiree, Gunna, and Coll, 244
Relig Oran, 241
Reliquaries, ancient, 207
Renfrewshire, 213
Rents, 38 n; of bishop's lands, 249
Repartition, 138
Restoration, the, 130
Results of excavations in Scotland, 100
Rethnea, 234, 234 n
Review, 195; of Notes and Records of Youghal, 279
Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 168, 170, 175, 175 n, 180
Revolution, the, 10
Rhind, A. H., 100
Ricard, 224, 228; Robert 228; Alexandre, 228; Michael, 228; Jane, 228; Hanna, 228; John, 228; Robert, 228, 229; Mr., jun., 229
Riccio, murder of, 219 n
Rice, ap Hugh of Ardye, 146 n
Richard, II., 33, 40, 154 n; family, 69
Richardson, account of battle of Boyne, 273 n; Lady Emily, 182
Richards, an officer, 263 n
Rich, lord, 99 n
Rickett, Robert, 228, 229; Ann. 229; Mary, 229; Thomas, 229; Samuel, 229
Rifles, 98
Righdamhna, 216
Ringland, Mr., 231, 232
Rioghachd barr fo thuinn, 237 n
River of Belfast and Knocklergus, 154
Roan, John, Revd., 132 n
Roberts, J. G., 197
Rochaidh, son of Colla Da-chrioch, 44
Roche family, 169; Louis, 169; Mary, 169; Alice, 169; James, the Roscoe of Cork, 121
Rock monuments, 196
Rocking goose (Rock Aengus) 53 n
Roden, lord, 68
Rokeby, poem, 7
Rolls office, Dublin, 43
Roman, Empire, 186; art, did it affect Irish? 186; emperors, 185; officer, 185; treasury and mint, 184 n; alphabet, 60; legions, 204; coins found near the Giants' Causeway, 187; coins, catalogue of, 187 to 192; plate found, 185; pieces of plate found, 185; money rarely found in Ireland, 187
Romance of the Peerage, Craik's, 90 n
Romanii, VII., 61
Rome, 6, 160, 208, 210, 255 n
Romeo and Juliet, 219
Romilly, Revd. Joseph, 272 n
Romish edifices, demolition of, 22
Rouane, family, 117 n; Helena, of Youghal, 116
Rooe castle, 149
Roory Mor, 49 n
Rosen, Marshal, 266
Rosenallis rectory, 177
Ross, Dr., 48 n
Rosstrevor, 48 n
Rothell, 178
Rotherhithe, incumbent of, claims fish of Thames, 114
Rotherick Kinge of Ireland, 245
Round Tower, not incongruous in modern church architecture, 68; of the cathedral of Worms, 68; on a church, example of, 68; of Maghera, 49 n; of Mahee, 54 n; of Ardmore, 279; of Ireland, 67; in France, 67; in Greece, 67; Asiatic, 67; Christian, 67; their eras, 67
Route, the, 140, 156, 157 n; and Glins in Ulster, invaders of, 42
Roviere, 224, 229; Susanna, 229; Jean, his sons officers, 229; John, lieut., 229
Roviere's holding in Youghal, 229
Rowan tree, 205
Rowte, the, 154, 156 n, 157
Royal Academy, Paris, 175 n; of Nismes, 175 n; Irish academy, 55 n, 66, 100 n, 215; its library, 56 n; copy of Fleming, 260; its MSS., 237 n, 241 n
Royan Duc, de, 175
Ruadhan, F, 197
Ruarcan, 61
Rudhraidhe, son of Partholan, 50 n
Rue de Cleri, Paris, 170 n
Rue, its virtues, 92 n
Ruins, of Inch, 52 n; of sacred buildings, 49
Rustic proverbs of Ulster, 126, 127, 128, 129
Russell, family, 210, 211; Charles, 211; Geo., 169; Rev. Mr., Superior O. S. D., Dublin, 121
Russell's lands, 51 n
Ruthven, 219 n
Rymer, 153 n

S

Sabhal (Saul), 209; monastery of, 53, 53 n,
Sage, Latin saying respecting, quoted, 91 n; its virtues, 92 n
Saint, Anne, 280; Augustine, rule of, 50 n; Baithene, life of, 234, 234 n; Beeves, monks of, 54; Benedict, monastery of, Down, 51; Bernard, order of, 54; monks of, 52, 52 n; his description of the massacre of the monks at Bangor, 45 n; Brendan, 236, 236 n; Brigid, 208, 240, 240 n; cell of, 48 48 n; interred at Kildare, but removed to Down, 210; destruction of her remains, 52; Bronach, 48 n; Broncha, cell of, 48, 48 n; Cainech, 237; Cainnach, 235, 235 n; memorials of, 235; Caylan, 53 n; Canice, 242; Columba, 56, 56 n, 208, 233, 234, 234 n, 235, 235 n, 236, 237, 237 n, 239, 239 n, 241; life of, Adamnan's, 241 n; body found at Iona, 210; and translated to Down, 210; destruction of his relics, 51; Columbanus, 45 n; Columbkille, his copy of the Scriptures, 125; Colum Cille, great reverence to, in Ulster, 125; his cross, 125, 126; Comgall, 235, 237, 253; his adventure with Picts. 235: relics of, 215; baptizes Aedus, 215; his arm, 214; Dallan, 48 n; Doman-

ghart, 49, 49 n ; Domin'c, monastery of, 55 n; Dominicus, 49 n; Donard, 49 n; Doughlass, 177; Dunstan, holds a synod, 111; Fiachra, 214; abbot of Clonard, 214; Fillan's hand, its shrine, carried by Sir Robt. Bruce, 213; his well, 214; relic of, granted by James III., 214; Fr ncis, monastery of, Down, 51, 51 n; third order of, 56; Germains, 175; Helena of the nine hostages, 54 n; Irish, patron, 207; Isidore's, 255 n; Ita, 234, 235 n; John of Jerusalem, order of, 50, 50 n; the Baptist, 50 n; preceptory of, in the Ards, 25; John's point chapel, 22, 23, 24; mention of, by Harris, 25; Johnstown, 25, 262; Kelanus, or Caylan, 53 n; Kevin, 68; Lachlin 215; Martin, monks of, 56; Mary of Haytown, 51 n; of Thanks, 118, 118 n; Mary's, Shandon (Cork) 118; priory, 121; Youghal, 225; church, Glen-da-Lough, 24; Mochaoi, legend of, 54 n; Mochay, island of, 54, 54 n; Mochua, 66; Moluoe, 242; his staff, 242; his staff, 242, 242 n; Monachan's oratory, 61; grave-stone, 61, 65, 66; Mur. O'Heney, 53 n; Murry, 126; Patrick, 279; his history noticed, 70; said to found St. John's Church, 24; destruction of his relics, 51; other relics of, 211; jaw-bone, 211; notices of, 211, 212; converted Pagan monuments to Christian uses, 60; his burial place disputed, 208; his remains translated 51, 51 n, 208, 209; his hand, 207, 208, 210; temple, 242; bed, (Down,) 53, 53 n; yew, 46, 47 n; cathedral, 88 n; well and chair, 89, 89 n; Pauls, 83; Peter, his grant of tithe of fish in Thames, 114; hallows Westminster Abbey, 109, 113; Phillan's in Fife, 213; Ringan, or Ninian 53 n; Riaghail of Tyrella, 50 n; Rumold, 256; Ultan, arm of, 217; bells, 197
Salanus, 49 n
Salan (salt) 71
Salisbury, Earl of, 138; prime minister to James I., 98; his grants in Ireland, 98
Salmon, 162; fishery of, in the Bann, 149, 149 n
Salt, 164, 165; use of amongst Irish, 205; inquiry respecting, 71;
Salterstown, 205
Sanctuary of Westminster, 112
Sanda island, 217
Sanoctal, 181
Sappers, 80; and miners, 98; alarm caused by, 45 n
Sarsfield, 15 n
Sassanach dress not worn in their own countries by Irish chiefs,
Sassenach, 22, 137, 141, 162
Saul, 52 n; abbey at, 209; tomb at, 53 n
Saumur, 175 n, 168
Saunder's News-letter, 205
Saurin, Charles de, 175; John de, 175; James de, 175, 175 n; Antoine de, 175; Daniel de, 175, 175 n; N——de, 175, 196; Jacques de, 175, 176; Louis de, 175, 175 n, 176; James, 176; vicar of Belfast, 176, 177; Louis, 176; Righ Hon. William, 176, 177; offer of Sol generalship, to 177; James, Lord Bishop of Dromore, 176, 177; his monument, 178; family, 169, 175; James, Lord Bishop, born at Belfast, his promotions and death, 177, 178; Right Hon. Wm. attorney-general, 177; refuses judgeship, 177; his great chancery practice. 177; declines a peerage, 177; father of the Bar, 177; retirement and death, 175; of pastor Aymergues, 175; Peter, 175; abbe de, 175 n
Sauvetal, 181
Savage, family, 210; his MS., history of Youghal, 119 n; of the Ards, expresses dislike to castle-building, 40; Robert, his wife, 154 n; Miss, Portaferry, 211; lords, hereditary seneschals of Ulster, 154 n; as seneschal of Ulster, gets charge of Cross-lands, 156 n; Richard, gets wardship of heiresses as seneschal of Ulster, 156 n; lord, 154; his wife, 154 n; killed, 141; driven out of Lecale, 141
Savages, 154; of Dunturk, 212
Savoy, Duke of, 175
Sawtrey Maines, 168
Saxon, 85 n, 161; Corsned, 211; money, 186; architecture, 67; slave, 161; race, 163; settlers in Lecale, 92 n
Saxons, 140; took names from territories, 45 n
Scandinavia, 107 n
Scandinavians, 238
Scandinavian, giants' chambers, 103 n; origin of Scotch stone-circles questioned, 105
Scandinavian Jœttestuer, 106
Scarva, 76 n
Scarnish, 238 (name)
Scattery island, 197
Sceta, 214
Schomberg, 13 n, 273 n; his death, 13 n, 16 n; young, 13 n; duke of, 272; death, 273
Scotch, 251, 252, 262; cairns excavated, 100; men of worth to be of the Irish council, 250; and Irish soldiers of fortune, 196; Highlanders in the service of O'Donnell, described, 156 n; their arms, 156 n; notices of saints &c. omitted in Four Masters, 240; stone arches not of necessity scandinavian, 105; king, little obeyed by islanders, 147 n; family descended from Galgacus, 71; form of Scriptural allusions, 10
Scotland, 46 n, 106 n, 131, 132 n, 139, 148, 156, 156 n, 159, 213, 242, 245, 269; ecclesiastical history of, 233 n; cairns in, not so large as New Grange, 101; skulls from 104; north of, its cairns illustrate New Grange, 105; Black's Atlas of, 234, 234 n; isles of, 157, 159; court of, 155 n; re-conquered by Bruce, 155 n
Scoto-Irish history, 233
Scots, 54, 55, 149 n, 233 n; to be chosen out of certain places, 142; their chief to hold any land he inherits, 142; in Ireland, 147 n; have driven out English and Irish and built castles, 147 n
Scott, Sir Walter, 34, 39, 139, 159, 213, 214
Scottes, 149, 155; bastard sort of, 153; support the O'Neyles, 147; warning fires, mark where made, 156 n
Scotts, 42, 152, 156, 157, 157 n, 159; ot the out isles, 148 n
Scottys brought in by the Savages, 153 n
Scubac ? 206, 283
Scots, after sowing their barley go into Ireland, 156 n; of the west, slight allegiancy to their own monarchs, 159 n; subsidized by English, 159 n; cannot be prevented passing through Fermauagh, 146 n; burn Newcastle, 49; king of, delivers up prince of Breffney to Elizabeth, 85 n; of the out isles, aid O'Neill and O'Donnell, 147 n; ordered by Queen Mary not to go into Ireland, 156 n; subjects holding Raghery, 155 n

Scottish gallies, their landing-place, 155
Seagoe, 44
Seal, of O'Neill, 67; an improper translation of Signum, 32
Seals, great, 247, 248
Sedan University, 176 n
See of Rome, 253
Seneca, quoted, 75
Seness, 175 n
Senex, 205 206
Septs of Tyrone, 147
Sepulchral, memorials, 106 n; cairns excavated, 100
Seynte, Mellite, 109; first bishop of London, 109, 110; Austyn, 109; Peter, his appearance to a Fyscher in the Temse, 110, 111
Shakespeare, 35, 45, 98, 128
Shanavine monastery, of Kilcoran, 280
Shane Donghaileach, 1
Shane-an-Diomais, 1
Shandon castle, 120
Shanganagh, 196
Shankill church, 285
Shannon river, 197
Shannon, Jean Baptiste, 170
Shanvally mortagh, 223
Shearing, expression, 16, 16 n
Sheeres, 159
Sheffield, 174
Sheriff, of Dublin, 43; of Uriel, 43
Sheriffs proposed for Ulster, 144; *eric* previously asked in case he is killed, 144; of low standing, 249
Sheriffes, 159
Sherrin, counsellor, 256 n
Shetland islands, 233
Shirley's Farney, 48 n, 49 n, 143 n, 219 n, 144 n, 150 n
Shires, forming of, 143; Irish, 250
Shrine, 217; ancient, 207, 210; miraculous, at Youghal, 118; described, 119; its date, 120; containing arm of St. Lachlan, described, 215; inscription on, 216; of St. Patrick's hand, superstitous uses of, 211; of St. Patrick's jaw, 211 212; its history and superstitious uses, 212; his thumb and its shrine, 213
Shrule, in Mayo, 37; its siege, 37; persons of note slain at siege, 37 n
Sidney, 98, 152; Sir Henry, 143, 146 n; his expedition into Ulster, visits Newry, 151 n; Sir Harry, lord deputy, 151 n; lord deputy, 38; Sir Philip, 125; lady, who? 125
Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hib. Illustrata, 199
Sign of a notary, 32; example, 32
Signum, meaning of 32
Silver, coin, law against bringing into Ireland, 93 n; Roman, found, 182; its form, weight, &c., 183; manufactured in Ireland at an early period, 185 186; shrine, 207
Simmons, Rd., Dungannon, 133 n; parish books preserved by his means, 133 n
Simon on Irish coins, 93 n
Sinclaire, Sir George, 100
Sinklar, Alex., in Belfast, 232
Sirinus, Thomas, 256
Sitric the Dane, plundered Kilclief, church, 53 n
Skeletons found in a cairn, 104
Skene, William F., 234; his identification of Ethica, 234, 234 n
Skerk a Frieslander, 83 n
Skerryvore lighthouse, 242
Sketrich island, 53 n
Skull, Walker's, 277; imperfect, 278
Skye, 46 n
Slane, baron, 254. 254 n; barons of, 254 n; castle, 254 n; ford of, 13 n
Slanga mountain, 49, 49 n
Slaves and masters, burial of, 106
Slew Meset mountain, 156 n
Sligo, 142; county, 106 n
Sliabh Mughdhorn, 48 n
Slieve Gallon, 147 n
Slieve Gallion, 157 n
Sling, 163, 164
Sluys, 83 n
Smith, J. H. 207, 125; his copies of inscriptions, 61; Wm., of Belfast, 232; John, 219, 220; Henry, in Belfast, 232; Dr. his History of Cork, 115; Dr., Aquilla, 198; Thos. 6, 219, 219 n; an apothecary, 219; attempts to plant the Great Ards, 143; his attempt at colonization of the Ardes, 219 n; killed there, 219 n; Sir Thomas, 6, 143; secretary to Queen Elizabeth, 6; secretary of state, 219 n
Smuggling in a cairn, 104
Snamh Aigneach, 45 n
Snamheach, 47 n
Saamh Edhneach, 45 n, 46 n
Snethchest abbot of Aondruim, 54 n
Society of Antiquaries, London, 215
Soldiers, pay of, 75 n; to live upon their pay, 257; extortion by, 249; by statute should pay for their meat, 249
Solemn League and Covenant, copy of, in Belfast Museum, 174
Solicitor general, 177
Som, 62
Sommieres, 175
Somersetshire, tomb in, 106 n
Sorley Boy, 218 n; Buoy, 222 n
Sorlie Boye, 156
Soroby, 238(name) church-yard, 238; parish, 241, 244
Sotheby and Wilkinson, 118
Southampton, lord, 96 n
Sovereign (a magistrate) 231
Spain, 18 n, 94 n, 137; King of, 149 n, 162, 172, 186
Spaire, Hugh, in Belfast, 232
Spalding Club, 233 n
Spaniards, 96 n, 161; prisoners, 75 n; challenged by Sir Roger Williams, 83 n; at Kinsale, 84 n
Spanish, merchants, in Galway, 162; propose to fish, 149; style of houses at Galway, 162; monarchs assist Irish, 5; invasion, 145; blood, 163
Speed's map of Ulster, 55 n, 56 n
Spelman, 211
Spenser, 98, 280
Spenser's derivation of Gallowglasse, 42
Spenser, Edmund, 140; on bards, 220
Spinning-wheel of the Huguenots, 181
Spires borrowed from Round Towers, 68
Sprat, 162
Sproule, Jane, 133
Sruthshil, 52, 52 n
Staffordshire, 6
State Paper Office, 1, 7, 7 n
State Papers quoted, 41
Statute, of Kilkenny, 40; to encourage castle building, 40
Stanihurst quoted, 41, 42
Stion, 25
Straghard, 123
Suit, respecting privileges of Westminster Abbey, 122; between monks of Westminster and incumbents of Rotherhithe, 114
Sun, 86, 87
Supplies should pass freely from one kingdom to another, 252
Surgeon, pay of, 75 n
Surges, three famous, of Erin, 50 n
Surrey, Lord, 141, 142
Surtees Society publications, 238 n
Surley boy, the Scott, 156 n
Sussex, beaten by O'Neill, 142; marches to Armagh, 142; wishes for a parley with O'Neill, 142; Earl, lord lieutenant, 1; invades Ulster, 2; attempts to have O'Neill assassinated, 2; Earl of, Progresses of, 156 n; sent to reduce Shane

O'Neill, 142; to tax Ulster, procure settlements for English, recover Lecale, &c., from the Scots, and recompense Sir N. Bagenal, 142; Earl, lord deputy, 222 n
Sutherland, 100; antiquities preserved in, 100
Sutton, Sir John, lord lieutenant, 40
Sweden, 82
Swift, Dean, at Kilroot, 71
Swimming Church, 45 n
Sydenham, 202
Sydney, Captain, 90, 90 n, 96
Synod, of Cashel, 279; of Alencon, 167; of Charenton, 167; of Loudure, 168

T

Taaffe, Wm., 117
Taathes, 146
Tables, cards, and dice, 89, 89 n
Taborites, 108 n
Tacitus, 204
Taff, Robert, of Cokestown
Taggart, Mr., P. P. of Portaferry, 211
Taghterraghan, 54 n
Talbot, 155 n; of Castlering, 146 n; de Malahide, Lord, 215; Richard, Lord Furnival's brother, 41
Tallanston, 146 n
Tamlaghtard, 53 n
Tanistship, 152; custom of, 138; propriety of abolishing, 147
Tanist, 2, 222 n; what? 139; of Shane O'Neill, 143
Tanistry, law of, 4, 7, 221 n, 138
Tapestry, in Kilkenny castle, 195; in Irish House of Lords, 274 n
Tapogonel manor, 43
Tartaraghan, 54 n
Tarts, 88; various kinds of, 88
Tartars, 154
ath, Robert, of Cookestowne, 146 n; of Clintonstown, 146 n; Christopher, of Ballibragan, 146 n
Taverner, 178
Tawlaght, 46 n
Taxation, ancient, of Down and Connor, 24; of Pope Nicholas, 24
Taxopolis, 47
Tay, river, 204
Taylor, Dr. W. C., 265 n; Robert, 133; Jeremy, 285; and Howard, 115; and Skinner, 285
Teith, 204, 205
Templars, 50 n, 280
Templefield, 243, 244
Temple Geal, near Dingle, Ogham at, 65
Templepatrick church, Tiree, 241, 242
Templemore parish register, 268 n
Tenekilly, Castle, 122; manor erected, 123; grant of, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125
Tennekille, 38, 42; town and castle, 38; lord of the manor of, 38; castle and lands, 38 n; Gallowglasses kept for, 38 n; privilege to hold courts baron and leet, 38 n; manor of, 38 n; markets and fairs, 38 n; keep of castle, 39; yew at, 39; castle, its decay, 39;
Terconnell, 148, 148 n
Teree, 238
Terletus, Donaldus, 239 n
Termonfeghen, 146 n;
Terra heth, 234
Terrie, 238
Tery, 238
Terzka, 196
Tesky, 46 n
Teutonic Poll, or Boll, cognate with with Celtic Baile, 238
Thames, tithe of its fish, claims for, 114
Theodosius Magnus 189
Tholsel, term, 17 n
Thomas Norris, a general of Epirots, 83 n
Thomond, Earl of, 96 n, 245; lord, 221 n; country of, 221 n; Marquis of, 177; Erle of, 221
Thoulouse, parliament of, 168
Thorpe's London catalogue, reference to, for a copy of Fleming. 260
Thrumster, 100, 107
Thurnam, Dr., 104
Tierig, 238
Tieray, 238
Tierney, 162, 167
Tighernach, 45 n, 240; annals of, 242
Tigh Eoin, or John's house, 25
Tilbury fort, 83 n, 98
Tillotson, 176
Tipperary, county, 217
Tiree, 233, 234 n, 237 n, 239, 241, 243, 244; its ecclesiastical remains, 238; deserибed, 237; its ecclesiastical arrangements, 238; curious mound at, 242; highest point of, 242; pillar-stone, 242; cross at, 242; list of its religious places, 244; churches, burying-grounds, and skeletons, 241 n; tombstones, 241 242, 243; frequent mention of by Adamnan, 233; its situation, &c., 283; its signification identified with Ethica, 234; visited by saints, 234, 235
Tireaugh, 149
Tirhugh, 237 n
Tir Aodha, 237 n
Tiriage, 238
Tirieth, 237
Tir, or Tire, 237 n
Tiron, earl, 147
Tirone, County, 145
Tirrey, Dominick, bishop of Cloyne, 117
Tiry, 242
Titles, &c., Irish, how granted, 248
Toast, 87
Tobacco, 83, 87; Indian, 90; many condemn its use, 90; defence of, 90, 91
Tobinstown, county Carlow, 36 n
Todd, Dr., 215, 242; his copy of Fleming, 260
Toll, to support a castle and trench, 40, 41
Tolsey, (Tholsel) at Bristol, 17 n
Tomb, in Dungiven church, 149 n; of Saints Patrick, Brigid, and Columba, 218; in county Sligo, exhibiting mode of interment, 106 n
Tombs of Scandinavia, 107 n
Tonduff 187 n
Tonn, Cliodhna, 50 n; Tuithe, 50 n; Rudhraighe, 50 n
Tooles, 43
Topographia Hib: quoted, 94 n
Touchamp, 178
Tournay college, 255
Tower of London, 50 n, 184 n
Townlands of Newry abbey. 47 n
Towre axe, 41
Tracie, Sir Nicles, 152
Tracts of Irish Archæological Society, 149 n
Tracy, 152 n; one of Becket's murderers, 152 n
Tragedie of the life and death of Wolsey, acted, 248
Tragh Duin-droma, 50 n
Traigh-na-tren-fhior, strand, 50
Transactions of R. I. Acad., 19
Transactions, of Kilkenny Arch. Society, reference to, 106 n; of Down and Connor Ch. Arch. society, 54 n
Translation of the bones of Saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkill, 208, 210
Travelling, 70 years ago, 281
Travers, John, master of ordnance, sent against O'Cathan, 149 n
Treasurer, Mr., 153 n; of Down,

first appointed, 51 n; of Ireland, 79, 79 n
Treasury of France, 170
Treatise on Ireland, by Dymock, 42, 97 n
Tregury, Michael, Archbishop, 41
Tremmule, 178
Tren Congall, 56, 56 n
Trench, made as a defence, 40
Treufet, 178
Trevor, Edward, of Narrow-water, 48 n
Treves, elector of, 180
Trials of Irish peers, 248
Trias Thaumaturga, 233 n, 240 n, 241 n, 254 n
Trian Congall, 48 n, 56 n; meaning of term, to what applied, &c., 56 n
Tribes, of Ireland, 250; of Galway, 151
Trim, 43; castle, 40
Trimulette, 178
Trinity, College, Dublin, 48 n, 177, 211; island, 256 n
Trinitarian brothers of Redemption, 285
Tristornagh, in Westmeath, 7
Troops, on both sides, at siege of Derry, 264 n
Trow, 146
Trotter, Mr., Down, 51 n
Trougher, 256 n
Trout, 162
Tuagh catha of the gallowglass, 41
Tuathal Teachtmhar, 60
Tuatha-De-Danann, 64
Tuite, Andrew, 40
Tulchan, 235
Tullaghomeath, 46 n
Tullyard, 174
Tumuli, near the Boyne, 100; in Co. Dublin, 196
Turbot, 162
Turk, Thomas, master of the Dominicans, 129,
Turkish, scimitar, the crest of Dubourdieu, 167; pirates, on Irish coast, 206
Turonensian monks, 56, 56 n
Turretin, 175
Two-mile river, 46 n
Twisser, battle at, 151 n
Tyreonnell, 251; Earl of, 245, 250, 261; lord of, 6; clan, 141
Tyr Eoghain, 145
Tyre-e, 238
Tyre Insula, 257
Tyreig, 238
Tyreown, 138
Tyrella, 24, 50 n
Tyrmingraghe, 146
Tyrmyn Omungan, 146
Tyriad, 238
Tyriag, 238
Tyron, 155; its bounds and contents, 147; its capten, 147; changes in its constitution, 147; its principal septs, 147; its buildings, 147, 148; Earl of, 146, 150, 151 n; all the captens of Armagh tributaries to, 149
Tyrone, 36 n, 74, 141, 151 n; Earl of, 3, 223 n, 251, 250, 245. 147 n, 148, 156 n, 158, 159, 137, 142; cause of dissatisfaction, 145; his ambition, 145; dreaded by Turlogh, 3; who proposes to resign part of his territories to him, 4; his prediction concerning, 4; goes to be inaugurated, 4; (*see also* Hugh O'Neill) imprisons sons of Shane the Proud, 148 n; countess, 147 n; clan, 141; divided, 143; Hugh, earl of, his submission, 95; Mountjoy sent against, 99; Con, earl of, 154 n, 151 n; and Tyrconnel earls, flight of, 8; earldom, terms on which granted, 158 n; county, 54 n, 129, 131, 132, 149 n, 158, 262; as described by Sir Thomas Cusack, 147 n; upper and nether, 147 n; his rebellion, 146 n; wars, 151 n; in the woods, 74; his character, by Bodley, 74; his rebellion, 74 n, 75 n, 85 n, 96 n, 97 n; county, 84 n, 75 n, 17 n; his daughter, 77; his submission last year, 84 n, 96 n; to go to England to do homage to James I., 84 n; winter expedition against, 99 n; his submission, 93 n; Essex sent against, 96, 98, 99; suppression of his rebellion, 96 n (*See also* Tyron.)

U

Ublogahill (Tulloghoghe) 4
Ui Eathach, 45 n, 54 n
Ui Meath, 46 n
Ui Meath Macha, 46 n
Ui Meith 45, 46 n; notice of this territory, 46 n
Uladh, king of, 56 n
Ulbster, 100
Ulick, son of Ulick of the wine, 36 n
Ulidia, 51, 53 n, 138; ancient, its boundary known as the Dane's castle, 151 n; its king's representatives, 151 n
Ulidians, the most warlike of the Milesians but disabled by their own dissensions, 141
Ultonia, 208; its churches destroyed, 52; chief of, 48, 48 n
Ultonian youth, 50
Ultoniensis, 206
Ulster, 74 n, 76 n, 99, 137, 138, 141, 159, 205, 206, 208, 214, 218 n, 235, 245, 261, 264; not divided into counties, 245; lord of, 250; earldom, rests in Crown, 141; primary cause of its loss, 149 n; well defended from southern invasion, 151 n; clergy address Wm. III., 172; province of, 250; the fountain of rebellion, 250; uncivil people, 250; mere Irish, 250; a president recommended for, 250; to be divided into shires, 159 250; large grant in, to Essex, 6; state of, by Sir Henry Bagenal, 7; colonization of, 8; signatures of chiefs and commanders, of 1; invaded by Sussex, 2; a fit receptacle for all the savage beasts of the land, 159 n; invaded by Sidney, 3; troops at the Boyne, 27 n; earl of imprisons Walter Burke, 149 n; king of, 56 n; countess of, 151 n; local tokens, 230, 232; inquisition, 47 n, 54 n; annals, 36. 45 n; tanistship, 152; its linen trade, 179; coast to be fortified, 159; one Scotch clan to be employed to keep out another, 159; English sheriffs and preachers and free schools recommended for, 159; a council for assizes and sessions, 159; Sir Henry Bagnall's declaration of, 160; all likely to fall under lord Dungannon, 815 n; a president to be appointed, 158 n; divided into, three lieutenancies, 158 n, inquisitions, quoted, 25; roll of gaol delivery, 25; local tokens, 29, 31; high constable of, 36, ; proverbs compared with similar of England and Scotland, 126, 127, 128, 129; peculiarity of its language, 127; plantation, 95; rebels. Essex sent against, 96, 98; Mountjoy sent against, 99; injured by barons' wars in England, 140; injured by revolt of the barons against the feudal tenure under the earldom, 141; earls of, rebellion against, 153 n; and slain by Sir John Mandeville, 153 n; Clyn's account of, 153 n; seneschal of, 153 n, 156 n; English colonies of, their downfall, 153 n; offices in, held by the Mandevilles, 153 n; earl of, his

murderers join Irish, but are punished, 153 n: cross-lands of, 156 n, 157: why chargeable to the Queen, 157: why also chargeable on government, 157; remedies proposed, 158; its revenues to be expended in fortifications, 158; Marshal Bagenal's description of, 137; eastern, its fastnesses, 137; settlement of English in, 142; taxation of, 142; plan for its security, 142; to be governed by a president, 143; earldom of, inquisition respecting, 143; English plantations attempted in, 143; enumerated, 143; its reclamation attempted by Earl of Essex, 143; proposed to divide into shires, 144; rises in one union against the English, 145; the description and present state of, 146 to 160; position and divisions according to Bagenal, 145
Uniacke's lands, Youghal, 117
Union, question, 177
Upper empire, 187
Uriaghts, O'Neill's, 149 n
Urban III. Pope, 208, 209
Uriagh, 158 n
Uriaghes of the O'Neyles, 147
Uriel, 43; applied to county Louth, 46 n
Ursuline convent, Drogheda, 213
Usquebaugh, 2, 84, 85, 85 n, 87 n. 90
Ussher, 236, 236 n; archbishop, 47 n, 209: takes charge of the young Vist. Iveagh, 47 n
Uxeaux, 175

V

Vagieux, 178
Vale of the Righe, 151 n
Vale, Thomas, notary, 32
Valens, 187 n, 188
Valentinian, I., 188; II., 188
Valentin, 178
Vallancey, 196; on oghams, 62, 63; his Collectanea, 7, 146 n; vindication, &c., 101 n; his Pagan theory of New Grange, 105
Valley of the Black Pig, 151 n
Vandas, 178
Vaudois, 180
Vandadour, Due de, 175
Van Kempe, Godefroy, 181
Vaulted roofs found at Giant's Graves and New Grange, but never in cairns in Scotland, 107
Venison pies, 88
Venlo, 83 n
Verdons, 146
Verdon, of Clonmore, 146 n; Christopher, 146 n
Versailles, 180
Vessel, ancient, of copper, 192
Vetusta Monumenta, 215
Vicar of Peter Lombard, 85 n; of Icolmkill 238
Vice Roy, Irish, 250; assents to acts when sanctioned by King, 247
Viceroy, Irish, protection given by, 221 n; must be English, 247
Viceroys, Irish, 247, 248; English, supported Hugh O'Neill against Turlough, 4; their errors, 252; summon Irish parliament, 247
Victor, 190
Victoria, Queen, 73 n, 83 n
Villa, Haye, 51 n; Jordani, 51 n Nova, 55 n
Villages, Irish, 245
Vincent, Richard, 277 n; Rev. Richard, 134 n
Vindication, &c., Walker's 131, 132 n; of Col. W. Butler, 195
Visigoths, 186
Visitation of Archdiocese of Armagh, 130
Vivian, Cardinal, 208, 209, 210
Volunteers, Bar Company, of, 177
Verneuil, Lord, 155 n
Vernoyl, Sir Thomas, 155 n
Verstegan's, Restitution of Decayed Intelligence quoted, 42
Voticium, 253

W

Wade, George, county Cork, 275 n
Wakefield, 272 n
Wakeman, John, 117; his Irish Archæology, 108 n
Wales, 140, 174, 196; and Ireland compared, 138, 140
Walker, Geo., notice of, 129-135, 261; 130; his birth, 131; education, 131, 131 n; biographical notice of, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135; his birth, and native place, 129; his father, 129, 129 n, 130; the elder Walker's preferments, 129, 129 n, 130, 130 n; appointed to Donaghmore, 132, 132 n; officiates at Dungannon while his own church is rebuilding, 133; retires to Derry, 133; assists rector of Drumglass, 133; parish registry entries by him, 133; church repaired sun-dial, &c., 134; his house, 134; corn mill said to have been erected by him, 135; inscription on, 135; occasional visits to England, 135; had five sons in King William's army, 132 n; his watch preserved, 132 n; often sponsor at baptisms with his wife, 133; baptism of his son, 133; question of graduating at college, 131, 131 n; subscribes act of conformity, 131; appointment to parishes of Lessan and Desertlyn, 131; marriage, 131; erroneous statement that he was a Dissenter, 131, 131 n; his vindication of the true account of the siege of Derry, 131; a second time subscribes act of conformity, 132; governor of Derry, 261; visits England, 261; recommended to secure Dungannon, 261; his advanced age, 262; assuming arms though a clergyman, 262, 262 n; raises a regiment, 262; goes to Derry, 262; his interview with Lundy, 262; gives notice of the approach of the Irish, 262; his movements, 263; retires to Derry, 263; disagrees with Lundy, 263; elected governor, 263: his diary, 264; defence, 265; his toleration of dissenters, 265; his conduct during the siege, 265, 266; cabals against, 266; his sermon, 267; resigns his office, 269: sent to England, 269; his reception in Glasgow, 269; his reception in Edinburgh, where he is made a burgess, 269; King William's letter, 269: presented to their Majesties, 269, 270; his fame, 269, 270; his reception in London, 270; portrait painted by royal order, 270: king's grant to him, 270; his modesty, 270; proposal to make him a bishop, 270: deputation of thanks from Irish Soc., 270; entertained publicly, 270, 271; thanked by House of Commons, 271; other honours, 271; his attention to the claims of Derry, 271; names trustees for bounty, of city of London, 271; his "True Account', and "Vindication," 271: return to Ireland, 270: made D D. by Oxford, 272; not known if he revisited Derry, attended to address Wm. III. on his landing, 272: killed at the Boyne, 273: burial, 273; remains removed to Castle Caulfield

church, 273; supposed inscription relating to, 134 n, 135; his silver cup, 135 n; his monument, 273, 274; his claims for compensation, 274; how settled, 274; testimonial to his memory, 274, 275; remains exhumed and reinterred, 275, 276, 277
Walle, John, 51 n
Wallenstein's death, 195, 196
Walloon church of Leyden, 181
Walsingham, 1; Sir Francis, 125; lady, 125
Ward, Mr., 177; Father Hugh, 255
Ward's Acts and Illustrations of St. Rumold, 256
Wardman, Captain, 97 n; his death in engagement at Ranelagh, 97 n
Wardship of the heirs of those who die in the royal service, 250
Wardships, Irish, how arranged, 248
Ware, 51 n, 54 n, 117, 147 n, 255, 256, 272
Warhouse, 100
Warren, 83 n; of Warrenston, 146 n
Warrenston, 146 n
Wars, of York and Lancaster, injurious effects of, 248
Waterford, 32, 173; county, 120; its governor, 96 n; French settlers at, 67; cathedral, 197
Watuyan, 100
Wattertirry, 52 n
Way, Albert, 193 n; his opinion of a copper vessel found in Down, 193, 194
Welsh, 140, 162; settlers, 174; Triads, 205
Wellesly, Esmond, 43; Robert, 43
Well, Struel, or St. Patricks, 89, 89 n
Wentworth, lord, 122
Westmeath, 7; county, 46 n
Westminster, Hall, 85 n; records, 55 n; abbey, legend of, 108; its dedication, 109; hints respecting its sanctuary, 112
Western Isles, 35, 137; visited by Irish saints, 234
Westwood, 222 n
Wexford, Heron, seneschal of, 222 n
Whaley, Nath. 277 n
W. H. D., 285
Wherry, P. 54 n
Whiskey, 85 n
White, Sir N,, 156 n
White, 256
Whites, 54 n; of Duffryn, and Con O'Neill, 141; of Diffrin, 153
Whiteside, Robert, in Belfast, 232
Whyte, Rowland, tract on the reformation of Ireland, 132 n
Wick, parish, 100
Wicklow, 97 n; county, 36 n, 37, 38, 68
Wilde, Dr., 106 n
William III., 174, 229, 272 n; his arrival, 272; at the Boyne, 10, 13 n, 14 n, 15 n, 16 n 272; aided by Pope, 18 n; glorious memory of, 18, 18 n
William, 162; of the long sword, 138; and Mary, 198; the conqueror, his policy different from that of Henry II., 246
Williams, Sir Roger, 83, 83 n, 98 his personal history, 83 n; anecdotes of, 83 n; his bravery, 83 n; march to Paris, 83 n; challenge to the Spaniards, 83 n; his death, 83 n; funeral, 83 n; his history of the Low Country wars, 83 n
Willis, Capt., sheriff of Monaghan, 144, 144 n
Willoughby, Lord, ballad of, 20 n
Wilson, 106 n, 108 n
Wiltshire, Earl of, 158
Winchester, bishop, 111
Windele, Mr., 28; on oghams, 60, 63, 64, 65
Windsor, Captain, 90, 90 n,
Wine, 83, 84, 86, 98; French, 85; Canary, 76; Spanish, 78; white and claret, 79; discussion on drinking, 80; trade, 149 n; exchanged for salmon, 149 n; quantity in O'Neill's cellar, 2
Wines, of Gascony and Languedoc, 162; of Spanish vineyards, 162
Wodanysfown, 51 n
Wogan, Sir John, Lord Justice 42
Wolf, last killed in North of Ireland 205
Wolves, in Ireland 281
Woodbrook, demesne 122
Words, on Walker's death 273 n
Wordsworth, quoted 100
Worlds, old and new, 160
Worms, cathedral, 68
Worsaae, referred to 103 n, 106 n
Writs of Error when tried 248
Wulfrichford, town 157 n
Wyle parsonage, 238

Y

Y, 239; prior of, 241
Yarn, export to Manchester, 149 n
Yarrows, 100; cavern at, compared with New Grange, 101, 107 n; mode of burial in, 106; each the burial-place of a family or sept; except containing bodies, have not much in common with giant's graves or the "Jættesuer" 106, 107; except pottery, furnish no manufactured articles, 107; stone hammers found near, 107
Yd (Welsh) 237
Yew, the name of Newry, 46 46 n
Ymerdoylan, 151 n
Ynchem, Kargy, 51 n
York, archbishop, 111; house of, 248
Yorkshire, 86 n, 129, 130, 245
Youghal, 223; its Protestant corporation favourable to Huguenots, 223, 224; St. Mary's, 225, 226; embankment of strand at, 226; question of admission of freemen, 227; south abbey, 229; Franciscan friary, 229; remains of buildings near, 280; church of St. Mary, in the town, 281, 280; its other church establishments, 280; preceptory of Templars,, 280; nunnery, 280; Franciscan Friary, 280; light-house, 280; Dominican convent, 280; Benedictine monastery, 280; antiquities at, 114; notices of town, 114; collegiate church of St. Mary's, 114; its chauntry chapels 115; old tombs in chapels, 216 n; Bishop Bennet's connection with, 117; certain premises enumerated as concealed from the Queen, 117; miraculous image and shrine at, 120; the Dominican friary at, 118; by whom founded, 118; the finding of the image at, 118, 119, 119 n; MS. history of town &c., 119 n; French settlers at, 67; charter, 205
Young, Mr., coin collector, 29; Major Richard, Mayor of Derry, 275

Z

Zodiac, 87
Zoilists, 269

THE

ANNALS OF ULSTER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TEXT

OF

O'Conor's Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres,

FOR

THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

BELFAST.

1853.

THE ANNALS OF ULSTER.

ON the year from the Incarnation | of our Lord, 431, Palladius[a] being ordained by

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a—Before giving any account from ancient writers of the coming of Palladius to Ireland, it appears advisable to refer briefly to the state of that country as regards the earliest introduction of Christianity; for, that its doctrines were known, and had made several converts, long before the date at which these annals open, is a fact admitted by all authors who have diligently investigated the question. The earliest Irish annalists all agree that Cormac Ulfhada, King of Ireland in the third century, (who is by them styled the greatest monarch that ever Ireland had, and whose exploits are detailed at greater length in the note to A.D. 438,) having sailed across the sea for the space of three years, brought back with him a knowledge of the true God. That Cormac's voyages were to Britain and Gaul, to which latter country, especially, Christian missionaries had found their way before the third century, is pretty certain from a passage in Tacitus, (who wrote in the previous century) where, in his life of Agricola, he states that "the harbours of Ireland were better known through the means of commerce and of merchants than those of Britain," meaning to those sailing from the ports of Gaul:—and Probus, a writer at the end of tenth century states, in his life of St. Patrick, as given in the works of Bede, that a constant intercourse was kept up between Ireland and Gaul.

According to the Annals of the Four Masters, Cormac died A.D. 266, "from the bone of a salmon sticking in his throat, on account of the genii (*siabhradh*) which Maelgenn, the Druid, incited at him after Cormac had turned against the Druids on account of his adoration of God in preference to them. Wherefore a devil attacked him at the instigation of the Druids, and gave him a shameful death."

Eusebius, who is called the father of Ecclesiastical History, and who wrote about the year 327, is the first ancient writer, unconnected with Ireland, who alludes to the early efforts of Christian missionaries in these countries. He says in his *Præparat. Evangel. Lib.* 3. *c.* 7, that many apostles crossed the sea to the British Islands; and Saint Chrysostom in his *Demonstratio quod Deus sit Christus*, written in 387, says—"The British *Islands* situated outside the Mediterranean Sea, and in the very ocean itself, had felt the power of the Divine word; churches having been founded there and altars erected." And Ussher quotes, from the work of Gennadius *De Script. Eccl. Catal.*, a sentence to the effect that Celestius, the favorite Irish disciple of the heresiarch, Pelagius, "whilst yet a youth, had written letters to his parents from his monastery, containing truly moral language and every incentive to virtue:" on which Petrie, in his Essay on the antiquities of Tara, remarks,—"If, therefore, Celestius, whilst a youth, wrote letters from a foreign monastery to his parents at home, the conclusion is almost unavoidable, that his parents were able to read them:"—and, we may add, to understand the merits of the Christian doctrine they contained—And, as it appears, from Marius Mercator, that Celestius had been a disciple of Pelagius some twenty years before the disclosure of the Pelagian heresy in 405, it follows, that he must have written the letters in question even before the notice (already quoted) contained in the writings of St. Chrysostom.

Lanigan, in his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, (vol. 1. p. 33.) having recapitulated these evidences of an early knowledge of Christianity in Ireland, and having made an excellent and judicious review of the traditions and notices, by ancient Irish writers, of several holy men

Celestine[b] bishop of Rome, is sent in the consulship of Ætius and Valerius, first bishop

who are stated to have existed before the days of St. Patrick, goes on to say, "The Christians of those times, and who, from various concurring circumstances, seem to have been chiefly in the south eastern parts of the island, were undoubtedly assisted by priests, either natives or foreigners, or probably both, who, however, had been ordained in other countries. Their situation began to be better known at Rome after the mission of St. German of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes in the year 429 to Britain, for the purpose of extirpating the Pelagian heresy out of that country. During that mission they could easily obtain information concerning the progress of Christianity in Ireland: and it is natural to suppose that, in giving an account to the Pope of the result of his labours, St. German did not omit to communicate some particulars relative to the state of the Irish Christians." The result was the ordination of Palladius, and his mission to Ireland. Palladius is supposed to have been a native of Britain, and is so called in an old document quoted by Ussher. But it is equally probable that he was a native of Gaul, and of that part called Brittany, or by the Romans Armorica, where a language is still spoken identical with that of the natives of Britain, which still exists in Wales: and his close connection with the great opponents of the Pelagian heresy in Western Europe, who were mostly natives of Gaul, favours the latter supposition. That he possessed considerable influence at Rome before his coming to Ireland, and was mainly instrumental in advancing the mission of St. German to Britain, is apparent from a passage in the works of Prosper. Prosper was himself a native of Gaul, of the province of Aquitaine, a contemporary of Palladius, a distinguished opponent of the Pelagian heresy, and wrote a chronicle of the events of his own times, arranging the years according to the Consulships at Rome—Under the Consulship of Florentius and Dionysius, (A.D. 429) he states that "at the instance of Palladius, the deacon, Pope Celestine sends German of Auxerre as bishop *vice sua*, and the heretics being routed, guides the Britons to the Catholic faith." Respecting the mission of Palladius to Ireland, Prosper states, under the Consulship of Bassus and Antiochus, (A.D. 431,) "Palladius, being ordained bishop by Pope Celestine, is sent to the Scoti believing in Christ." (*Chron. in Duchesne Hist. Francor. Script. Tom* 1. *p.* 295.) Another copy has "Palladius is ordained by Pope Celestine and is sent as *first* bishop to the Scoti believing in Christ." (*Chron. Trium Illustr. Auctorum Arnaldo Pontaco p.* 206). With this latter reading nearly all the MSS. and editions of Prosper's works agree, and it is so quoted by Bede in his *Hist. Eccl. Angl. L.* 1. *c.* 13. That it was to Ireland, and not to that part of Britain now called Scotland, as some have ignorantly supposed, from the word "Scoti," (a word fully explained in a subsequent note,) that Palladius was sent, is evident from a passage in another work by Prosper (*Liber de gratia Christi contra Cassianum*) where speaking of Celestine, he says, "he freed Britain from that disease (Pelagianism,) and, having ordained a bishop for the Scoti, whilst he studied to preserve the Roman island Catholic, he made a barbarous (island) Christian."

In the notes on the year 432, a short reference will be made to the several lives of St. Patrick that have been written; that called the second is considered one of the most authentic; and in it the following account is given of the arrival of Palladius in Ireland. "The most holy Pope Celestine ordained, as bishop, a deacon of the Roman church, Palladius by name, and sent him to the island Hibernia, having delivered to him relics of the blessed Peter and Paul, and other saints, and having also given him volumes of the old and new Testament. Palladius, entering the land of the Scoti, arrived at the borders of the Lagenians, (or people of Leinster) where Nathi the son of Garchu was chief, who was unfriendly to him. But the blessed Palladius, having baptized some in the name of the Holy Trinity, divine mercy inciting them to divine worship, built three churches in the same country; one which is called Cell-fine in which he left the books, (even to this day) which he had received from Saint Celestine; and the casket of the relics of the blessed Peter and Paul and of other saints, and the tablets on which he was wont to write; which, from his name, are called, in the language of the Scoti, *Pall-ere* or *Pallad-ere*, i. e. the burthen of Palladius, and are held in veneration: the second is Teach-na-Roman: the third Domnach-ardec or Domnaeh-ardaeha, in which repose Sylvester and Solinus, holy men of the followers of Palladius, and are honoured there." The district, wherein Palladius is said to have founded these churches, was then called Hy Garchon from Garchu, the former prince of the country, and must have included part of the present counties of Wicklow and Wexford; as, in an old writer quoted by Colgan, Fotharta, (now the Barony of Forth in the county Wexford,) is mentioned as in Hy Garchon; whilst O'Donovan, in his note on the year 430, (in which the three churches founded by Palladius are stated to have been built of wood,) says these churches were situated in the territory of Ui Garchon which was washed by the River Inver-dea in the east of the present County of Wicklow.—Cell-fine is unknown; Teaeh-na-Romhan (or the house of the Roman,) is probably the place called Tigroni; and probably Domnach Arda is the present Dunard near Redeross." O'Connellan in his edition of the Four Masters, at p. 270, adds "Domnath Arda, i.e. the church on the height, from which the parish of Donard, in the County of Wicklow, got its name; and the church was erected on the great mountain now called *Sleive Gadoe*, on which there are still some ruins of an ancient church, much resorted to as a place of pilgrimage in honour of the missionaries Sylvester and Solinis who were buried there, and whose memory has always been held in great veneration by the people. For some reason unexplained by old writers, but which appears to have arisen more from personal dislike, than from opposition to the Christian doctrine, Nathi compelled Palladius to leave his territory after a stay of about a year; although he allowed his assistants, Sylvester and Solinus, to whom some add Benedict and Augustine, to remain in the churches just founded. Authorities agree in stating that, with the intention of returning to Rome, Palladius sailed by the northern parts of Ireland into the country of the Picts, who then occupied all the south-eastern parts of Scotland. The second life of St. Patrick, already quoted, says "af-

into Ireland to the Scoti, [c] that they might believe in Christ; in the 8th year of Theodosius.

A.D. 432, —[1st January, on Friday, 5 A.M. 4636, H.D.]—Patrick [c] arrived in Ireland

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ter a short interval (from his leaving Ireland) Palladius died in the plain of Girgin, in a place which is called Fordun. The plain of Girgin, in Irish *Maghgirgin*, is the tract since called by corruption *Mearns*. In Playfair's topography it is stated, that the memory of Palladius is still revered at Fordun under the name of *Paldi* or *Pad* and a chapel adjacent to a church is called Palladius' Chapel. For the authorities as to the mission and death of Palladius, see Lanigan's Eccl. Hist., vol 1. p.p. 37-45.

[b]—Celestine I., successor to Boniface I., in 422, was, according to some accounts, the 42d, and to others the 45th Bishop of Rome, and died 26th July 432, having governed 9 years 10 months and 17 days. It may be observed that the dates of the accessions and deaths of the several Popes, as given in these notes, are extracted from Bower's History of the Popes, printed in 1750, in which great care seems to have been taken to compare the various authorities where uncertainty exists, as it does in the dates connected with the rule of the earlier Popes.

[c]—That Ireland was styled by the old writers *Scotia* and the inhabitants *Scoti* or *Scots*, there is abundant proof.—Bede in his chronicle, c. 1. c. 1., says "This (Hibernia) is properly the country of the *Scoti*," and he uses *Scotia* six times for Ireland, but never once for North Britain. He also uses "*Scoti*" in numerous places to denote either the Irish dwelling in Ireland, or in Iona, and the adjacent parts of Alba which were colonized from Ireland.—Adamnan, an earlier writer, speaking of St. Columbkille's removal from his native country to Iona says, "He sailed from Scotia to Britannia ["*Vita Præf* 2.]—Buchanan, himself a Scotsman, (and hence his evidence is doubly valuable,) quoting from Bede, relates the coming, from Ireland into Scotland, of the Piets and Scots, and says "For all the inhabitants of Ireland were originally called Scoti, as Orosius shows. And Claudian in his time shows that auxiliaries were carried over from thence against the Romans; for he says—

——— "Totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys"

('when the Scot roused all Ireland, and the sea foamed with hostile oar,') and in another place—

"Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

('The icy Ireland wept over the tombs of the Scots.') * * For when they (the Scots of Alba) call themselves Albanach, a name derived from Alba, their neighbours still name them Scots, by which their origin from the Irish is made manifest. * * * I think I have sufficiently demonstrated out of Orosius, a Spaniard, and Bede an Englishman, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were anciently called Scots; and that at length, when they sent colonies into Alba, the name of Scots, being almost extinct at home, began to grow famous abroad." [*Buchanan's Hist Scot. c.* 2.] It may be observed that the Scottish Highlanders, at the present day, call themselves *Albanach*, and their country *Alba*, in the genitive case *Albyn*, the name usually, though ungrammatically, used for ancient Scotland; as Ireland is usually called Erin,—the genitive case of Eire, the proper ancient name of Ireland.

After the subjugation of the Piets of North Britain, the victorious party, the Scots, assumed the entire kingdom, which presently was called *Scotia*, but with the additional epithet of *nova*, (new,) *minor*, (the lesser,) or *citerior*, (the nearer.) Down to the 12th century, continental writers called Ireland the country of the Scoti, and it was not till the middle of that century that the name was finally transferred to Scotland. (See the valuable dissertations on the words Scoti and Scotia, in *Messingham's Florileg. Tractat. Præambularis. Fleming. Collectanea, pp.* 272-285.)

The Saxon Chronicle, at A.D. 903, says, "Athelstan invaded *Scotland* by sea and land." This is about the earliest instance where that name is given to North Britain. Chalmers in his "*Caledonia*," adduces a long list of authorities to shew that Scotia, in ancient times, was Ireland. He adds that Aelfred's Saxon version of Orosius, rendering the author's "Scotia" *Scotland*, is the earliest instance of the name. (Vol. 1. pp. 272-3.)

[d]—The annals are curiously correct in giving this as the 8th year of Theodosius; or, making the allowance for their being antedated one year, (as explained in the introduction,) the 9th year; for it was the 9th year from the death of Honorius, emperor of the West, in 423, when Theodosius caused himself to be proclaimed sole emperor, although he shortly afterwards named Valentinian, (an infant of 5 years old,) emperor of the West, retaining to himself all real power; but in reality it was the 24th year of his reign as emperor of the East. It is equally curious to observe that the annals, whilst they note accurately the accessions and deaths of every emperor of the East, and of every Pope, *completely ignore the existence of the emperors of the West*, who still held the shadow of a sceptre at Rome.

[e]—It would be impossible to compress into a note all the particulars recorded of the early History and mission of Saint Patrick, a subject on which volumes have been written, but of which no account has yet appeared calculated to please the general reader, by setting forth, in simple narrative, free from national prejudices, religious or political, the labours of one of the most successful, (because wise, temperate, and judicious,) of any of the early missionaries of the west. It must suffice, although, even then, at the risk of being considered to diffuse, to give, from the various authorities, an outline of the principal events in the career of that remarkable man; referring the reader, for more minute information, to the works of Ussher, Harris's translation of Ware, the first volume of Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, and the Essays by Petrie on the Round Towers and on the Antiquities of Tara. Some modern authors have ventured to doubt the *existence* of such a person as Saint Patrick, not only on account of the many absurd fictions which have been engrafted on his true history, and the maintenance of which has led to many discrepancies in the narratives of his life: but also because of the silence, as to his mission, of those continental writers who have

in the 9th year of Theodosius the younger; in | the first year of the episcopate of Sixtus the 42nd

chronicled that of Palladius.—This can be easily accounted for by the fact, that Patrick was considered only as the successor to Palladius in a mission already constituted; and that he received his ordination as bishop not, like Palladius, from the hands of the Pope, but from one of the prelates in the remote Province of Gaul. There is most conclusive evidence that Patrick not only existed, but that, from the day of his coming, he has been held in the highest veneration and honour in Ireland as its great apostle. Tradition, which, (however much it may magnify or deal in the miraculous as to the acts of its heroes, is always true as to the *existence* of the individuals, and mostly so as to the scenes of their exploits,) is, in the case of St. Patrick, fully confirmed by the written evidence of those learned and holy men his immediate successors, themselves of undoubted Irish origin, who had no object to serve by representing a foreign priest, unconnected with them by any tie of blood or race, as the person by whose labours their countrymen had been confirmed in the blessings of Christianity. The earliest written reference to Patrick extant is in that poem which is attributed to Fiech of Sletty (near Carlow) who was converted by Patrick, and ordained by him. It is certain that this was written before the end of the 6th century, as it is referred to by writers of that period, and is by them called the Hymn of Fiech.—It purports to be an account of Patrick's life, and by some is considered to have been written before his death. That St. Columbkille, descended from the royal and powerful race of Niall, and who completed in Ulster, and in the kindred Kingdom of Alba, the good work which Patrick had begun, must have seen and conversed with many who were contemporaries of and fellow-labourers with Patrick, is certain, as he was born only 23 years after Patrick's death. He died in 592 at Iona where he had founded an Abbey: and to Segine, one of his successors in the Abbey, (and who, it is probable, had been in the Monastery of Iona before the death of Columbkille, as he became Abbot in 622,) Cummian, an Irish monk, and afterwards abbot of Iona, addressed, in 634, a letter, still extant, on the proper time for the observance of Easter, (a question which, for some centuries distracted the early Christian churches,) wherein he alludes to the cycle as introduced into Ireland by Patrick, whom he styles "*Papa noster*"—our Pope.—Cummian died in 668; at which time Adamnan, afterwards abbot of Iona, was 32 years old.—Adamnan wrote the life of Columbkille in Latin, (a work still extant, and in it makes mention of Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, as a matter of course. He was contemporary with, and well known to, the venerable Bede, having been sent on an embassy to the king of Northumbria to solicit the freedom of some Irish Christians who had been taken captive by a band of Saxon marauders in an incursion on the coast of Ireland. Bede says of him, (Eccl. Hist. b. 5, c. 15,) "A good and wise man, and most nobly learned in the knowledge of the Scriptures:" and Bede himself in his martyrology introduces Patrick as the apostle of Ireland. Thus we have an interrupted succession of learned men referring to Patrick as the founder and chief of the Irish Church, almost from his own day down to that of Bede, whose historical veracity has ever been held in the highest estimation.

The earliest accounts of Saint Patrick represent him as a Briton by birth; and of a family, which, if not noble, was certainly above the rank of plebeian. Some will have it that he was born on the Clyde, at a place now called Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton; but even these authorities, as given by Ussher, admit that his mother was an Armorican or native of Brittany in France, and that his parents removed thither with all their family whilst Patrick was a child. There is extant a document in Latin, called "the Confession of Patrick," which is referred to by writers in the 6th century, and which, let it be the production of Patrick himself or not, bears every internal mark of authenticity. It professes to be his Autobiography; and in it we see reflected, as it were, the character of a sincere and single minded, though zealous and enthusiastic, man; not more visionary than many of the sincerely religious missionaries of modern times have been, yet in all things humbly acknowledging himself as only the instrument in the hands of the Supreme. In this confession he says that he was son of Calpornius, a deacon, the son of Potitus, a presbyter, who lived in a town called Banavan Taberniæ where he (Patrick) was taken captive. The reader is referred to the 1st vol. of Lanigan's Eccl. Hist. p.p. 88-124, for a very ingenious and conclusive argument, showing that this must refer to the neighbourhood of Boulogne, then in Armorican Gaul; which included the modern provinces of Picardy and Normandy, as well as Brittany. The greater probability, therefore, is, that his father, (whose name is variously given by the earliest writers as Calpornius, Calporn, Calpran and Alpran,) was originally of a Roman family, but which had become naturalized in Britain; as we know that the quarters of the Roman Legions were not periodically changed as those of modern regiments are; but being once fixed in any of the more distant of the Roman provinces, the Legions remaining there, formed a sort of military colony, gradually mixing with the natives, and losing their feelings of allegiance to Rome. They were, therefore, frequently the instruments by which an ambitious general attained to the Imperial purple. Accordingly we find that, in A.D. 383, Maximus, the Roman general in Britain, revolted there: and, having collected an army in that island, passed over to Gaul; defeated there, and put to death, the Emperor Gratian; and proclaimed himself emperor. Nennius, the historian, says, that, instead of taking his followers back to Britain, Maximus divided amongst them all Armorica. It is very probable that Patrick's father was one of those followers, and thus obtained that property; which caused him to receive from the old writers the title of "Decurio," a name which implies an enjoyment of, or a qualification for, colonial municipal honours. It is equally probable that he then married Conchesa, an Armorican, as the above date would closely correspond with the period of Patrick's birth: for Lanigan shows, on what appears to be undoubted evidence, (fully corroborated by reference to the biographies of co-existing ecclesiastics,) that Patrick could

bishop of the Church of Rome. So Bede, Marcellinus, and Isidore reckon in their chronicles. In the 12th year of Laoghaire son of Niall.

A.D. 434. [1 *Jan. Sund.* ☽ 1; *A.M.* 4638.] —The first foray of the Saxons[f] in Ireland.

A.D. 435. [*A.M.* 4639.]—Death of Breasal,[g] King of Leinster. Orosius,[h] Prosper,[i] and Cyril,[k] flourished, according to some, in the doctrine of Christ.

A.D. 436. [1 *Jan. Wed.* ☽ 27; *A.M.* 4640.] Or, in this year the death of Breasal. Orosius, Prosper and Cyril, flourished in Christ.

A.D. 437. [1 *Jan. Frid.*; ☽ 9; *A.M.* 4641.] —Finnbarr,[l] son of Hui Bardene.

A.D. 438. [1 *Jan. Sat.* ☽ 1; *A.M.* 4642.] —The Great Chronicle[m] was written.

A.D. 439. [☽ 1; *A.M.* 4643.]—Secundinus,[n] Auxilius,[o] and Isernius,[p] themselves also

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not have been more than 45 years of age when he was chosen, in 432, as the successor of Palladius; and that therefore he was born about the year 387, or four years after the settlement of the Romano-British army in Armorican Gaul. This would account for Patrick being styled a Briton, as well as for his subsequent influential position amongst those Gaulish divines, who, under the instruction of St, Martin of Tours, formed the great missionary body that Christianised the British Islands, and the West of Europe. In A.D. 379, Niall of the Nine Hostages ascended the throne, and during his reign, not only made frequent excursions against Britain, but even carried his arms to the coast of Armorican Gaul. In one of these incursions he brought away with him a number of captives, and amongst them was Patrick, then in his 16th year. He was consigned as a slave to Milchu a petty king of the Cruithneans, or Pictish inhabitants of Dalriada in the middle of the present County of Antrim. After a six-years' servitude he made his escape, and was conveyed to his own country. He then became a disciple of Saint Martin at Tours, and, after him, of Saint Germanus, at Auxerre, from whom he removed to Lerins, and in process of time returned in the quality of a missionary to that country which formerly he had become acquainted with in the capacity of a slave.

[f] *Saxons.*—The year 449 is the received date for the formal entry of the Saxons into England: but long before this they had begun to infest the maritime parts of western Europe. In 364, the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots, are represented by Ammianus Marcellinus as harassing the Britons with continual aggressions; and in 374 by Nennius as making a descent upon Britain. In 428 three long ships with Hors and Hengist, and other exiles, are said by the Saxon Chronicle to have come to Britain. In 429 they sent over to their country for help; and in 430 the Britons, having been baptized by Germanus and Lupus, won from the united forces of the Saxons and Picts the famous Alleluiatic victory. Ireland appears to have shared in the general aggression, and was visited again in 471. Carthinna, mother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, is said to have been a Saxon.

[g] *Breasal* —Called by the Four Masters Breasal Bealach son of Fiacha Aiceadh son of Cathaeir Mor, King of Leinster. According to the Irish pedigrees, the Cavanaghs, Kinshelas, O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, and other families of Leinster are derived from him.---See Keating Hist., A.D. 122; O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 311; O'Donovan on IV. Mast. An, 435; Book of Rights, pp. 201—3.

[h] *Orosius* —Paul Orosius a priest of Tarragona. In 415 he was sent by St. Augustin into Palestine, where he opposed the errors of Pelagius. In 417 he completed his *Historiarum adversus Paganos*. Another work was *Contra Pelagianos de Arbitrii libertate*. His works were published by Havercamp, at Leyden, in 1738.

[i] *Prosper*,—Commonly styled *Aquitanus*. He was a warm supporter of St. Augustin's doctrines His Principal works are *Contra Collatorem*, and his *Chronicon*. In 443 Leo I invited him to Rome and made him his secretary. His Chronicle reaches to the year 455.

[k] *Cyril.*—Bishop of Alexandria, from 412 to 444. His works are voluminous, occupying 6 folio volumes.

[l] *Finnbarr*,—We have no materials for ascertaining who this personage was: Colgan supposed him to be Fortunanus, mentioned by Tirechan, The epithet of *Ua Bardene* is supposed by O'Donovan to be the same as *Ua Baird*, the Irish expression for Longobardus. Besides the Lombards who settled in the North of Italy, there was a tribe, according to O'Flaherty, of the same name which was located in North Britain, These he supposes to have been the subjects of Aengus Olmucadha's twelve victories, and the stock of Restitutus, the husband of Liemania, St. Patrick's sister, who is indifferently styled in Irish authorities as Ua Baird and Longobard.—See Ogygia, pp. 206, 207: O'Conor, Rer. Hib. SS. Proleg. ii, pp. 64, 97: Petrie's Round Towers, p. 164; Four Masters, An. 3799, 437. It is to be observed, however, that we meet with a Columban, son of Bardan, of the Dal Bairdine of Uladh, in the Annals of Tighernach, at 628.

[m] *Great Chronicle.*—Called in the Dublin M.S., and Irish compositions *Senchus Mor*. It was a body of laws compiled by the Apostle of Ireland or his successors soon after the introduction of Christianity into the island. ---See Petrie's Tara, p.p. 45---57.

[n] *Secundinus.*—Called by the Irish *Seachnall Mac Ua Baird*, 'Sechnall son of the Lombard,' that is Restitutus the husband of Liemania, Patrick's sister. The Tripartite life of St. Patrick, styles him "Vicar of Saint Patrick in Spirituals, and Suffragan." (Trias Thaum. p. 167.) It is from him that Domhnach-Seachnaill, now Dunshaughlin, a parish in the South-East of Meath, derives its name. His death is entered at 447.

[o] *Auxilius* —He and Iserninus were two Gallican missionaries who were sent to the aid of St. Patrick in Ireland. Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, says that they were ordained by Mathorex on the same day that Patrick received episcopal orders: and their names are coupled with his in the superscription of an extremely ancient collection of Irish canons in these words: "Incipit Lyuodus episcoporum, id est Patricii, Auxilii, et Isernini." The Annals of Inisfallen add "Nec tamen tenuerunt apostolatum nisi Patricius Solus." Auxilius, called by the Irish Ausaille, gave name to Cill Ausaille,

bishops, are sent into Ireland to assist Patrick.

A.D. 440. [☽ 5; *A.M.* 4644.]—Death of Sixtus,[q] bishop of the Church of Rome, who lived in the administration of the Church of Rome 8 years and 27 days, as Bede relates in his Chronicle. Some books state that Maine,[r] son of Niall, lost his life in this year.

A.D. 441. [*A.M.* 4645.]—Leo[s] ordained 42d bishop of the Church of Rome. Patrick the bishop was approved in the Catholic faith.

A.D. 443. [*A.M.* 4647.]—Patrick the Bishop flourishing in the ardour of faith, and the doctrine of Christ, in our province.[t]

A.D. 444. [*A.M.* 4648.]—Armagh [u]founded. From the founding of Rome to the founding of this city 1194 years.[v]

A.D. 445. [*A.M.* 4649.]—Nathi[w] son of Fiachrach son of Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin, of Magh Tail, was struck with lightning at the Alps, as he was passing the limits of the same; and died. He reigned 23 years in Ireland.

A.D. 446. [1. *Jan. Tuesd.* ☽ 18; *A.M.* 4650.]—Battle of Femhin,[x] in which fell the son of Carthenn,[y] son of Coelbath. Some say that he was of the Cruithne.[z]

A.D. 447. [1 Jan. Wed. ☽ 29; A.M. 4651.] —Death of Secundinus[a] the holy, in the 75th year of his age.

A.D. 448. [*A.M.* 4652.]—By reason of a violent earthquake[b] which prevailed in various parts, very many walls in the Imperial City,[c] but lately rebuilt, together with 57 towers, were thrown down.

A.D. 449. [*A.M.* 4653.]—The Emperor

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now Killashee, a parish in the County of Kildare, a little south of Naas

[p] *Iserninus.*—Called *Serninus* in the Dublin MS.: *Serninus* in the Brit. Mus. MS. *Iserninus* is the correct form. Tirechan relates a curious anecdote of his mission from St. Germanus of Auxerre: how he declared his willingness to go to any place except Ireland, and how a contrary wind, when he was on his way elsewhere, turned him from his course and compelled him to land on the right side of Ireland. The church in which he was afterwards placed was Cill-Cuilinn, now Kilcullen, in the County of Kildare. (Colg. Tr. Th. p. 154 cap. 18.)

[q] *Sixtus.*—Eight years and 19 days, that is, from July 24, 432 to Aug. 11, 440, was the occupancy of Pope Sixtus iii. according to Anastasius. [See Pagi, Crit. Hist. Chron. Vol. ii. p. 278 *b*]

[r] *Maine.*—The fourth son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and one of the four brothers whose posterity constituted the southern Hy-Neill. His descendants were afterwards represented by the Foxes of Teffia, the Magawlys, the O'Breens, O'Dalys, and others, occupying the present counties of Longford and Westmeath.—[O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 401.]

[s] *Leo.*—Pope Leo the Great was consecrated Sept. 22, 440. [See Pagi. ii. pp. 278 *b*, 280.]

[t] *Province.*—The printed copy reads *Hibernia*. Provincia is a favourite word in Adamnan, Bede, and other early writers, to denote a kingdom or territory.

[u] *Armagh.*—Properly Ard-Macha the "Height of Macha." Macha is said to have been wife of Cimbaoth, King of Ulster, who flourished about B.C. 300. From her, too, the neighbouring regal seat of Emhain Mhacha, now the "Navan," derived its name. [See Irish Eccles. Journal Vol. V. No. 95, p. 93. For the date of this foundation see Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 289, 292; Stuart's Armagh, p. 82: Lanigan, Ec. Hist., i.: Four Mast. A.D. 457.]

[v] *Years.*—This computation refers the founding of Rome to B.C. 759.

[w] *Nathi.*—Sometimes, called Dathi. He was the last Pagan monarch of Ireland. His reign extended, according to O'Flaherty, from 405 to 428. See O'Donovan, Tribes and Customs of Ui Fiachrach pp. 17—27: Four Mast. There is great anachronism in the introduction of his name here.

[x] *Femhin.*—Sometimes, as in the parallel passage of the Annals of Inisfallen, (An. 448,) called *Magh Feimhin*. [Moy Feymin.] It was a plain in the south-east of the now County of Tipperary, and is the root of the name *Iffa*, in the "Barony of Iffa and Offa."

[y] *Son of Carthenn.*—The Chron. Scot. adds, 'son of Niall.' "Iecit genus Laig."—An. Inisf. This battle was between the Leinstermen and Munstermen.

[z] *Cruithne.*—That is, the Picts, [perhaps from the Irish *cruth*, 'colour.'] These Annals sometimes use the term *Picti* and *Pictores*. The principal Pictish settlement in Ireland was Dalaradia: there was another in Meath (See Reeves, Eccles. Ant.; Todd and Herbert's *Nennius*.

[a] *Secundinus.*—(See the note at 439.)

[b] *Earthquake.*—This account is borrowed, word for word, from the Chronicle of Marcellinus, where it is noticed at the year 447. The occurrence is recorded by Venerable Bede also, but the fullest description of it is given by Evagrius, the Ecclesiastical Historian, lib. 1. cap. 18. He explains the word *imminente*, which is rendered above, 'which prevailed,' by the statement, "This visitation affected the earth for a considerable time"; and the expression "*plurimi Urbis Augustæ muri recenti adhuc reædificatione constructi cum lvii turribus corruerunt*," by "Many of the towers through the Royal city, [*ana ten basilida*] were levelled, and what was called the Long Wall of the Cherronese fell at the same time."

[c] *Imperial City.*—Bede tells its name; "Quin et iisdem temporibus fames Constantinopolim invasit: nec mora pestis secuta est: sed et plurimi ejusdem urbis muri cum quinquaginta septem turribus corruerunt. (H.E. i. 13.] The term in Evagrius, *e basilis*, is that by which he generally denotes Constantinople,—as *Urbs Augusta*, among Latin writers of the day. A modern writer has charmed all these 57 towers from the Bosphorus to the Atlantic, and, in his visionary architecture, converted them into Irish Round Towers! Surely Ireland among

Theodosius[d] died, as Marcellinus affirms. The Emperor Marcian succeeded in the room of Theodosius, as Marcellinus states.

A.D. 451. [A.M. 4655.]—Easter[e] was celebrated on the 8th of the Kalends of May. Or, more correctly, in this year Theodosius the younger dies.

A.D. 452. [A.M. 4656.]—Some say Brigid,[f] was born in this year. A great slaughter of the Leinstermen.[g] Or, more correctly, in this year Marcian succeeded Theodosius the younger as Emperor.[h]

A.D. 453. [1. *Jan. Thur.*) 5; *A.M.* 4657.] —A defeat[i] in battle given by Laoghaire son of Niall to the Leinstermen.

A.D. 454. [1. *Jan. Frid.*) 16; *A.M.* 4658.] —The Convention of Tara,[k] held by Laoghaire, son of Niall

A.D. 455. [*A.M.* 4659.]—Victorius[l] the astronomer, flourished.

A.D. 456. [1. *Jan. Sund.*) 9; *A.M.* 4660.] —Death of Enna,[m] son of Cathboth. The nativity of Saint Brigid[n] as some allege. The Emperor Marcian[o] resigned the vital breath: he reigned 6 years and 6 months, as Marcellinus states. On his death Leo succeeded.

A.D. 457. [*A.M.* 4661.]—The synod of Chalcedon[p] was convened. The rest of Old Patrick,[q] as some books state.

A.D. 458. [1. *Jan. Wed.*) 1; *A.M.* 4662.]

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her mirables must have a 'Wonderful Lamp.' (See Petrie's Round Towers, p. 45.)

[d] *Theodosius.*—Died, July 28, 459. (See Pagi ii. p. 317.) Bede agrees with our Annals in antedating Marcian's accession one year

[e] *Easter. Pasca Domini.*—The 24th of April in this year was Tuesday, from which it follows that the Irish were at this period, *Quartadecimans*, that is, they kept Easter, not on the Sunday which followed the 14th after the vernal equinox, but on the 14th itself, irrespectively of the day on which it fell. This observanee, which was practised by some of the Asiatic churches, coincided with the Jewish Passover, and was afterwards laid as a heresy to the charge of the Irish. [See Bede, H.E. ii 19; Vita S. Wilfridi, cap. 12.]

[f] *Brigid.*—These Annals place her death, in her 70th year, at 523 and 525, which fixes her birth to 453 or 455, the former being the date generally received. She was born at Faughard, in the county of Louth, and died in her church of Kildare, on the 1st of February, which is her festival. Colgan has published six different biographical accounts of her, one of which, in Irish, an ancient intricate composition is preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, a manuscript at least a thousand years old. (See Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol, i.)

[g] *Leinstermen.*—"Interfectio magna Lagenarum." This seems to be the record by a Latin annalist, of an occurrence, which was referred by an Irish one to the following year; both of which are copied by the Ulster annalist at their respective dates.

[h] *Emperor.*—See the note on 449.

[i] *A Defeat.*—*Cath-roincaih*, or, as in Four Masters, (453) *Caith-raeineadh mor*, which O'Donovan renders 'a great defeat,' The old Translation in the British Museum incorrectly has "The battle *called Cathroine*, given by Laogire McNell upon Leinstermen."

[k] *Tura.—Feis Teamhra.*—The word *feis* is rendered by the Latin *cena* by the Dublin, and Brit. Mus. MSS., and in all the copies at 461. On these semi-legislative semi-convivial meetings, the reader is referred to Petries' Tara, pp. 7, 58; Keating's History, Vol. 1. p. 330 (Ed Haliday.)

[l] *Victorius.*—The Annals of Inisfallen, at the parallel place. (458) have "Victorius scripsit eiclum Pascha." In 455 a great dispute arose between the Eastern and Western Christians concerning the Easter observance of that year, and, to prevent a recurrenee of the like, Pope Leo deputed Hilary his Archdeacon to employ a competent person in the construction of a new Paschal canon. Accordingly Victorius of Aquitaine, a mathematician of note, was the person chosen, who, in 457, composed his Paschal cycle of 532 years, that is. 28 x 19, the product of the Solar and Lunar cycles. The Victorian period begins from A.D. 28.: A.M. 259. This Paschal canon was published by Egid. Bercharius in 1634. Cummian, in his Paschal letter, (A.D. 634) mentions this cycle (Ussher, Syllog. Ep. xi); and the anonymous writer of the Irish tract *De Mirabilibus Sac. Scripturæ*, in St. Augustin's works (Vol. iii. p 402 *b*) reckons by it. See Pagi, ii. pp. 370 *b*; 582; 626. O'Conor Rer. Hib. SS. Vol. ii. p. 112; Bede Chronicon (Monument, p. 95.)

[m] *Enna.*—O'Conor suspects that this was Enna or Endeus of Arann, (Rer. Hib, SS. Vol ii. p. 108); but he is wrong, Conall Derg, not Cathbadh, was *his* father.

[n] *Brigid.*—This date is not so near the real one as 452. The compiler of these Annals embodied several chronicles which varied in their computation, and thus we find so many duplicate entries in the early part. The year of the earlier entry, *plus* one, is generally the true date.

[o] *Marcian.*—Came to the throne in 450, died Jan. 31, 457. The latter part of this entry is from the Dublin MS. Bede says: "Septem annis tenuit" (H. E. i. 15; v. 24.)

[p] *Chalcedon.*—Six years too late. The An. Inisfall., which refer it to 452, are nearer the true date. This was the 4th General Council convened in 451, to condemn the Eutychian heresy.

[q] *Old Patrick.*—His day occurs in the Irish calendar at the 24th of August. The Annals of Connaught, at 454 record, "Doruntatio sancti Senis Patricii Glosoniensis ecclesiæ." The marginal note on the Felire of Ængus at Aug. 24, says "Old Patrick of Ros-dela in Moylocha; but it is more true that he is interred in Glastonbury of of the Gail in the south of Englaud: for the Scots were travelling there on a pilgrimage. But his relics are in

—The battle of Ath-dara,[r] fought by the Leinstermen against Laoghaire, in which he was made prisoner, but subsequently liberated, on his swearing[s] by the Sun and Wind that he would remit to them the [tribute of the] cows.[t]

A.D. 459. [1. *Jan. Thur.* ☽12; *A.M.* 4663.] —The bishop Auxilius[u] rested. Or, in this year according to some, was fought the battle of Ath-dara.

A.D. 460. [1. *Jan. Frid.* ☽ 23; *A.M.* 4664.] —Pope Leo[v] died. He occupied the chair of Peter in the Church of Rome 21 years, 1 month and 13 days, as Bede reckons in his chronicle.

A.D. 461. [1. *Jan. Sund.* ☽ 4; *A.M.* 4665.] —Or, in this year Leo died. Hilary[w] was elected 44th bishop of the Church of Rome, and lived 6 years. Some record the death of Patrick in this year. Laoghaire, son of Niall, lived after the Convention of Tara, 7 years, 7 months, and 7 days. The battle of Ath-dara fought against Laoghaire, by the Leinstermen, under the command of Crimthann.[x]

A.D. 462. [1. *Jan. Mond.* ☽ 15; *A.M.* 4666.]—Death of Laoghaire,[y] son of Niall, at Grellach-Daifil, by the side of Caisse, in Magh-Life, between the two hills Ere and Alba. The Leinstermen say that the Sun and Wind killed him.

A.D. 463. [1. *Jan. Tues.* ☽ 26; *A.M.* 4667.] —Beginning of the reign of Ailill Molt,[z] son of Nathi.[a]

A.D. 464. [1. *Jan. Wed.* ☽ 7; *A.M.* 4668.] —The first battle of Ardcorann,[b] by the Leinstermen. The Angles[c] came into England.

A.D. 465. [1 *Jan. Frid.* ☽ 18; *A.M.* 4669.] Hilary,[d] bishop of the Church of Rome, died, having occupied the chair of Peter 6 years, 3 months and 10 days. Simplicius[e] ordained [his successor,] who sat 12 years, 1 month, and—— days. Eoghan,[f] son of Niall, died.

Ulster, Old Patrick, at Armagh." There can be no doubt that there were two early promulgators of Christianity of this name in Ireland, and that their acts and dates have been confounded. See the judicious remarks on the subject in Petrie's Tara, pp 64. 94: O'Donovan on Four Mast., 457: OConor, Rer. Hib. SS. Vol. ii. p. 110.

[r] *Ath-dara.*—'The Ford of the Oak.' It was situate on the River Barrow. See O'Donovan, Four Mast. 457. For a fuller account of this battle see Petrie's Tara, p. 145: Keating, Hist.

[s] *Swearing.*—A fuller formula of Pagan oath is to be seen in Petrie's Tara, p. 10

[t] *Cows.*—That is, the *Boroihme*, [Boru] or cow-tribute which was paid to the sovereign of Ireland.

[u] *Auxilius.*—See note above, at 439 The 27th of Aug. was his festival.

[v] *Leo.*—Ob. Nov 4, 461. The printed copy incorrectly reads 24 years.

[w] *Hilary.*—Marianus Scotus, the Irish Chronicler says; "Hilarius Papa XLVI post Petrum ordinatur ii. Id. Nov" [Nov. 12.] He was a native of Sardis. While yet a deacon he had been sent by Leo as a legate to the council then sitting at Enhesus under Theodosius.

[x] *Crimthann.*—Son of Enna Cennselach, son of Breasal Ballach mentioned above at 435.

[y] *Death of Laoghaire.*—Two years and a half after swearing by the elements that he would never again demand the Borumha, he made an incursion into Leinster, and seized a prey of cows at the place where the Boyne has its source: but as he advanced to the side of Caissi the elements wreaked their vengeance upon him, for the Air forsook him, the Sun burned him, and the Earth swallowed him. It had been prophesied to him that he should die between Ere and Alba [Ireland and Scotland] for which reason he never went on any naval expedition; but now going a second time against the Leinstermen, he perished between the two hills in Hy Faslain, called by these names. The above is from Dr. O'Donovan's note in the Four Mast., 458, where the reader will find further information. See also Petrie's Tara. pp. 29, 145.

[z] *Ailill Molt—Molt* means 'a wether,' and the story goes that his mother during her gestation longed for a piece of wether-mutton, and her friend Fial to whom she communicated her desire, insisted upon the child's having a mutton name. See Keating. Dr. O'Conor, unaccountably renders it *Laudabilis* at Tighernach 463.

[a] *Nathi.*—or Dathi. See note at 445.

[b] *Ardcorann*—Mentioned again as battle-ground at 597 and 626. The Ann. Inisf. notice the battle at 467, but the Four Mast. omit it, probably judging the place was in Scotland, and as such, foreign to their scope. The notice at 626 favours the opinion that it was in that country, the present one that it was in Ireland.

[c] *Angles.*—Ancient Anglia, whence these invaders came, was situate between the Saxons and Jutes, whose capital was Sleswick alias Haithaby.

[d] *Hilary.*—The computation here is that in the Dublin MS.: the printed copy has, erroneously, 7 years. He died Feb. 21, 468.

[e] *Simplicius.*—A native of Tibur, son of Castinus. Ordained Feb. 25, 468. There is an error in the text as to the duration of his episcopate The printed copy has "qui sedit annis X. duobus mensibus, et uno die." The Dublin copy: "annis X. II, mense. 1. diebus." The real length was 15 years and 6 days. [Pagi Vol. p. 431.] The Annals themselves allow for this length, because they place the appointment of his successor, Felix, at 418.

[f] *Eoghan.*—He, Conall Gulban, Cairbre, and Enna Finn, were the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, by his second wife, Innea, and from them descended the tribes which constituted the *Northern Hy-Neill*. Conall, the ancestor of the Kinel-Conaill, was slain, according to the

A.D. 466. [1 *Jan. Sat.* ☽ 29.]—An earthquake [g] filled the city of Ravenna with consternation.

Domangart mac Nissi [h] rested.

A.D. 467. [1 *Jan. Sund.* ☽ 20.]—Rest of Benignus [i] the bishop, successor of Patrick.[k]

The Convention of Tara [l] *held* by Ailill Molt. So I find in the Book of Cuanach.[m]

Death of Viter Pendragon,[n] king of England, to whom succeeded his son, namely, Cingh Airtur.[o]

A.D. 468. [1 *Jan. Mond.* ☽ 21.]—The bi-

Four Masters, at Fiodhnach [Fenagh] in 464; and in the following year Eoghan died of grief for him, and was buried at Uisce-Chain [Eskaheen] in Inishowen. The famous race of Kinel-Eoghain, and the territory of Tir-Eoghain [Tyrone] were called from him. Inis-Eoghain, that is, 'Owen's Island,' now known as Inishowen, was his patrimony, and here he ended his life.

[g] *Earthquake.*—This occurred in 467. Marcellinus' chronicle says: "Ravennam civitatem terræ motus deterruit." The Dublin and Brit. Mus. copies correctly read *deterruit*; but the printed text departs from the original and fact in reading *destruxit.*

[h] *Domangart Mac Nissi.*—This entry, which is entirely out of place, is wanting in the Dublin and Brit. Mus. copies. See below under 506. Fergus, son of Erca who led the Irish colony into Alba, in 502, was styled, from his mother, *Mac Mise*, and his son was Domangart, who reigned in Dalriada from 529 to 534, according to O'Flaherty. [Ogyg. p. 472.] The present notice is an anticipation of seventy years, and *mac* must be rendered *grandson.*

[i] *Benignus.*—Son of Sescnan, who lived in the south-east of Meath, and one of St. Patrick's earliest converts. He is called *Benen* in Irish, and has gotten the credit of having compiled the *Leabhar na gCeart*, or 'Book of Rights.' This curious record, with a translation and notes, appeared in 1847, among the Celtic Society's publications, edited by John O'Donovan, Esq., whose learned preface, (pp. ii-vi.) gives a summary of the Saint's life. See also Colgan's Trias. Thaum. pp. 203-205 *b.* The earliest existing notice of him is that by Tirechan in the Book of Armagh. (fol. 9 *b. a.*) He died in the 9th of November, which is his festival. The Annals of Inisfallen add, on doubtful authority, "in Roma moritur."—An. 449. The church which bears his name is Cill Benen, now Kilbanan, in the county of Galway, barony of Dunmore, where the remains of a round tower attest the ancient importance of the spot.

[k] *Successor of Patrick.*—The received account is, that St. Patrick, having founded, and presided over the see of Armagh, did in 455 retire from it, and place Benignus in his room.—See Ware's Bishops, vol. 1. p. 34; Cotton's Fasti; vol. iii, p. 4.—But such a step was not likely to have been taken forty years before the saint's death. The secret lies in the confusion of the acts of the two Patricks. Benignus was the successor of Sen, (or *old*) Patrick, whose *death* is recorded in these Annals at 457, the period of the alleged *resignation.* Besides, his acts, and the life of St Mochta state that he *survived* St. Patrick: this he could not have done with the great St. Patrick, because his death is incontrovertibly fixed to 493; but the present entry allows him a ten-years' survival of Sen Patrick. In corroboration of this view it is to be observed that it was *Sen Patrick* whose reliques were preserved in Armagh. The great St. Patrick, though his junior, exercised a sort of patriarchal jurisdiction over the island, while Sen Patrick, who is styled by the Irish, "Caput sapientum seniorum ejus," was placed in the church, which, from civil causes, subsequently acquired the primacy.

[l] *Tara.*—On this *Feiss* or *Caena*, see Petrie's Essay on Tara. p. 58.

[m] *Book of Cuanach.*—This work, which seems to have been an ancient Irish chronicle, is cited again at 468, 471, 475, 544, 600, 602, 610, 628. The writer's name Cuana, also occurs at 482, 489, 598. The last time that he is referred to is the year 628, so that it is reasonable to suppose he compiled his chronicle in the seventh century. "If he were a writer of a later date," observes Ware, "perhaps he was that Cuan, who in the said Annals is called Cuan the Grandsou of Bessan, and Scribe of Treoit, [now Trevet, in the county of Meath,] and is said to have died, *anno* 738; or, Cuan the Wise, bishop of Louth, who in the same Annals, is said to have died *anno* 824." (Harris' Ware's Works, ii. p. 26.) It appears by the quotations from his chronicle in these Annals that he wrote in mixed Latin and Irish, using the latter for the prepositions and familiar words, but rendering such terms as *feiss, cath, creach*, by *cena, bellum, preda.* His chronology was always antedated one or two years, as the compiler of these anuals notes in one instance, at the year 602.

[n] *Viter Pendragon.*—This entry is not found in the Dublin or Brit, Mus. MSS. Uther Pendragon was reputed to have been brother of Aurelius Ambrosius, and is fabled as the person employed to transfer the Chorea Gigantum, or great circle of Stonehenge from Ireland to England. The surname of Pendragon, or Dragon's Head, is said to have been derived from a golden dragon which he carried with him to the wars. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, Brit Hist. lib. viii. c. 11.—"Admirandi sive Horribilis (id enim Cambro-Britannis *Uthr* sonat,) ob res fortiter a se gestas cognomentum obtinuit." [Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 13. Works, V p. 533.] Vincentius states that he began to reign about the 11th of the Emperor Leo. i.e. A.D. 467; and Matthæus Florilegus represents him as weighed down with infirmities in 511. Ussher assigns 508 as his date, [Index Chronol.] and suspects that he may have been Natanleod, mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle at 508, the only British King it names.

[o] *Cingh Airtur.*—King Arthur, son of Uther by Igerna wife of Gorlois, and called by the Welsh *Mab Uter.* The date assigned to him in the margin of Nennius in the Monumenta Hist. Brit. (p. 73,) is 488. Chroniclers are, however, greatly divided as to the period of his reign. See Ussher Works, Vol. v. pp. 533, 535. For his exploits see Nennius Hist. Brit. §§ 56, 73, Ed. Stevenson; Mon. Hist, Brit pp. 73, 712; Geoffrey of Monmouth, libs. IX. X; Stillingfleet, Antiq. of Brit. Churches, cap. 5. p. 343 (Lond. 1840.)

shop Isserninus[p] dies.

The battle of Duva-Aichir[q] *fought* against Ailill Molt, as I find in the Book of Cuanach.

A.D. 469. [1 *Jan. Wed.* ☽ 2.]—The Convention of Tara *was held* in this year by Ailill Molt, as some state.

A.D. 470. [1 *Jan. Thur.* ☽ 13.]—The Convention of Tara held by Ailill Molt, as others say.

A.D. 471. [1 *Jan. Frid.* ☽ 24.]—The second prey[r] of the Saxons from Ireland, as some say, was carried off in this year, as Moetus[s] states. So I find in the Book of Cuanach.

A.D. 473. [——] The Emperor Leo[t] the Elder was carried off by disease, Leo the Younger having been previously created Cæsar by him. Leo the Younger, who was also Emperor, and son to Zeno,[u] creates him Prince in the 17th year and 6th month,[v] reckoning as well the years of the former, as the months of the latter, Leo's reign.

Rest of the holy bishop Doccus,[w] abbot of the Britons.

The fist-fight[x] of Bri-ele[y] against the Leinstermen by Ailill Molt.

A.D. 474. [1 *Jan. Sund.*]—Or, in this year the battle of Duva-aichir *was fought* by the Leinstermen against Ailill Molt.

A.D. 475. [1 *Jan. Wed.* ☽ 9 ; *A.M.* 4679.] —The battle of Bregh-ele[y] *fought* by Ailill Molt against the Leinstermen. So I find in the Book of Cuanach.

A.D. 476. [1 *Jan. Thur.* ☽ 20; *A.M.* 4680.] —The battle of Duva-Aehir *fought* by the Leinstermen against Ailill Molt.

A.D. 477. [——]—Death of Tocco,[z] son of Aedh, king of Cualann.[a]

A.D. 478.—[——] Battle of Bregh-ele.

A.D. 480.—[——]—Death of Conall Criffan,[b] son of Niall.

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[p] *Isserninus.*—*Isernius* in Brit. Mus. MS.; But *Liseranus* in the printed text. The Annals of Inisfallen (at 466,) have "Eissurinus dormivit," See note at 439.

[q] *Duva-Aichir.*—Mentioned again in the Four Masters at 559. Tighernach, at 1066, mentions the "Island of Dume-Achair on Loch-mac-Nen," which Dr. O'Donovan says is Loch nEn near Roscommon, (Addend. to Annals, p. 1190.)

[r] *Second prey.*—The first was in 434, where see note.

[s] *Moctus.*—His book, called *Liber Machod*, is cited below at 511, 527. He probably was St. Mochta of Louth, whose death is recorded at 534 of these annals. The climax of evidence is remarkable here: 1 Annals of Ulster; 2 cite Cuanach; 3 who borrowed from Moctus; 4 who recorded a current story.

[t] *Leo.*—Marcian died Jan. 31, 457. Leo I his successor was crowned by Anatolius the Patriarch, Feb. 7, 457. He died in January, 474, at Byzantium, so that his reign wanted but a month of 17 years. His daughter Ariadne was married to Zeno, and their son Leo was born in 458. His grandfather, the year before his death, appointed him his successor. He died in the November of 474, at 17, in the eleventh month of his sole reign. Gibbon errs in calling him "the *infant* grandson of Leo," [Decline, cap. 39,] supposing that *Komide nepion* required to be so interpreted. He was not aware that Constantine was styled such when 30 years of age.

[u] *Zeno.*—Leo II. at the instance of his mother Ariadne, and his grandmother Verina, associated his father with him in the throne, whom his own father-in-law had passed over on account of his vices and deformity.

[v] *Sixth Month.*—The printed text reads 18th year, 5th month, which is incorrect. The reading in Marcellinus' chronicle, from which this entry is borrowed, is, "tam sui imperii annis quam Leonis junioris regni mensibus computatus, anno xvii. mense v." Even this is deficient by three months.

[w] *Doccus.*—The only individual of this name whom we meet with in British Ecclesiastical History, is the Docus who is set down in an ancient authority cited by Ussher as the contemporary of David and Gildas, and a preceptor of the second order of Irish saints. [Brit. Ecc. Ant. c, 17. Works, vi. p, 478] and who is mentioned in the Life of St. Cainnech as the abbot under whom he studied in Britain. [Cap. 3. Ussher, Works, vi. p, 520; Lanigan Ecc. Hist, i, p, 490] This Docus is commonly called Cadocus, and is known in Welsh hagiology as *Cattwg Ddoeth*, 'Cadoc the Wise,' in allusion to which epithet he is sometimes called *Sophia*. He was abbot of Llancarvan, and flourished about the year 500, This brings him too late for these Annals, unless we suppose the entry to be out of place.

[x] *Fist-Fight.*—In Irish *dorn-ghall*, which the Brit, Mus, MS, renders, "the handie-skirmishe," Dr. O'Donovan supposes it to have been a pugilistic encounter of the Leinstermen and Meathmen.

[y] *Bri-Ele.*—Now the hill of Croghan, in the parish of Croghan, at the north-east of the King's County, near its junction with Westmeath, [Ord, Survey, sheet 10.] Mac Caille, Bishop of Cruachan Bri-ele in Ui Failghe, is mentioned in the Calendar at April 25. See the note below at 489.

[z] *Tocco.*—Son of Aedh, son of Senach, according to the Four Masters.

[a] *Cualann.*—The district in the half-barony of Rathdown in the County of Wicklow lying around Stagonil or Powers court.

[b] *Conall Criffan.*—Son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and father of Fergus Karvill, whose son Dermod was king of Ireland and St. Columba's contemporary. The

A.D. 481. [1 *Jan. Thur.* D 15 ; *A.M.* 4685.] —Rest of Jarlath,[c] son of Trena third bishop of Armagh.

Felix,[d] 46th Bishop of the church of Rome, ived after his appointment twelve or thirteen years.

From the beginning of the world, according to the LXX. Interpreters, 5879 years; but, according to the Hebrews, 4885. From the Incarnation, according to the Hebrews, 734 years; but, according to Dionysius, 481.

A.D 482. [——]—The battle of Ocha,[e] *fought* by Lugaidh[f] son of Laoghaire, and by Murkertach, son of Erc,[g] in which fell Ailill Molt.

From Conor, son of Ness,[h] to Cormac, son of Art,[i] 308 years.

From Cormac to this battle, 116, as Cuana hath written.

A.D. 483. [——]—The assassination of Criffan,[k] son of Enna Kinselach, son of Bresal Ballach, king of Leinster.

Or, in this year, according to others, the battle of Ocha *was fought* by Lugaidh and by Murkertach, son of Erc, and by Fergus Carvil,[l] son of Conall Criffan, and by Fiachra Lonn,[m] king of Dalaradia.[n]

A.D. 484. [——]—The commencement of the reign of Lugaidh,[o] son of Laoghaire, in this year.

A.D. 485. [——]—The first battle of Graneарad :[p] Carbry,[q] son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was victor. In it fell Fincath : or the son of Erc was victor, as others say.

Four Masters add that from him sprang the Clann Colmain and race of Aedh Slaine, which were chief families in Meath, and the senior line of the southern Hy Neill. Laoghaire, the sovereign in Saint Patrick's time, was his brother, and Eoghan, and Conall Gulban, the founders of the Tirowen, and Tirconnell races, were his half brothers.

[c] *Jarlath.*—To be distinguished from another Jarlath of later date, the son of Loga, founder and Patron of the see of Tuam. He was of the Dal-Fiatach family, being descended from Fiatach Finn, who flourished A.D. 116. [See Reeves' Eccl. Ant. p, 352.] He succeeded Benignus who died in 447. See Colgan, Trias Th. p, 307, Harris' Ware's Works, i, p, 35.

[d] *Felix.*—Felix iii. consecrated on Sunday, March 6, 483, died 24 Feb. 492. His episcopate lasted for 8 years 11 months and 18 days ; not 12 years as in the text.

[e] *Ocha.*—" The Hy-Nialls, headed by his (Ailill's) successor, cut him off at the battle of Ocha ; an event which forms a memorable era. The elder branch of the Tuathalian line was set aside, and confined to the provincial government of Connaught. The Hy-Nialls got possession of the suspended government, and held it uninterruptedly, for five hundred and nineteen years." [O'Conor, Dissert. sec. XV. p. 205.] The third date at which it is entered in these annals is the correct one, namely 483, and became an important era in Irish history. Flann of the Monastery states in his historical poem that the sons of Erc emigrated to Scotland in the 20th year after it,—502, the year under which Tighernach records the occurrence. The place where the battle was fought was in Meath, as the life of Kieran states, and near Tara, as Animosus asserts in his life of St. Bridgid. [Colgan, Trias Th. p. 551. *b.*, and Colgan's notes, p. 565. n. 9. 10.] See the Four Masters at 478, where the particulars of the battle are more fully detailed.

[f] *Lugaidh.*—See the note at 484.

[g] *Murcertach mac Erc.*—He was son of Muiredhach son of Eoghan son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, by Erca, daughter of Lorn King of Dalriada. Her second husband was Fergus Cennfada, grandfather of St. Columba. He reigned from 509 till 534. and was succeeded by Tuathal Maelgarbh.

[h] *Conor son of Ness.*—So called from his mother. He flourished about the Christian era. Tighernach thus records his reign, at A. C. 30 : " Hoc anno cepit regnare in Emania Concobar mac Nessa, qui rexit annis LX." See Ogygia, p. 282.

[i] *Cormac son of Art.*—Called also *Cormac Ua Cuinn* from his grandfather Conn of the Hundred Battles, and *Cormac Ulfada* from his expulsion of the Ultonians in 254. His reign extended, according to Tighernach, from 218 to 254. O'Flaherty dates his reign from the battle of Crinna in 254 to 279. [Ogygia, pp. 333—349.] See Halliday's Keating, i. p 392; O'Donovan on Four Mast. 266; Petrie's Tara, pp. 17, 33; Dublin Pen. Jour. Vol. i. pp., 213, 231.

[k] *Criffan.*—He distinguished himself at the battle of Ocha by slaying Ailill with his own hand. The Four Masters place his death at 479, and, by an oversight, at 465 also. He was killed by Eochaidh his own grandson, who received the surname of *Guineach* or 'Mortal-Wounder.' For his descent see above at 435.

[l] *Fergus Carvill.*—Father of Dermod mac Carvill, who was sovereign of Ireland from 544 to 565.

[m] *Fiachra Lonn.*—The Four Masters call him son of Laoghaire. but wrongly, for the older Annals say he was son of Caelboth. The Annals of Inisfallen call him " Fiachra Glomrach son of Coelban son of Crunn." See Reeves' Ec. Ant. pp. 330, 339.—The printed copy erroneously calls him *Fiacra Aon.*

[n] *Dalaradia.*—A large district including the southern half of the County of Antrim and the northern half of Down. For a full account of this territory see Reeves' Eccl. Ant. pp. 334, 348. The victory of Ocha was principally owing to the Dalaradians, in reward for which service the territories of Lee and Carlocgh were assigned to them. See O'Donovan on the Four Mast. A.D. 478. The printed copy incorrectly reads *Dalriada.*

[o] *Lugaidh.*—His father's death is recorded above at 462. This was the last sovereign of that family.

[p] *Grane-arad.*—Called simply *Graine* at 486, in the An-

Or, in this, the death-wound of Criffan, son of Enna Kinselach.

A.D. 486. [1 *Jan. Thur.* D 21.]—Or, in this year, the first battle of Graine, wherein Murkertach son of Erc was victor.

A.D. 487. [1 *Jan. Frid.* D 2; *A.M.* 4692.] —Rest of Saint Mel,[r] the bishop, in Ardagh.

A.D. 488. [1 *Jan. Sund.* D 13; *A.M.* 4693.] —Rest of Saint Cianan,[s] on whom Patrick bestowed the Gospel.

A.D. 489. Rest of Mac Caille,[t] the bishop.

The battle of Cinn-losnadh,[u] in which fell Ængus,[v] son of Nadfraie, king of Munster, as Cuana hath written.

A.D. 490.—[1. *Jan. Tues.* D 5; *A.M.* 4695.] —Zeno[w] Augustus departed *this* life, the years as well of his reign, [as of the tyrant Basiliscus,] being computed, in the 17th year and 6th month. These 6 months, and 6 months of Marcian, add a year which the chronicles do not count.

Anastasius[x] is created Emperor.

Or, in this year, according to others, the battle of Cellosnaidh;[y] Mac Erca victor; the king of Cashel[z] vanquished.

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nals of Clonmacnoise, and in Keating. A second battle was fought here in 492. It is now Graney, a parish in the south-east of Kildare, near the Junction of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow. The abstract of Tighernach called the Chronicon Scotorum has the following notice of the battles, at 482. "1 Jan. Tuesd. The death-wound of Criffan son of Enna Kinnselagh, King of Leinster, by Eochaidh Guineach of the Ui Bairche and the Araidha-Cliach. The first battle of Graine in which Murcertach mac Erc was victor; a second battle at Graine in the region of Leinster between the Leinstermen themselves, in which the King of the Ui Crimselaeh fell, and Eochaidh son of Cairbre was victor." [O'Conor, Rer. H. SS. ii. p. 119.] There exists a great deal of confusion in the annals regarding these two battles, and the field. Compare O'Donovan's notes on Four Mast. 476, and 480.

[q] *Carbry.*—Son of Niall, and brother of Eoghan and Conall Gulban. From him deseended the Kinel Cairbre, who gave name to the Barony of Carbury, in Sligo, and Cairbre Gaura, in the present County and Barony of Longford. Tuathal Maolgarbh, a subsequent monarch, was his son.

[r] *Mel,*—The first bishop of Ardagh in the county of Longford, said to have been son of Conis, by Darerca, St. Patrick's sister. Some call him a Briton. His foreign extraction accounts for the absence of his pedigree from the ancient lists. His festival is the 6th of February, under which day Colgan has collected all that is recorded of him. [Acta. SS. pp. 259, 263. See also Trias Th. p. 132 *b.*]

[s] *Cianan.*—Cianan son of Setna founded the church in East Meath which was called 'par excellence' *Daimh-liag* 'the stone house,' and subsequently gave its name to the parish of Duleek. The saint was tenth in descent from Cian son of Ailill Olum who gave name to the Cianaehta. He was born soon after a visit of St. Patriek in Cianaeht, (now Keenaght) of the County of Derry; and his church was afterwards founded in Cianaeht of Bregia, which is now represented by the baronies of Duleek, [See Vit, Trip. ii. e. 126. Trias Thaum. p. 146 and p. 217; also Reeves' Colton's Visitation, p. 124] His festival is the 24th of November. The parish church is called St. Kennies of Duleek in the Ulster Visitation. [Elrington's Life of Ussher App. p. LXVI.]

[t] *MacCaille.*—The Bodleian and Brit. Mus MSS. add, in a later hand "Mannensis;" but this is an idle gloss, as it confounds two persons who were quite distinct. St. Patriek converted an unbeliever in Magh-inis, or Leeale, called Macaldus, Maecuil, or Mac Fail, who afterwards became bishop of Man. [Vit. Trip. iii. 60; Tr. Th. p. 16. *b*: Joeelin, e. 151. *ib.* p. 98; Probus, *ib.* p. 52; *b.* Book of Armagh fol. 6;] but this was a totally different individual, being the saint who is thus commemorated in the Calendar at the 25th of April; "MacCaille the great bishop, whose church is in Cruachan of Brigh-ele in the region of Hifalgia, and who plaeed the white veil on the head of St. Brigid." (Maguir.) He was son of Darerea St. Patrick's sister, [Trias Th. p. 231.] and as *caille* is the Irish for 'a veil,' he probably was called MacCaille, or the 'son of the veil,' from the office which he performed towards St. Brigid. See the elaborate note in Colgan's Trias. Thaum. p. 525. *b.* n. 11.

[u] *Cinn-losnadh.*—At 490 it is called Cellosnaid, which is the form of the name in Tighernach, and Keating. The An. Inisfall. at 484 read *Cindlosnai.* The Brit. Mus. MS. adds here the gloss 'or Ceall Losnaigh in Magh Fea." Keating says that it was situate in the County of Carlow four miles east of Leighlin It is now called Kellistown, a parish chiefly in the barony of Carlow, Dr O'Donovan states that about 50 years ago there were the remains of an ancient church and round-tower which are all effaced. [Four Mast. 489.] The Ordnance Survey, however, has marked the site of the Round-Tower, Sheet 8. The name occurs again in the Four Mast. at 1167.

[v] *Aengus.*—The First Christian King of Munster. See O'Donovan, Four Mast. 489.

[w] *Zeno.*—This entry is taken from Marcellinus' Chronicle, but a clause necessary to the sense is omitted here. The original is: "tam sui imperii annis quam Basilisci tyrannidis computatis, anno XVII mense VI." He reigned from Feb. 474 to 9th April, 491. This includes the period of Basiliscus' usurpation, who, in the third year of Zeno, by Verina's instrumentality, drove the Emperor into Isauria, and took possession of the imperial throne. He thereupon created his son Marcus Cæsar, but he was dethroned by Zeno in August 477, after a 20 months' usurpation.

[x] *Anastasius.*—Crowned April 11, 491.

[y] *Cellosnaidh.*—See note at 489.

[z] *Cashel.*—This was the regal seat of Munster.

A.D. 491. [1. *Jan. Wed.* ☽ 16 ; *A.M.* 4696.]—The Scots say that Patrick the archbishop died this year.[a]

A.D. 492. [1. *Jan. Frid.* ☽ 27 ; *A.M.* 4697.] —The battle of Sroth.[b] Gelasius[c] having been ordained bishop of the church of Rome, lived three years.

Patrick, the archbishop[d] of the Scots, rested[e] on the 16th of the Kalends of April, in the 120th year of his age,[f] and the 60th year after his arrival[g] in Ireland to baptize the Scots.

From the beginning of the world, according to the lxx. interpreters, 5946 ; but, according to the Hebrews, 4697.

From the Incarnation, according to the Hebrews, 746.

From the Incarnation, according to Dionysius, 400.

A.D. 493. [1. *Jan. Sat.* ☽ 9.]—The battle of Taillte[h] against the Leinstermen, by Cairbre[i] son of Niall.

A.D. 494. [1. *Jan. Sund.* ☽ 20.]—Or, in this year, the second battle of Granairet,[k] in which fell Fraech, son of Finnchadh,[l] king of Leinster : Eocha son of Cairbre,[m] was victor.

A.D. 495. [1. *Jan. Mond.* ☽ 1.]—An eclipse[n] of the sun was observed.

The rest of Mac Cuilinn,[o] bishop of Lusk.[p]

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[a] *This year.*—This entry is antedated by two years.

[b] *Sroth.*—Tighernach calls it *Srath*, but the Annals of Inisfallen more fully, " The Battle of *Srath-Conaill*, in which fell Fiach, son of Finchadh, king of Leinster; and Eochu, son of Cairpre, was victor." (An. 485)

[c] *Gelasius*,—an African by birth, was consecrated Sunday, March 1, 492. He sat 4 years, 8 months, and 18 days.

[d] *Archbishop.*—The Dublin copy reads *Archipostolus*. The early Irish annals seldom or never use the term *Archbishop*. It occurs, however, in the tract called the ' Liber Angeli ' in the Book of Armagh, fol. 21, *a.a.*

[e] *Rested.*—As elsewhere, 1 must be added to the year, in the present instance, for the true date. The best established era in the saint's history is 493, the year of his death. In the earlier parts, the acts of Sen Patrick have been complicated with those of St. Patrick ; but as the former died in 457 or 461, the subsequent events exclusively belong to the Apostle of Ireland. Dr. Lanigan, taking the alleged arrival of the saint in 432, and ignoring Sen Patrick, contends for an earlier date than the present. (Ec. Hist. i. pp. 355–363.) Our mediæval chronicler, Marianus Scotus, whom Baronius and Petavius follow, assigns 491 as the date. Mr T. D. Hardy proposes the year 457, alleging the Ulster and Cambrian Annals for that year ; but he evidently has only half examined the former authority. (Monumenta, Chronol. Abst. p, 145.) Tighernach, however, who is the highest authority, cites an ancient Rann, which places this occurrence 400, 90, and 3 years from the birth of Christ. Tirechan, on the other hand, says :—" A passione Christi colleguntur anni 436 usque ad mortem Patricii." (Book of Armagh, fol. 9, *a.b.*)

[f] *Year of his age.*—This is, most probably, an ancient exaggeration suggested by the fancied parallelism between our saint's history and the three periods of 40 years which constituted the life of Moses. There are various computations in the Book of Armagh : thus Tirechan ;

vii. anno baptizatus erat ;
x. annis captus ;
vii. annis servivit ;
xxx. annis legit ;
lxxii annis docuit ;
ætas ejus tota cxx. anni ut Moysi. (fol. 15, *b.b.*) Elsewhere it is said : vi. anno. baptizatus ; xx. captus ; xv. servivit ; xl. legit; lxi. docuit; tota ætas ejus cxi." (fol 8 *b.b.*)

[g] *His arrival* —492—432=60.

[h] *Taillte.*—Now *Teltown*, a parish in the barony of Upper Kells, county of Meath. (Ord. Sur. s. 17.)

[i] *Cairbre.*—From him the territory of Cairbre Gaura, in the county of Longford, whereon Granard is situate, derived its name. He was a pagan, and his interview with S. Patrick at Tailtenia, is related in the Tripartite Life ; ii. 4. (Trias. Th. p. 129.)

[k] *Granairet.*—The events of this battle are referred by the Annals of Inisfallen, cited above at 492, to the battle of Srath Conaill. On the name Granairet, see the note supra 485. This entry is repeated at 496, where the Dublin copy reads *Grane*. The correct date is 495, at which Tighernach calls the place *Greine*.

[l] *Fraech son of Finnchadh.*—He was son of Garrchu son of Fothadh son of Eochaidh Lamhdoid son of Mesincorb. Tighernach styles him King of *Laighen Desgabhair*, or ' South Leinster.'

[m] *Son of Cairbre*,—Son of Ailill son of Dunlaing son of Enna Niadh.

[n] *Eclipse.*—There are several such notices in these annals, and, in every case, the addition of *one* to the date gives the precise year at which the occurrence is fixed, from exact calculation, in that supreme authority *L'Art de' Verifier les Dates*, pp. 62-69. Tighernach, who is strictly correct, places it at 496.

[o] *Mac Cuilinn.*—At 496, the true date, Tighernach says, " The death of Cuinneda son of Cathbadh, i.e., Mac Cuilinn, bishop of Lusk." He was son of Cathmogha, son of Cathbadh, and tenth in descent from Tadhg, son of Cian son of Ailill Olum ; and his name MacCuilinn, was not a patronymic, but a species of *soubriquet*, usual at the time, as *Mac Tail*, ' son of the adze,' *Mac Caille*, ' Son of the Veil.' His acts are preserved in the Codex Salmanticensis, at Brussels, fol. 190. ; a Life, consisting of nine sections, in Trin. Coll. Dub., (MSS E. 3, 8 ; fol. 128-130), which is principally borrowed from the Life of St. Bairre of Cork.

[p] *Lusk.*—The parish of Lusk, in the N.E. of the county of Dublin, possesses the venerable remains of an ancient church and Round Tower. The Ord. Survey marks " St. Maccullin's Well " on the south of the village of Lusk.

The storming of Dunlethglass.[q]

Or, in this year, the battle of Taillte.

A.D. 496. [1. *Jan. Wed.*) 12.]—Anastasius,[r] having been ordained 48th bishop of the church of Rome, lived two years.

Mochoi,[s] of Nendrum,[t] rested.

The rest of Cormac,[u] bishop of Armagh, successor of Patrick.

Or, in this year, the second battle of Granairet, in which fell Fraech son of Finnchadh, king of South Leinster[v]; Eocha son of Cairbre was victor.

A.D. 497. [1. *Jan. Thur.*) 23.]—Or, in this year the storming of Dunlethglass.

The battle of Innimore,[w] in Crich-Ua-nGabhla,[x] against the Leinstermen; Muircertach son of Erc was victor.

In this year a great Earthquake[y] shook the province of Pontus.

The rest of Cuinedha,[z] son of Cathmogha, that is, Mac Cuilinn, bishop of Lusk.

A.D. 498. [1. *Jan. Frid.*) 4.]—Simaeus,[a] being created 49th bishop of the church of Rome, lived fifteen years.

The battle of Sleamhain[b] in Meath, by Cairbre son of Niall against the Leinstermen.

Or, in this year, Mochoi of Nendrum rested, according to another book.

A.D. 499. [1. *Jan. Sat.*) 15.]—Battle. The rest of Ibar,[c] the bishop, on the 9th of the Calends of May.

A.D. 500. [1. *Jan. Mond.*) 26.]—Or, in this year, the death of Ibar.[c]

The relics of Barnabas the Apostle, and the

(Sheet 8.) The name, according to O'Clery, signifies a 'crypt,' or 'subterraneous house.' See O'Donovan, An. 695.

[q] *Dunlethglass.*—The origininal name of Downpatrick. Subsequently, the word *da* 'two,' was inserted between the first two syllables, and a legend built upon the compound.—See Reeves' Eccl. Ant. pp. 143. 224.

[r] *Anastasius,*—the Second, consecrated Sunday, Nov. 24. 496. He died, Nov. 19, 498, having sat 1 year, 11 months, and 24 days.

[s] *Mochoei.*—Or Mochaoi, pronounced *Mohee.* He was a young swine-herd when St. Patrick visited Lecale, and his conversion was among the earliest fruits of the missionary's labours in that region. He was also called Caylan, and the Calendar of Ængus, at his festival, June 23rd, contains a legend concerning his longevity. This, with the notice of him in the Tripartite Life, his mother's lineage given by Aengus, and his obit, is almost the sum total of our information concerning him. His name has long survived his memory in the county of Down, and *Mahee Island,* as it is commonly called, is a local record of his existence. [See Reeves' Ecc. Ant. p. 188, &c., MacCana's Itinerary in vol. ii. part i. of the Ulster Journal of Archæology, and the following note.]

[t] *Nendrum.*—The Irish name *nOendruim,* or in a more modern form, *nAondruim,* signifies 'One Ridge.' The Calendar mentions two places so called in connection with St. Mochaoi: one in Delvin Ahra, or the Barony of Garrycastle, which is now written Endrim, a townland in the parish of Ferbane, or Wherry, in the King's County, having an ancient cemetery called Shankill: and the other the island in Strangford Lough, called Nendrum, which was formerly the site of a parish church, and gave its name to the parish of Tullynakill, in the county of Down. Nendrum appears in records of the twelfth to the fifteenth century; but in the following one it was abandoned, and this spot became known as *Island Machye,* now *Mahee Island,* while the parish assumed the name above mentioned. [See Reeves' Eccl. Ant. pp. 10, 187, 197; Transact. Down and C. Ch. Arch, Soc. 1845.]

[u] *Cormac.*—Colgan has collected the few recorded particulars of his acts at Feb. 17, his festival. His local title, which is *Ernaidh,* in Tighernach, other authorities call *Crioch-an-ernaidhe.* He is said to have been son of Enna, brother of king Laoghaire, and the Calendar of Aengus says at his festival: "Cormac, Coarb of Patrick, in Ath-Truim (i.e. Trim) in the territory of Laoghaire."

[v] *South Leinster.*—This district is called in the Annals *Laighin-Desgabhair.* Leinster was divided into two portions, Laighin Tuath-Ghabhair or 'North Leinster,' and Laighin Deas-Ghabhair or 'South Leinster,' by the ancient high-way called Gabhair. The latter included ancient Ossory, but is more especially identified with Hy-Kinselach or Wexford, by the Four Masters, at 920. [See O'Donovan's Book of Rights, pp. lx. 32, 88, 194.]

[w] *Innimore.*—The Dublin copy reads *Moinimor.* Its exact situation is unknown.

[x] *Crich-Ua-nGabhla.*—The printed copy incorrectly reads *Crich Congabhla*; but the Clarendon correctly, *O'Gawla's Country.* It was a territory in the south of the present county of Kildare. See O'Donovan, An. 497.

[y] *Earthquake.*—"This same year (499) Neocæsarea, and several cities in Pontus, were almost utterly ruined by an earthquake." [Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 520.] The same is related in the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

[z] *Cuinedha*—See the note above at 495.

[a] *Simachus.*—Symmachus, a Sardian, was ordained Pope on Sunday, Nov. 22, 498. He sat till July 19, 514, that is, for 15 years, 7 months, and 27 days.

[b] *Sleamhain.*—Now Slanebeg and Slanemore, two townlands in the parish of Dysart, county of Westmeath. [See Ord. Surv. s. 18.] In the Leinster Inquisitions they are called Slewenbeg and Slewenmor. (Westmeath, No. 68, Car. i.) *Sleamhain,* genitive *Sleamhna.*

[c] *Ibar.*—He was one of the four bishops who are said to have preceded St. Patrick in converting the Irish. His monastery was Beg-Erin, or 'Little Ireland,' a small island in Wexford Harbour, now called *Begery,* and belonging to the parish of St. Margaret's, in the barony of

Gospel which St. Matthew wrote with his own hand, were found this year.[d]

The battle of Cinn-Ailbhe[e] against the Leinstermen, by Cairbre son of Niall.

A.D. 501. [1. *Jan. Tuesd.* ☽ 7.]—The battle of Seaghais,[f] in which fell Duach Tengumha,[g] king of Connacht; Muireertach mac Erc was victor.

A.D. 502. [1. *Jan. Wed.* ☽ 18.]—The battle of Druim-Lochmuidhe[h] by the Lagenians against the Hy-Neill.[i]

A.D. 503. [1. *Jan. Thur.* ☽ 29.]—Cerpan, bishop of Fert Cerpain[k] at Tara, died.

The battle of Manann by Aedhan.[l]

Or, in this year, the death of bishop Ibar.

A.D. 504. The death of Bruidi son of Maelchon.[m]

A.D. 505. The rest of bishop MacCairthen,[n] of Cloehar.

A.D. 506. The battle of Ardcorann[o]; and the death of Lugdach son of Laoghaire,[p] as some say.

Domhangart Mae Nissi[q] died in the 35th year.

The rest of Mae Nissi, bishop of Connor.[r]

A.D. 507. Or, in this year, the death of Lughdach son of Laoghaire, and the battle of Ardcorann.

Shelmaliere East. [Ord. Surv. s. 38.] He was the son of Lugna and Daferia, and was born in Ulster, "in terra Crumtain." Ussher had a copy of his acts, from which, and the Lives of St. Brigid, and his nephew Abbanus, he derives the notices concerning him. [Works, vol. vi. pp. 336, 347, 429.] His festival is April, 23.

[d] *Found this year.*—Bede's Chronicon says: 'Corpus Barnabæ apostoli, et Evangelium Matthæi ejus stylo scriptum ipso revelante, reperitur.' (Monument. Hist. Brit. p 95.)

[e] *Cinn-Ailbhe.*—O'Donovan conjectures that it was a hill in Magh-Ailbhe in the south of Kildare. (Annal. 494.) The printed copy reads *Choc-Ailbhe.*

[f] *Seaghais.*—Pronounced *Shawush*, the ancient name of the Curlieu hills near Boyle, on the confines of Roscommon and Sligo. (O'Donovan, An. 499.)

[g] *Duach Tengumha.*—That is 'Duach of the Brazen Tongue,' sometimes styled also *Galach* or 'Valorous.' He was son of Brian son of Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin, and from him the O'Conors, O'Rorkes, and O'Reillys are descended. (O'Donovan, Annals, 499.) Muirchertach mac Erc was married to Duiseach daughter of Duach, who incited him to this battle.

[h] *Druim-Lochmuidhe.*—Keating places Lochmagh in Connaught, (vol. i. p. 230;) the Four Masters on the other hand, in Conaille or Louth, (A. M. 3549.)

[i] *Hy-Neill.*—The Ui Neill, or descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages, were divided into Northern and Southern. Their generic name is to be distinguished from Ua Neill or O'Neill, which did not come into existence till the middle of the tenth century.

[k] *Fert Cerpani.*—Or 'Grave of Cerpan' The only notice which we have of Cerpan is that in the Book of Armagh, where Tirechan says of St. Patrick:—"Fundavit aecclesiam i Carric Dagri, et alteram aecclesiam Immruig Thuaithe, et scripsit elimenta *Cerpano*," [fol. 10, *b. a.*] He was probably a convert made on the occasion of the saint's first visit to King Laoghaire.

The site of *Feart Cherpain* is marked on the Restoration of Tara Hill, in Petrie's Essay, (pp. 128, 129,) at a spring called Adhlaic. It was a spot of ground about a rood in extent, which till the year 1837, was kept free from tillage, under the general impression that it was anciently a burial-ground. [Essay, p. 200.]

[l] *Aedhan.*—He was not born yet. The present entry belongs to 581 or 582, as does the next to 583. This is a remarkable prolepsis, and the error must have existed in very ancient authorities, for it occurs in Tighernach at 504, 505, in anticipation of 582, 583.

[m] *Bruidi son of Maelchon.*—This notice belongs to the year 583, as has been observed in the preceding note.

[n] *Mac Cairthen.*—First bishop, and patron, of Clogher. He was son of Cainnech, and eighth in descent from Breasal Breac son of Brian. His festival is August 15, at which day it is stated by O'Clery that Aodh was his first name, and that he was also styled Ferdachrioch. Colgan has collected his acts at March 24. [Acta. SS. pp. 737, 742: see also Harris' Ware. vol. i. p. 176; Ussher's works, vol. vi. p. 416.]

[o] *Ardcorann.*—See the note above at 464.

[p] *Lugdach son of Laoghaire.*—He was sovereign of Ireland for 25 years, and was, as tradition states, killed at Achadh-farcha, 'the Field of Lightning,' in retribution for having insulted St. Patrick. [See Four Masters, A.D. 503.]

[q] *Domhangard Mac Nissi.*—The text of this passage is very corrupt. The Clarendon copy reads "et ut alii dicunt Domangart mac Nisse retiteressit anno 34to." Tighernach, at 505, has: "Death of Domangart son of Nisse, King of Alba." The Annals of Innisfallen have: "Quies Domangairt Cindtire," [An. 495.] He was son of Fergus mac Nisse, and third king of the Dalriadic Scots Five years is the length of his reign according to the best authorities. O'Flaherty, according to the chronology of the ancient poem called the Duan Albanach, places Domangard's accession at 529. [Ogygia, p. 472.] Chalmers, on the other hand, nearly agrees with these annals, in assigning it to 506. [Caledonia, vol. i. p. 278.] It was in 502, according to Tighernach, that the colony went over to Scotland, and allowing three years for the joint reign, of Lorn and Fergus, Domangart's accession would be 505, and his death 510. It is worthy of observation that 35 years is the length assigned to his son Comgal, by these annals at 537, and Tighernach at 538; from which, if 35 be deducted, we get the year of the migration. Again, if from 507, the present date, we subtract 35 as given in the text, the remainder is 472, which comes very near to 474, the date assigned by the Four Masters for the death of Erc, father of Fergus, and by Ussher for the prophecy by St. Patrick of Fergus' future greatness. [See Ussher Ind. Chron. ccccl.xxiv.; O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 405.]

A.D. 509. [1. *Jan. Frid.* ☽ 5.]—The battle of Freamhain[s] against Fiachach son of Niall[t]: Failghe Berraidhe[u] was victor.

A.D. 510. [1. *Jan. Sat.* ☽ 16.]—Or, in this year the battle of Ardcorann, as others say.

A.D. 511. [1. *Jan. Sund.* ☽ 27.]—The rest of Bishop Brone.[v] An eclipse[w] of the sun happened.

Birth of Ciaran, son of the Carpenter.[x]

Or, in this year, the death of Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire, according to the book of Mochod.[y]

A.D. 512. [1. *Jan. Tuesd.* ☽ 9.]—The rest of Erc,[z] bishop of Slane.

Dubthach,[a] bishop of Ardmacha, died.

Muircertach, son of Erc,[b] began to reign.

A.D. 513. [1. *Jan. Wed.* ☽ 20.]—Cairpri Daimh-airgit,[c] king of Airghiall.[d]

Mac Nissi,[e] that is, Ængus, bishop of Connor, rested.

A.D. 514. [1. *Jan. Thur.*]—Hormisda,[f] having been ordained 50th bishop of the church of Rome, lived nine years.

A.D 515. [1. *Jan. Frid.*]—The battle of Druim-deargaidh[g] against Failghe; Fiacha was victor. Thereupon the plain of Meath was taken from the Leinstermen.

The birth of Comgall[h] of Bangor.

A.D. 516. [1. *Jan. Sund.* ☽ 23.]—The rest of Darerca[i] of Cill-sleibhe-Cuilinn,[k] on the sixth of July.

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[r] *Connor.*—See the note at 573, which is the true date.

[s] *Freamhain.*—A lofty hill now called *Frewin*, in Wattstown, a townland of the parish Portloman in Westmeath, on the west side of Lough Owel. [Ord. Surv. s. 11.] See O'Donovan's note, An. 5084. Tighernach places the battle at Fernnagh, in Meath. [An. 508.]

[t] *Fiachach son of Niall.*—He was one of those five sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages whose descendants formed the southern Hy-Neill. From him came the Cinel Fhiachach, whose name, in the condensed form of *Kinelea*, was subsequently applied to the barony of Moycashel in Westmeath and the adjacent part of King's County.

[u] *Failghe Berraidhe.*—The Tripartite Life relates that when St. Patrick visited Leinster, there were two brothers lords of it; Failghe Berraidhe and Failghe Ros, the former of whom slew Odhran, a disciple of St. Patrick, mistaking him for the Saint, and that soon after he dropped dead; whereas the other brother received the saint's blessing, and his posterity became lords of the Ui Failghe or Offaley.—iii. c. 56. [Tr. Th. p. 159, *b*.]

[v] *Brone.*—He is commemorated in the Calendar at June 8, as Bishop of *Cassil Irra*, which is now called *Killaspugbrone*, 'the Church of Bishop Brone,' and adjoins Sligo on the west. [Ord Surv. Sligo, s. 14.]

[w] *Eclipse of the sun.*—It occurred in 512.—See L'Art de Verifier les Dates, p. 62.

[x] *Ciaran son of the Carpenter.*—Tighernach places his birth in the same year with the consecration of Hormisda, that is, 514, which is the true date; for 34 years, his age, added to this, give 548, the year of his death in these annals. His patrouymic was *Mac-an-tsaoir*, which is rendered in the text *Filius Artificis*. His father, the carpenter, was Beraidh, a Connacian, and his mother Darerca, a descendant of the Clanna Rury of Ulster. The ancient seal of Clonmacnoise bears two axes in Saltier, with the legend, A FABR. FIL. ECCL. C. DE CLVANMACNOISE AN. SAL. 548.

[y] *Mochod.*—He is called Moctus above at 471, and his Book, which seems to have been a Chronicle, is again cited at 527. He was probably the St. Mochta whose death is recorded below at 534.

[z] *Erc.*—He was an early convert of St. Patrick, and placed by him over the church of Slane. His festival is November 2.

[a] *Dubthach.*—The Clarendon copy adds "of Druim-dearbh," which is adopted by the Four Masters. He succeeded Cormac in 496, and is to be distinguished from another Dubthach or Duach, whose death is recorded below at 547.

[b] *Muircertach son of Erc.*—See note on 482, above.

[c] *Cairpri Daimhairgit.*—The Four Masters place his death at 560, and confound him with his son Daimhin. Their error was observed by Colgan. [Trias Thaum. p. 382, n. 7.] He was sixth in descent from Colla Dachrioch, and ancestor of the MacMahons. His elder brother Bresal resisted the preaching of St. Patrick, and was cursed in person and posterity; Cairbre believed, and was blessed.—Vita Tripart iii. 6. [Trias. Th. p. 150, *a*.] His son Daimhin died, according to these annals in 564, where see the note.

[d] *Airghiall.*—Oriel, the territory of the three Collas.—See note Ulst. Journ. of Archæol. ii., p. 46; Ogygia, p. 361.

[e] *Mac Nissi.*—His festival is Sept. 3; at which day his life is printed in the Acta Sanctorum. [Sept. Tom. i. p. 604.] He was called Mac Nissi, from his mother Nessa. See Reeves, Ec. Ant. p. 238; Tighernach, An. 514, which is the true date. Muircertach Mac Erc was so called from his mother Earca; and Fergus mor, who was styled Mac Erc from his father, was called also Mac Mise, from his mother, according to the usage of this age.

[f] *Hormisda,*—a native of Campania, was consecrated on Sunday, July, 27, 514. He died, and was buried, Aug. 6, 523, having sat 9 years and 11 days.

[g] *Druim-deargaidhe.*—Drum-dargy. This place has not been identified; probably it was near the confines of Westmeath and King's County.

[h] *Comgall.*—In Latin *Faustus*. He was of the Dalaradian race, and was born at Magheramourne in the county of Antrim, in the year 517. His festival is May 10. [See the account of the Antiphonary of Bangor, in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol i. p. 173.; Reeves' Ec. Ant. p. 269.]

[i] *Darerca.*—More commonly called Moninna. (See below, 518.) Tighernach calls her Aninde: another name was Sanatha or Sarbile. Her festival was the 6th, not the 3d, of July, as given by O'Conor. There are 3 biographies of her in print, namely:—i. anonymous author,

Or, in this year, the birth of Ciaran[l]; and the battle of Druim-dergaidhe, by Fiacha son of Niall, against Failghe Berraidhe, after which the plain of Meath was taken from the Leinstermen,[m] as Cennfaela[n] said:

The vengeance of God for seven years[o];
But the joy of his heart was
The battle of Druim-dergaighe,
By which the plain of Meath was detached.

A.D. 517. [1. *Jan. Mond.* ☽ 4.]—The Emperor Anastasius was overtaken by a sudden death.[p] He died at the age of past eighty. He reigned 27 years, 2 months, and 29 days.

A.D. 518. [1. *Jan. Tuesd.* ☽ 15]—The birth of Colum-cille,[q] on the same day in which Buite son of Bronach[r] slept.

The rest of Darerca, who was called Moninne.[s]

A.D. 519. [1. *Jan. Wed.* ☽ 26.]—Conlaedh,[t] bishop of Cilldara, died.

The battle of Detnea,[u] in Druim-Bregh,[v] in which Ardgall son of Conall[w] son of Niall fell; Colga son of Clueath[x] king of the Orientales,[y]

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from the Cod. Salmanticensis, in Acta Sanctorum, Julii, Tom. ii. p. 290, *b.*; ii.—a fuller one by Conchubran, from a MS. in the Brit Mus. (Bibl. Cot. Cleop. A. 2), from which Ussher has given extracts; a copy of which was sent by Camden to Bollandus, and printed in Act. Sanct. ut sup. pp. 297, 312;—iii. De S. Modwenna, by John of Tinmuth, in Capgrave, Nova Legenda Angliæ, (fol. 234.

[k] *Cill-Sleibhe-Cuilinn.*—That is, the 'Church of Sliabh Gullion.' The distinctive part of the compound is now omitted in common use, and the name is simply *Cill-Sleibhe*, pronounced *Killevy*. The mountain derived its name from Cuileann, an artificer in the reign of Conor Mac Ness, by whom the famous Cuchullin was said to have been fostered. The old church of Killevy is situate about three miles S. W. of Newry, at the foot of Slieve Gullion, on the north-east. [Ord. Surv. Armagh, s, 29.] It is a very remarkable ruin, consisting of two compartments standing east and west. The western portion is the more ancient, and has a cyclopean door-way of very massive construction. A round-tower formerly stood on its south side incorporated with the wall, and rising above the roof as in Dungiven and Trummery. It fell during the last century, and the Irish-speaking inhabitants of the district repeat some lines of poetry descriptive of the shock it caused. The eastern portion of the building is larger, and was probably superadded at a much later date. It has a cyclopean door-way on the north side, near the east angle, but less massive than the other. The east window is large and pointed.

[l] *Birth of Ciaran.*—See the note on the name at 511.

[m] *Taken from the Leinstermen.*—Hostilities had, for several years, prevailed between the Leinstermen and the Hy-Neill of Meath, touchiug the debateable ground lying south of the hill of Ushnagh, in Westmeath. Accordingly, at 509, above, we find Failghe Berraidhe, King of Leinster victorious; but now he is defeated in turn, and "from this time forward," as the Four Masters observe, "the land extending from Cluain-an-dibhair [near Birr, in the King's County] to Uisneach [in Westmeath] belongs to the Kinel-Fiachach." An, 510. The descendants of Fiacha were called *Cinel Fhiachaidh*, pronounced *Kinelea;* and, under this name was denoted the tract of country extending within the above-mentioned limits, embracing that part of the King's County, which is contained in the present *diocese* of Meath: which being then wrested from Leinster, was thrown into the great civil territory of Meath.

[n] *Cennfaela.*—A celebrated poet, some of whose verses are cited by Tighernach. He died, according to these annals at 678, where see the note.

[o] *Seven years.*—This refers to the period which elapsed between Failghe's victory over Fiacha in 509, and the present, his final defeat in 516.

[p] *Sudden death.*—He was found dead in his chamber on the 9th of July, 518. Some say that in despair, during a thunder storm, he laid violent hands on himself: others, that he was killed by a flash of lightning. [Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 522.] The length of his age and reign is borrowed from Marcellinus' Chronicle.

[q] *Colum-cille.*—This occurrence is entered also in these annals at 518, and 522. The date in Tighernach is 520; that adopted by Ussher is 522. He was born in Gartan, a parish in the county Donegal.

[r] *Buite son of Bronach.*—His church was called, after him, Mainister Buite, which is now commonly known as Monasterboice, and lies about five miles N. W. of Drogheda. Here are the remains of a church and round tower, with two majestic sculptured crosses, casts of which appeared to such advantage in the Dublin Exhibition of 1853. His festival is the 7th of December, and his life is preserved in MS. in the British Museum.

[s] *Moninne.*—See the note on the name at 516.

[t] *Conlaedh.*—He was also called Mochonna, of Daire or Kildare. He was the first bishop of that church, and his festival is May 3. Cogitosus, in his life of St. Brigid, expressly states that Conlaedh was chosen by her to be bishop of her church: and though the truth of this is questioned by some, on the ground of its improbability; it appears to have been one of the numerous anomalies which existed in the Irish discipline. He seems to have been subject to St. Bridgid in matters of jurisdiction, in the same way that the bishops in the west of Scotland submitted to the presbyter Abbot of Iona.

[u] *Detnea.*—Not identified. Probably the *In-dednen* of the Four Masters, 849, 912, 920, 1024. This battle was waged by the representative of the Northern Hy-Neill, aided by the head of the Airghialla, against a branch of the southern Hy-Neill.

[v] *Druim-Bregh.*—The hilly ground on the north of the county of Meath. O'Donovan places it on the borders of Meath and Cavan.

[w] *Ardgall son of Conall,*—that is, of Conall Criffan. His descendants occupied a tract on the west of the county of Meath, and gave to it their tribe-name of Cinel-Ardgail. [See these annals at 746, 799, 836.] The name occurs also in the Calendar at Dec. 10, and simply *Ardghail* at Sep. 30, Oct. 27, but the churches mentioned

and Muireertach son of Erc, were victors.

Comgall[z] of Bangor was born, according to some.

A.D. 520. [1. *Jan. Frid.* D 7.]—Cainnech[a] of Achadh-bo[b] was born, according to some.

A.D. 521. [1. *Jan. Sat.* D 18.]—

A.D. 522. [1. *Jan. Sund.* D 29.]—The battle of Detna in Druim-Bregh, in which fell Ardgall son of Conall Crimthann, son of Niall.

Buiti, son of Bronach, died.

Or, in this year, the birth of Colum-cille.

A.D. 523. [1. *Jan. Mond.* D 10.]—The battle of Cainri son of Niall.[c] Beoaedh,[d] bishop of Ardcarn,[e] rested.

The rest of Brigid,[f] in the 70th year of her age.

A.D. 524. [1. *Jan. Wed.*]—John,[g] the 51st Pope of the church of Rome, having lived two years in the see of Peter, came to Constantinople, and when, on his return, he had come to Ravenna, Theodoric the Arian king, put him and his companions to death under the rigour of imprisonment. His body, which was removed from Ravenna, was buried in the church of St. Peter, after two years, nine months, and fourteen days.

A.D. 525. [1. *Jan. Thur.*]—The repose of St. Brigid in the seventieth year of her age.

Ailill,[h] bishop of Armagh, rested.

A.D. 526. [1. *Jan. Frid.*]—The birth of

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have not been identified. O'Donovan, [An. 742] is unable to determine its situation; the gloss, however, of the Felire at June 25, places the church of Cill-Delge in it, and this is now called Kildalkey; it must be represented by the barony in which this parish lies, namely, that of Lune. [Ord Surv. Meath, s. 35.] In the introduction to the Obits of Christ's Church, Cill-Delge is erroneously placed in the Hebrides. [p. lxv.]

[x] *Colga son of Cluzath.*—The Four Masters call him "Colga son of Loite son of Crunn son of Fedhlimidh" to which O'Donovan adds, "son of Colla Dachrioch." But there must be an error in this, as it allows too few generations for the interval of nearly two centuries.—Daire, who granted Armagh to S. Patrick, was 8th in descent from Colla, whereas this would only allow five to one half a century later. See O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 364.

[y] *Orientales.*—That is, the *Airtheara* or *Easterns* of the Airghiallian tribes, giving names to the baronies of Orior, on the east side of the county of Armagh. They were descended from Niallan, fifth in descent from Colla Dachrioch, whose immediate posterity gave name to the territory of Ui Niallain, now the baronies of Oneilland, and of whom Daire was chief, in St. Patrick's time. From this line also came Anluan, the founder of the Ua hAnluain family, who became known in the middle ages as the O'Hanlons, lords of Orior.

[z] *Comgall.*—See the note on the name at 515.

[a] *Cainnech.*—Commonly called St. Kenny, from whom Kilkenny, the episcopal seat of Ossory, and Kilkenny West in Westmeath, derive their names. He was born in the parish of Drumachose, near N. T. Limavady, in the county of Londonderry and barony of Keenaght. Tighernach places his birth at 517, which is the true date, for he died in 600, in his 84th year. His festival is October, 11. His life, from the Codex Salmanticensis, collated with two other MSS. has lately been printed for private distribution, by the Marquess of Ormond.

[b] *Achadh-bo.*—Now Aghaboe, a large parish in the barony of Clarmallagh, Queen's County. It was St Cainnech's chief foundation, and an episcopal seat previously to Kilkenny becoming the cathedral church of Ossory. A memoir of the church by Dr. Ledwich, a former Rector, is printed in his Antiquities, and the Parochial Survey of Ireland. [Vol, i. p. 13.]—See also Archdall's Monasticon. p. 588.

[c] *Cainri son of Niall.*—There is no analogous entry to this in any of the other annals; nor is it easy to say who is intended, unless Cainri be an error for Cairbre.

[d] *Beoaedh.*—Beo-Aedh is interpreted 'Aidus vivax.' His festival is March 8, at which day Colgan has collected what few particulars of his history he could discover. His bell, called *Ceolan Beoaidh*, enclosed in a silver case set with jewels, was preserved, in Colgan's day, at Ballynagleragh in Breffney. [Act. SS. p. 562.]

[e] *Ardcarn.*—A parish in Roscommon, about four miles east of Boyle. In the acts of the Synod of Rathbrasil, Ardcarn is set out as another name for the diocese of Ardagh.

[f] *Brigid.*—The death of St. Brigid is recorded in these annals from different authorities at 523, 525, and 527. Tighernach enters it in the same year with that of John, bishop of Rome, i.e. 526. Early authorities state that she survived St Patrick thirty years, in which case 523 [i.e, 493 with 30] is the year of her death.

[g] *John.*—Justin the Eastern Emperor, having adopted violent measures to supress Arianism in his dominions, Theodoric, the Gothic King of Italy, who belonged to that persuasion, compelled Pope John, with five bishops and four senators, to go on an embassy to Constantinople to interfere on behalf of the suffering party, and threaten the infliction of similar severity on the Catholics of the west, should the Emperor persist in his measures. He celebrated Easter in the imperial capital, in 525, and returning to Ravenna with an unfavourable answer, he and his companions were thrown into prison, where he died on the 18th of May, 526. He sat 2 years. 9 months, and 6 days. His body was removed to Rome, and he was buried as stated above, reckoning from the date of his consecration. [See Pagi, Critica, Tom. ii. pp. 524, 526, 528; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, cap. xxxix.]

[h] *Ailill.*—He succeeded Dubthach, whose death is recorded above at 512. He was succeeded by Ailill II. whose death is entered below at 535. Both the Ailills were of the Ui Broasail Macha, or descendants of Breasal great-grandson of Colla-Dachrioch, who occupied an eastern portion of the present county of Armagh. It is worthy of remark that the Abbacy of Armagh, or succession of St. Patrick, continued with few exceptions in the descendants of Colla Dachrioch until the age of Malachi O'Morgair, and that from the year 996 till 1134, it was

Cainnech, of Achadh-bo.

The death of Illann, son of Dunlaing[i] son of Enna Niadh son of Breasal Ballach, king of Leinster.

In the 197th year after the foundation of the regal city of Constantinople, on the first of April, the Emperor Justin appointed as his successor on the throne, Justinian[k] his sister's son, who had, a considerable time before, been designated by him *Nobilissimus*.[l] He died in the fourth month following, after he had reigned nine years, and two months.

A.D. 527. [1. *Jan. Sat.* ☽ 24.]—Felix,[m] bishop of the church of Rome, sat four years, nine months, and fourteen days.

The battle of Cinneigh,[n] and the battle of Ath-Sighe,[o] against the Leinstermen; Muircertach son of Ere was victor.

Or, in this year, the repose of Brigid,[p] according to the Book of Mochod.[q]

A.D. 528. [1. *Jan. Mond.* ☽ 5.]—The birth of Coeman Breac.[r] Benedict,[s] the monk, attained celebrity.

A.D. 529. [1. *Jan. Tuesd.*]

A.D. 530. [1. *Jan. Wed.*]—The body of St. Anthony, the monk,[t] having been discovered through means of a divine revelation, is conveyed to Alexandria, and buried in the church of St. John the Baptist.

A.D. 531. [1. *Jan. Thur.* ☽ 9.]—In this year Dionysius constructed his Paschal cycle,[u] commencing from the year 520 of the Incarna-

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strictly entailed in the Clann Sinaich, and descended from father to son, as St. Bernard indignantly complains in his life of Malachi.

[i] *Illan son of Dunlaing.*—The Irish had a tradition that he died at the age of 120, and that his body, carried in a chariot through the battle of Fionnabhair (Fennor in Meath), turned the scale of victory in favour of the Leinstermen against the Hy-Neill. Tighernach places his death at 527, but the Four Masters at 506, where see O'Donovan's note. He was succeeded by his brother Ailill.

[k] *Justinian.*—Son of Sabatius, by Bigleniza, called by the Romans Vigilantia, sister of the Emperor Justin. He was nominated Augustus, and admitted to a share in the government April 1, 527, and was crowned on the 4th. His uncle Justin, began to reign July, 9, 518, and died Aug. 1, 527, having occupied the throne 9 years, and 23 days Marcellinus, from whose chronicle this entry is borrowed, says "annis imperatis novem et mensibus duobus," that is, as Pagi observes, 9 years and 2 incomplete months. [tom. ii. p. 531.]

[l] *Nobilissimus.*—A title created by Constantine, and at first conferred upon the sons of Emperors It was afterwards extended to brothers and nephews of Emperors. The passage in Marcellinus' Chronicle, of which the above in our annals is a transcript, is cited by Du Cange, in illustration of the difference between the terms *Nobilissimus* and *Cæsar.* (Glossar. in voce.)

[m] *Felix.*—The fourth of the name, a Samnite, ordained July 12, 526, He died Sep. 18, 530, having sat 4 years, 2 months, and 14 days. *Nine* in the text should be *two.*

[n] *Cinneigh.*—Now Kineagh, a parish in the county of Kildare, on the S.E. extending into Carlow, and situate at the junction of these two counties with Wicklow.

[o] *Athsighe.*—A ford on the River Boyne, giving name to a small parish on the S. E. side of the river, now called *Assey.* [Ord. Surv. Meath, s. 31.] It derived its name of *Ath-Sighe*, or 'Ford of Sighe,' from Sighe son of Dian, who was slain here on this occasion. [See Four Mast. An. 524.]

[p] *Brigid.*—See note on the name above at 523.

[q] *Mochod.*—See the note on the name at 511.

[r] *Coeman Breac.*—He is thus noticed, at his festival the 14th of September, by O'Clery:—"Coeman Breac, of Ros-each in Caille-Follamhain in Meath. He was of the family of Conaire son of Modh Lamha, sovereign of Ireland, and of the race of Heremon." His death is entered in these annals at 614, so that he lived to the age of 86. His church *Ros-each*, that is the 'Wood of the Horses,' has been identified by O'Donovan with the parish of Russagh in the north-west border of West-meath, joining Longford; and hence he has placed Caille-Follamhain or 'Fallon's wood,' a territory often mentioned in the annals, in this situation. [Annals 614, 882; Book of Rights, p. 182.] It is more likely, however, that it lay more to the north-east, in the neighbourhood of Diamor, in the county of Meath, barony of Demifore. A townland in the parish now known as Clonabreany was formerly called *Russagh*, and was a distinct parish in Pope Nicholas' Taxation. The ancient churchyard is in the townland Bobsville, on the edge of Clonabreany. [Ord Surv. s. 15.] The printed copy incorrectly reads "*Colmain* Bricc."

[s] *Benedict.*—The father of western monasticism. He founded his famous monastery of Monte Cassino in 529, being in his 48th year. He died in 544, on the 21st of March, which is his festival. St. Gregory, who wrote his life, describes his seclusion in two words—"Habitavit secum."

[t] *St. Antony the Monk.*—Baronius, on the authority of Marianus Scotus, places this Invention at 531. The fact of the Invention is related by Victor of Tunone and Isidore of Seville. It is said that his reliques were afterwards removed to Constantinople, when the Saracens made themselves master of Egypt, and finally to Vienne in France. This patriarch of monasticism died on the 17th of January, 356, at his chief monastery on a remote mountain in Egypt.

[u] *Paschal Cycle.*—Dionysius, a Scythian monk, but well skilled, as his friend Cassiodorus, and Bede testify, in the Greek and Latin tongues, assumed the title of *Exiguus*, or 'Diminutive,' through lowliness of mind, though he "deserved well," as Mosheim justly observes, "of his own age and of posterity by his collection of ancient canons and his chronological researches." Previously to his time Christian writers generally used the

tion of our Lord, which is the 246th of Dioclesian.

A.D. 532. [1. *Jan. Sat.* ☽ 20.]—The battle of Ebhlinne,[v] by Muircertach son of Erc, and the battle of Moy-Ailbhe,[w] against the Leinstermen; and the battle of Aidhne,[x] against the Connaghtmen; and the battle of Almhuin[y]; and the battle of Cinneich[z] against the Leinstermen; and the depredation of Cliach[a]; in one year.

The battle of Ath-Sighe[b]; Muircertach son of Erc was victor.

A.D. 533. [1. *Jan. Sund.* ☽ 1] The suffocation of Muircertach son of Erc in a tub full of wine,[c] at the fort of Cletty[d] on the Boyne.

The rest of Ailbhe,[e] of Imleach-Ibar.[f]

Boniface,[g] bishop of Rome, having sat two years and twenty-six days, was buried in the Church of St. Peter the Apostle.

A.D. 534. [1. *Jan. Mond.* ☽ 12.]—The repose of Mochta,[h] the disciple of Patrick, on the 13th of the Kalends of September. In his epistle he thus writes: *Maucteus peccator prespiteor, Sancti Patricii discipulus, in Domino salutem.*

The battle of Lochair-mor,[i] within the two Invers, by Tuathal Maelgarbh[k] against the men of Cianacht.

The battle of Ebhlinne, by Muircertach son of Erc against the Leinstermen, [in this year,] as some say.

A.D. 535. [1. *Jan. Tues.* ☽ 23.]—Thus far

Dioclesian era, which dated from August 29, 284, the day when Dioclesian was proclaimed Emperor. He however proposed the year of the Incarnation as the most proper commencement, and in 527 published his Paschal Cycle of 532 years, being the product of the Solar cycle of 28 years, multiplied by the Lunar cycle of 19 years. His system was not introduced into England till the close of the seventh century. Tighernach, who copies Bede's chronicle says:—"In isto anno Dionysius scribsit Paschales circulos, incipiens ab anno Dominicæ incarnationis DXXXII, qui est annus Dioclctiani CCXLVIIJ. post consulatum Lampadii et Orestis, quo anno Justinianeus Codex orbi promulgatus est." The reading in the text is corrupt in all the copies, in which for 520, and 246, should be read 532 and 248. He himself says, "nos a CCXLVIII. anno ejusdem Tyranni inchoantes." (Petavius, Doct. Temp. p. 874.)

[v] *Ebhlinne*.—So called from Eibhlinne son of Brogan, a Milesian chief; now known as the Slieve Phelim mountains on the confines of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick. [Keating, Hist. vol. i, p, 286.]

[w] *Magh-Ailbhe*.—Moy-Alvey, a plain in the south of Kildare.

[x] *Aidhne*.—Or Magh Aidhne, on the S. W. of the county of Galway, partially represented by the modern barony of Kiltartan.

[y] *Almuin*.—Now the Hill of Allen in the parish of Rathernan, about five miles N. W. of Kildare. [Ord. Surv. Kildare, s. 18.]

[z] *Cinneich*.—See the note on the name at 529.

[a] *Cliach*.—Part of the barony of Idrone in the county of Carlow.

[b] *Ath-Sighe*.—See the note above at 527.

[c] *Tub full of wine*.—An ancient Irish tale states that this monarch fell a victim to the revenge of a concubine named *Sheen*, for whom he had for some time, abandoned his queen, but whom he afterwards consented to put away at the command of his relative St. Cairneach of Dulane. This concubine, according to the tale, which is of a wild and imaginative character, having lost her father, mother, sister, and others of her family, (who were of the old tribe of Tara,) by the hand of Muirchertach, at the battle of Cirb, now Assy, on the Boyne, threw herself in his way, and became his mistress, for the express purpose of wreaking her vengeance upon him with the greater facility. And the story states that she burned the house of Cletty over the head of the monarch, who, when scorched by the flames, plunged into a puncheon of wine, in which he was suffocated. [Petrie's Essay on Tara, pp. 94, 98.] The story is alluded to by Tighernach, at 534, who quotes an ancient poem on the occurrence.

[d] *Cletty*.—This may be *Cludy*, a picturesque spot over the Boyne, where is the burying-ground of Bective parish. [Ord. Surv. Meath, s. 31.]

[e] *Ailbhe*.—His death is again entered in these annals at 541. The life of Ailbhe represents him as one of the four bishops who preceded St. Patrick in preaching to the Pagan Irish, but such a supposition is irreconcilable with the graver authority of these Annals, and Tighernach, who assigns his death to 533. See Ussher's works, vol. vi. pp. 332, 333. Ailbeus is mentioned by Tirechan among the presbyters ordained by St. Patrick. [Book of Armagh, fol. 9, *b*. *b*.] His festival is Sep. 12.

[f] *Imleach-Ibar*.—More correctly *Imleach-Iubhair*, 'the Strath of the Yew,' now Emly, formerly an episcopal seat, at present a parish in the south-western extremity of Tipperary. [Ord. Surv. s. 65.] In 1568 the see of Emly was united to Cashel, and so continues. [See Harris' Ware, vol. i, p. 489.]

[g] *Boniface*.—a Roman, consecrated Sept. 21, 530, sat 2 years and 26 days; died, and was buried, October 17, 532.

[h] *Mochta*.—The founder of the church of Lughmhagh or Louth. Adamnanus thus notices him in the Preface of his Life of St. Columba, written about 690: "Quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus, Maucteus nomine." Colgan has his life at the 24th of March. [See the note above at 511; and O'Donovan on the Four Masters, 534.]

[i] *Lochair-mor*.—The Four Masters are more circumstantial: "Luachair-mor between the two Invers; which is called the battle of Ailbhe in Bregia, by Tuathal Maelgarbh against the Cianachta of Bregia." Cianachta of Bregia embraced the baronies of Duleek, and the name of the place where the battle was fought is still preserved in the form *Cluain-Ailbhe*, now Clonalvy, a parish in the union of Julianstown. [Ord. Surv. Meath, s. 33.] The two Invers, or mouths of rivers, were probably those of the Nanny and Delvin Waters.

[k] *Tuathal Maelgarbh*.—He was grandson of Cairbre son

Marcellinus[l] brings down his Chronicle.

Mercurius, who was also called John,[m] a Roman by birth, bishop of the church of Rome, sat two years, four months, and six days. He was buried in the church of St. Peter the Apostle.

A failure of bread.[n]

Ailill, bishop of Armagh, died.

Or, in this year Muircertach son of Ere was drowned.

A.D. 536. [1. *Jan. Thur.* D 9.] The battle of Mount Ebhlinne.[o]

Tuathal Maelgarbh[p] reigned eleven years.

Or, in this year, the repose of Mochta.[q]

A.D. 537. [——] Agapitus,[r] a Roman by birth, bishop of the church of Rome, sat eleven months and eight days. He was buried in the church of St. Peter the Apostle. Twenty-six days of Boniface, and four months and six days of Mercurius, and eleven months and eight days of Agapitus, make up a year, four months, and ten days.

The battle of Claenloch,[s] in which Maine son of Cearbhall[t] fell.

The death of Comghall son of Domanghart,[u] in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

A.D. 538. [——] A failure of bread.[v]

The battle of Lochar,[w] as some say; Tuathal Maelgarbh was victor.

Silverius,[x] a Roman by birth, sat one year, five months, and eleven days.

A.D. 539. [——] The birth of St. Gregory[y] at Rome.

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of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and the only sovereign in this line. His surname is interpreted *Calvo-asper* by O'Flaherty. Keating says that he was so called on account of an injury received in his head when he was an infant. He succeeded Muircertach MacErc on the throne, and was slain, according to these Annals, in 543.

[l] *Marcellinus.*—A Count of Illyria, and to be distinguished from Ammianus Marcellinus. His chronicle commences at 379, where Jerome's ends, and terminates at 534. It is the chief authority of these Annals for external events, and is generally copied *verbatim* under the several years. It is a most exact and valuable record. Joseph Scaliger, the literary Dictator, passes the following well-merited compliment upon it: "Marcellinus, qui a Consulatu Ausonii et Olibrii sumsit initium Chronici sui, quod cum singulis collegiis Consulum suas Indictiones reddat, nihil habemus hodie perfectius in eo genere. Utinam totos Fastos Romanos pari diligentia characterismis suis notatos haberemus."—De Emendat. Temp. lib. v. p. 513, [Colon. 1629.] It was published by Ant. Schoonhovius; Sirmondus; Jos. Scaliger, in his Thesaurus Temporum, (Amst. 1658); and in the Bibliotheca Vet. Pat. tom. xv. (Paris, 1654.)

[m] *John.*—The second of the name, consecrated Dec. 31, 532; sat 2 years, 4 months, and 26 days; died, and was buried, 27 May, 535. Anastasius and other authorities make the length of his pontificate as in the text above; but Pagi shows that this is an early error for 2, 4, 26. [Critica, Tom. ii. p. 552.]

[n] *Failure of bread.*—This *Perditio panis* is placed by Tighernach at 539, and is repeated in these Annals at 538. Gibbon remarks that "the triple scourge of war pestilence, and famine, afflicted the subjects of Justinian." [Decline, cap. 43.] Baronius records the prevalence of great dearth in Italy in the years, 534, 539, and 547.

[o] *Mount Ebhlinne.*—See the note on Eibhlinne at 532.

[p] *Tuathal Maelgarbh.*—See the note on the name at 534.

[q] *Mochta.*—See the note at 534.

[r] *Agapitus.*—Consecrated Sunday, June 3, 535; sat 10 months and 19 days: died April, 22, 536. Anastasius and some Catalogues assign him a pontificate of 11 months and 19 days. The sum of the fractional parts of the pontificates of him and his two predecessors as given in the text is not correct. The correct calculation is as follows:—

	Y.	M.	D.
Boniface.....	2	0	26
Interpontificate,		2	15
Mercurius,.....	2	4	26
Interpontificate,			7
Agapetus,.....	0	10	19
	5	7	1

[s] *Claenloch.*—The Four Masters place it in Kinel-Aedha or O'Shaughnessy's country, which lay around the town of Gort, in the county of Galway. [An 531.]

[t] *Maine son of Cearbhall.*—He was of the Hy-Many of Connaught, who derived their name from Maine, fifth in descent from Colla Da-chrioch. [Ogygia, p. 366.]

[u] *Comghall son of Domhangart.*—The death of his father, whom he succeeded as king of the Dalriadic colony in Scotland, is recorded above at 506. The descendants of Comghall were styled the *Kinel-Comghaill*, and gave name to the district of Argyleshire, east of Loch Fyne, now called *Cowal*. O'Flaherty makes his reign extend from 534 to 558, and instead of 35, as in the text, allows 24. [Ogyg. p. 472.] The regnal year, however, as given above, is correct, if it be calculated from 502, the year of the emigration of the colony.

[v] *Failure of bread.*—See note above at 535.

[w] *Lochar.*—See note on Lochair-mor, at 534.

[x] *Silverius.*—Consecrated June 8, 536: being charged with favouring Vitiges, the Gothic king, he was deposed by Belisarius, on the 18th of November, 537, and banished to Palmeruolo, an island of the Latin coast, where, overcome by sorrow, he ended his days, on the 20th of June, 538. See the note on Vigilius at the following year.

[y] *St. Gregory.*—Afterwards styled the 'Great.' The Irish seem to have had frequent intercourse with the see

Vigilius,[z] a Roman by birth, bishop of the church of Rome, sat seventeen years, six months, and twenty-two days. He died at Syracuse, and was buried in the Via Salaria.

A.D. 541. [——] The death of Comgall,[a] son of Domangart.

Albeus[b] rested.

A.D. 542. [——] The battle of Torten[c] by the Leinstermen, in which fell MacErca[d] son of Ailill Molt.

The battle of Sligeach,[e] in which fell Eogen Bel,[f] king of Connacht: Fergus and Domhnall,[g] the two sons of MacErc, were victors, and Ainmire[h] son of Sedna, and Ninnidh son of Setna.[i]

A.D. 543. [——] Tuathal Maelgarbh was slain at Greallach-Allta,[k] by Maolmorda,[l] and was succeeded by Dermod mac Cerbhaill.[m]

A.D. 544. [1. *Jan. Mond.* ☽ 2.] The first Mortality,[n] which is called Blefed, in which Mobi Claraineech[o] died.

The death of Comgall son of Domangart, as some say.

Dermot, son of Fergus Cerbhall, begins to reign, according to the Book of Cuanach.

Or, in this year, the birth of Gregory, according to some.

A.D. 545. [1. *Jan. Tues.* ☽ 13.]—Daire-Coluimcille[p] was founded.

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of Rome during his pontificate; and there is even a pedigree of him preserved in some ancient Irish MSS., shewing him to be of Hibernian extraction. In the year 574 he was Prætor of Rome, being then 34 years old, and in 575 he assumed the monastic habit, being then 35.—These data give 540 as the year of his birth.

[z] *Vigilius.*—After the deposition of Silverius, the see of Rome continued vacant for five days, when Vigilius, whose elevation was owing to mercenary influence, was consecrated on St. Cecilia's day, the 22nd of November, 537. His title, during Silverius' lifetime, was considered doubtful: but on the death of that injured individual he was confirmed in his dignity, partly through the influence of Belisarius, and partly for the sake of preserving unity in the see. He died of stone at Syracuse, on his way back from Constantinople, in 555. Anastasius makes the length of his episcopate 17 years, 5 months, and 26 days. Tighernach, 18 years, 6 months, and 15 days. The printed text in these annals reads 14 years, instead of 17.

[a] *Comgall.*—See the note on 537,

[b] *Albeus.*—On the death of St. Ailbhe, see the note on 533.

[c] *Torten.*—So called from the Ui Tortain, a small branch of the Airghialla who settled near Ardbraccan in Meath. The derived their name from Tortan, fifth in descent from Colla Da-crioch, (Four Mast. An. 917)

[d] *Mac Erca.*—"From whom descend," adds Tighernach, "the men of Cera."

[e] *Sligeach.*—The river which, rising in Lough Gill, falls into the sea at Sligo Bay; and, in its course, gives name to the town of Sligo.

[f] *Eogen Bel.*—See the interesting note on him in O'Donovan's Annals, An. 537, (p. 179.) He was of the race of Hy-Fiachrach.

[g] *Fergus and Domhnall.*—Sons of Muircertach mac Erc, whose death was recorded at 533. They succeeded to the joint sovereignty on the death of Dermot MacKervil, king of Ireland. See below, 564.

[h] *Ainmire.*—He succeeded to the sovereignty of Ireland in 565, according to these annals. He was the first of the race of Conall Gulban who attained to that dignity.

[i] *Ninnidh son of Setna.*—It should be "son of Duach," as Tighernach and the Four Masters correctly have it. These four allied warriors appear again in the conflict at 560.

[k] *Greallach Allta.*—There were two places called Greallach Eillte; one in Meath, which these Annals, at 913 infra, place west of Crossakeel, and one at the foot of Slieve Gamh, in Leyny, in the county of Sligo, where Dr. Petrie fixes this occurrence. (Essay on Tara, p. 98.) The Annals of Clonmacnoise, however, state that the assassination of Tuathal took place at Greallach-daphill, (mentioned above at 462) in the county of Kildare.

[l] *Maolmorda.*—Maelmor, son of Airgedan, according to Tighernach, of the Conaille Murtheimhne in Louth, and step-brother of Dermot MacKervil. See the curious narrative of the assassination in O'Donovan's note on the Annals, A.D., 538, (p. 181) and Tighernach, An. 544.

[m] *Dermod Mac Cerbhail.*—The last sovereign represented the house of Cairbre in the race of Niall: this, that of Conal Criffan, chief of the southern Hy-Neill. He was the grantor of the lands of Artibra to St. Ciaran, upon which was founded the famous monastery of Clonmacnoise. He is said to have expelled St. Columba from Ireland, because he espoused the cause of the northern Hy-Neill at the battle of Cooldrevny; yet the biographer of the saint describes him as "Diormitium filium Cerbuli, totius Scotiæ regnatorem, Deo auctore ordinatum." (Adamnan., i. 36.)

[n] *Mortality.*—Tighernach places its appearance in the same year with Pope Vigilius' death. It broke out in 542 and spread in opposite directions; eastwards to Syria, and westwards along the coast of Africa, and over to the continent of Europe. Gregory of Tours calls it "Lues Inguinaria," and Victor Tununensis "Inguinum percussio." Procopius, in his Bellum Persicum, has given a very detailed account of its symptoms, (ii. 22.) It lasted until the year 594. [See Pagi Critica, Tom ii. p. 578; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, cap. xliii. § 3.]

[o] *Mobi Claraineech.*—That is, 'Mobi of the Flat Face.' He was also called Berchan, and was founder of the church of *Glas-Naoidhen*, now Glasnevin, near Dublin. His festival is the 12th of October.

[p] *Daire Coluimcille.*—The ancient name was Daire Calgaich, which is Latinized '*Roboretum Calgachi.* The Four Masters add, "the place having been granted to him by his own tribe, i.e. the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall."

A.D. 546. [1. *Jan. Tues.* ☽24.] The battle of Sligeach,[q] in which fell Eogen Bel, king of Connacht; Domnall and Fergus, two sons of Muircertach mac Erc, and Ainmire son of Sedna, were victors.

A.D. 547. (1. *Jan. Wed.* ☽5.) Dubthach,[r] abbot of Ardmacha, rested. He was of the race of Colla Uais.

Cluan-mac-nois[s] was founded.

The battle of Tortan by the Leinstermen, in which fell Mac Erc, son of Ailill-Molt.

Or, in this year, the battle of Sligeach.

A.D. 548. [1 *Jan. Frid.* ☽16.] The falling asleep[t] of Ciaran son of the Carpenter in the thirty-fourth[u] year of his age.

Tighernach[v] of Cluain-cois, [w] rested.

Great mortality,[x] in which the following ended their course: Finnio[y] Maccucduib[z]; Colam[a]

St, Columba being born in 518, according to these Annals, he was now 27 years of age. See Ordnance Memoir of Templemore, p. 18.

[q] *Sligeach.*—For this, and the other names which are repeated by the Annals, see under 542.

[r] *Dubthach.*—Or Duach, as the printed copy reads. His ancestor, Colla Uais, flourished 332; from him descended the Hy Tuirtre, Fir Li, and Hy-Fiachrach of Ardstraw.

[s] *Cluan-mac-nois.*—The Life of Kieran states that it was originally called *Druim-Tipraid.* The first church founded by St. Kieran was on Inis-Aingin, now Hare Island in the Shannon, the charge of which he committed to St. Adamnanus, when he betook himself to Cluanmacnoise. The site of this and of many other churches in Meath was granted to him by his patron, Dermot Mac Kervil. Tighernach says, at 549, that Kieran died aged 31, *seven* years after the founding of Cluan-mac-noise; as also the Clarendon copy of these Annals; but the error is probably attributable to the confounding of *sec.o.* [*secundo.*] and *sep.o.* [*septimo*] His death is recorded in these Annals at the next year. [See Ussher's Works, vol. vi. pp. 473, 525, 592]

[t] *Falling asleep.*—In these annals the death of an ecclesiastic is generally entered in the form *dormitatio, quies, pausatio, obitus*, while that of a layman is *mors*, or *jugulatio* and *occisio* if the death was violent.

[u] *Thirty-fourth.*—The length of S. Ciaran's age is a remarkable exception to the longevity which characterizes the saints in the Irish Calendar. The veneration in which his memory was held, and the dignity of his monastery, notwithstanding his humble origin, indicate that his ecclesiastical qualities were brilliant and developed at an early age. The influence which he had acquired in even his short career was beginning to excite against him the envy of his contemporaries, and it is said that S. Columba pronounced his death a happy event, as it saved him from a gathering storm. That saint, on his departure from Clonmacnoise, asked leave to take two handfuls of earth from S. Ciaran's grave.—(Trias Thaum, p. 457 *b.*) In Cummian's Paschal Epistle he is called *Queranus Coloniensis*, and styled one of the "Patres Priores" of the Irish Church. (Ussher, Syllog. Ep. xi.) Alcuin, too, recorded his honour:

"Patricius, Cheranus Scottorum gloria gentis."

He died on the 9th of September, which is his day in the Calendar. In the Highlands of Scotland his memory was specially revered, and is still recorded in the names of many churches there. His life has not been printed, but it exists in manuscript at Brussels in the Codex Salmanticensis, and at Dublin in the Codex Vitarum in Marsh's Library.

[v] *Tighernach.*—His life is printed by the Bollandists from three MSS., at the 5th of April his festival.—(April. Tom i., pp. 491-404) His father Cairbre was seventh in descent from Daire Barrach, son of Cathaeir Mor, and his mother Derfraych of the family of Cairpre Daimhargaid, King of Airghialla. It is said that he was ordained Bishop at Kildare, by S. Brigid's mandate. He founded the monastery of Galloon [Gaballinense monasterium] in Lough Erne, which he committed to S. Comgall when he departed to found his chief monastery of Clones. Ware states that he was also venerated at the church of Derimoulain [Derryvullen in Fermanagh], and that his office was preserved in S. Benet's Library at Cambridge

[w] *Cluain-eois* —Now Clones, a large parish on the confines of Monaghan and Fermanagh. The remains of a Round Tower at the village of Clones, in the Monaghan portion of the parish, indicate the early ecclesiastical importance of the place. Here there is St. Tierney's Well, and the abbey lands form what is called St. Tierney's Manor. From a mistaken notion that the Irish had in primitive ages a succession of Diocesan bishops, Irish writers have represented St. Tigernach as successor of St. Maccarthen, of Clogher, and as transferring the see from that church to Clones. See Harris' Ware, p. 177; Archdall, Monast. p. 582.

[x] *Great Mortality.*—Called, as Tighernach adds, "Crom-Connaille, or Buidhe Conaill." It is mentioned again at 555 of these Annals, where see the note The disease made its appearance in the following century with even greater violence. See Bede, Hist. Eccles. iii. 27, and these annals at 663, 664, 666, 667. See Irish Eccles. Jour. vol. v. p. 107, *b.*

[y] *Finnio.*—St. Finnian of Clonard. He was preceptor of S Columba and many of the Irish saints. His festival in the Calendars is the 12th of December, the day on which he died, but Colgan has given his life at the 23d of February. (Acta SS. p 393.) This entry, which is omitted in the printed copy, is supplied from the Dublin and Clarendon MSS.

[z] *Maccucduib.*—So it is in the Cod. Dublin and Clarend., but it is plainly a clerical error for Mace Ua [Tel] duib, as the name is found in Tighernach at the parallel place. He received the name from Ailill Telduib his tenth progenitor. Of his mother, Aengus says "Tailech mother of Findia son of U. Telldubh." In these Annals, at 653, and the Calendar at Feb. 8, and Dec 12, we meet with a bishop of Clonard, called "Colman Mac Ua Telduibh."

[a] *Colam* —He was son of Nazair, grandson of Crimthann Beg, who was great grandson of Crimthannann son of Cathaeir Mor. (See Book of Rights, p. 198) He was

grandson of Creamhthann; Mac Tail,[b] of Cill-Cuilinn.[c]

Or, in this year Tuathal Maelgarbh,[d] king of Teamhair, died in Greallach-eilte, being assassinated by Maelmor, who himself was immediately after slain: whence the proverb 'Maelmor's fate.'[e]

Sinchell[f] son of Cenanndan, abbot of Cill-Achaidh-druimfoto; [g] and Columba, of Inis-ealtra[h] [died].

A.D. 549 [1 *Jan. Sat.* ☽ 27.] The battle of Cuil-Conaire in Cera,[i] in which fell Ailill Inbanna,[k] and Aedh Fortobol[l] his brother: Fergus and Domhnall, the two sons of Muireertach mac Erca, were victors.

Or, in this year the repose of Tighernach.

A.D. 550. [1 *Jan. Sund.* ☽ 9.] The repose of David[m] son of Guaire Ua Forannain, bishop of Armacha, and Legate of all Ireland.[n]

A.D. 551. [1 *Jan. Mond.* ☽ —] The battle of

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the founder and patron saint of Tir-da-ghlais, now Terryglass, a parish near the Shannon, in the barony of Lower Ormond, County of Tipperary, where he was commemorated on the 13th of December.

[b] *Mac Tail.*—This was his soubriquet, meaning "son of the adze." His real name, according to Tighernach, was "Eogan son of Corcran," or Aengus, as the O'Clerys have it (There is a Fintan Mac Tail also at Oct. 9.) He and Colman of Cill-clethi were sons of Eachach son of Dergan, of the race of Core son of Luigdeach, king of Munster. His day is the 11th of June. (See Todd's Obits of Christ Church, p. lxiv. Trias Thaum. pp. 19, 185, n., 32: Lanigan, Ec. Hist. i, p. 337, ii., p. 7, n.)

[c] *Cill-Cuilinn.*—Now old Kilcullen, in parish and barony of Kilcullen, County of Kildare. Ord. Surv. s. 28. From an entry in the Four Masters, at 937, Dr. O'Donovan concludes that he was also patron of the Church of St. Michael le Pole, in Dublin, to which was formerly attached the only Round Tower in the city.

[d] *Tuathal Maelgarbh.*—See the note at 543.

[e] *Maelmor's fate.*—*Echt Maoile-moire*, referring to the speedy vengeance which overtook him. See the note l, at 543, and the rann cited in the Four Masters, at 538

[f] *Sinchell.*—Called by the Irish *Sen* or 'old' *Sinchell*, to distinguish him from his kinsman Sinchell Calbus; the festival of the former being March 26, of the latter, June 25. Colgan makes him 12th in descent from Mogha Corb, (Act. SS. p. 747), but O'Donovan, 10th from Cathaeir Mor, (Annals p. 186.)

[g] *Cill-achaidh-Druim-fota.*—Now Killeigh, a townland and village in the parish and barony of Geashill, King's County. (Ord. Surv. S. 25.) There are the Seven Blessed Wells of Killeigh, but very slight ecclesiastical remains, although it was traditionally reported to have been third in size of the Irish monasteries. The limitation *Druim-fada*, or 'long ridge,' is derived from the long slope that extends from Killeigh in a S W. direction, and distinguishes it from Cill Achaidh, in East Breffny. That it was largely attended by foreigners appears from the Litany of Aengus, as cited by Colgan:—"The hundred and fifty holy monks together with the 12 pilgrims, who with the elder Sinchell the bishop, and with the younger Sinchell and 12 more bishops, dwelt in the Church of Cill-Achaidh-Druim-fota, in Hy-Falgia, I invoke to my aid." And again, "the 12 Conchenni, who with the two Sinchells, rest in the Church of Cill-Achaidh, &c." (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 748, *a*, c. 4.)

[h] *Inis-Celtra.*—Now Holy Island in the parish of Inishcaltra, to which it gives name. The island is in Lough Derg, near the junction of the Counties of Tipperary, Galway, and Clare, and was formerly considered to belong to the last, though now it is civilly included in Galway. (Ord. Surv. S. 134.) Here are ecclesiastical remains called 'Seven Churches,' and a Round Tower. S. Caimin, is called founder in the note on Aengus at the 25th of March, (Colg. Act. SS. p. 146), and he died, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, in 644, which is 656 of the vulgar era. Of the Columba here mentioned we have no other record.

[i] *Cera.*—The name Cuil-Conaire, is locally unknown, but the territory Cera in which it was situated, is the modern barony of Carra near the middle of the county of Mayo, having the town of Castlebar.

[k] *Ailill Inbanna.*—He was grandson of Eogan Bel, who was slain at the battle of Sligo in 542.

[l] *Aedh Fortobol.*—Which the old English version renders "Aedh the Brave." The Four Masters read *Fortamhail.*

[m] *David.*—In the Catalogue of the Prelates of Armagh, taken from the Psalter of Cashel he is called "Fiachrius, or *Hyfiachrius*," and in those contained in the Leabhar Breac, and Book of Leacan "Fiachra." But this was probably his tribe name, for Ua Forranain, by which he is designated in the Annals, was in after times the family name of the herenachs of Ardstraw, in the County of Tyrone, while the surrounding tribe were called the Hy-Fiachrach of Arda-Sratha. (See Colgan's Trias. Thaum. p. 293; Rev. R. King's early History of the Primacy of Armagh, pp. 67, 112.)

He is entitled "Bishop," but not "Abbot" or "Coarb of Patrick," which was the more honourable distinction, and it is doubtful whether he ever was abbot, for Fedhlimidh, who died in 577 was abbot for 20 years, which, take back to 557, from which, if the ten years of Ailill ii. be subtracted, we arrive at 547, the year in which Dubthach is recorded in these annals to have died.

[n] *Legate of all Ireland.*—This title is wanting in the Bodleian and Clarend. 42 MSS., but given in the Dublin copy and Clar. 49. It is, no doubt, the addition of a late compiler, because the office of Papal Legate was unknown in Ireland till Gillebert was appointed in the 12th century. The Life, indeed, of S. Lasreanus of Leighlin, expressly states, that on his departure from Rome he was invested with Legatine authority. (Acta. SS. April ii., p. 547); and the same distinction is claimed for SS. Patrick, Auxilius, and Colmanellus, but in the loose unhistorical style of the later hagiologists, against the whole array of whose assertions the single testimony of St. Bernard is more than a match, when he says of Gillebert, who flourished from 1110 to 1140, "quem

Cuilne,[o] in which fell the Corcu-Oche[p] of Munster through the prayers of Ita of Cluain.[q]

The death of Fothagh son of Conall.[r]

A.D. 552. [1 *Jan. Wed.* ☽—] The death of Eochaidh son of Connla,[s] king of Uladh; and the death of Bec son of Deagh.[t]

The death of Creamthann son of Brian.[u]

I have found what follows in the Book of Cuanach[v]: The reliques of St. Patrick were deposited in a shrine[w] sixty years after his death by Colum-cille.[x] Three precious swearing reliques were found in his tomb; to wit, the Koach,[z] the Gospel of the Angel,[a] and the Bell of the Will.[b] The angel thus showed to Colum-cille how to

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aiunt prima funetum legatione Apostolicæ sedis per universam Hyberniam." (Messingham, Florileg. p. 359, *a.*)

[o] *Cuilne.*—Modern name unknown.

[p] *Corcu-Oche.*—A tribe of the Ily-Fidhgeinte, situate in the part of the county of Limerick now known as the barony of Lower Connello. St. Molua of Clonfertmulloe was of this family, and eighth in descent from Focho, who probably was the source of the name.—(Fleming, Collect., p. 368; Ogyg. p. 381.) See the note further on at 553.

[q] *Ita of Cluain.*—S. Ita or Ite, called also, with *Mo* the familiar prefix, Mida or Mide, was a famous saint of the diocese of Limerick. Her first name was Derthrea, or Dorothea. She received the name *Ita*, which signifies 'thirst' from her longing after divine love. Her principal church, here contractedly called Cluain, was Cluain-Credhail in the territory of Ui Conaill Gabhra, in the S.W. of the county of Limerick, which at an early date exchanged that name for Cill-Ite, after the patron saint, and is still called by it in the form Killeedy. (Ord. Surv. s. 44.) She died in 569, under which year see the note.

[r] *Fothagh son of Conall.*—The Eochaidh son of Connla of the next year, according to a different authority.—Fothadh and Eochaidh are continually exchanged in the old Irish pedigrees.

[s] *Eochaidh son of Conula.*—To which Tighernach adds, "a quo Ui Eachach Uladh nati sunt." He was fifth in descent from Eachach Cobha, who gave *name* to the Ui Eachach, and their great territory Magh Cobha. See Reeves' Eccles. Antiq p. 99, 349, 353.

[t] *Bec son of Deagh.*—In the ancient pedigree he is called son of De Druad, who was sixth in descent from Maine, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. He was kinsman and chief prophet of Diarmait the sovereign of Ireland.—(Book of Lecan, fol. 130, *b.*) He is said to have predicted the death of Diarmait, and the mode in which he should come by it. (MS. H. 2. 16, fol. 809, T.C.D.) He was also supposed to have foretold the deterioration of property and the breaking out of the distemper at Fanit in the county of Donegall, called the Scuab Fanait, or Besom of Fanad. (Annal. Clonmac. 550.) The Irish considered him a saint, and have placed his name in the Calendar at the 12th of October. A curious legend concerning his death is given by O'Donnellus in in his Life of Columba, i. 87. (Tr. Th. p. 403, *a.*)

[u] *Creamhthann son of Brian.*—Criffan son of Brian was Lord of Teffia, an extensive territory comprehending most of Longford, the western half of Westmeath, and a small portion of Ballycowan, in King's County. He was son of Brian son of Maine son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His brother Brendan is mentioned at 575, and his nephew Aedh at 561, 588.

[v] *Book of Cuanach.*—See the note at 467. The following entry is very curious, and is not found in the other annals.

[w] *Shrine.*—The translation of the remains of the three Patron Saints of Ireland which was enacted at Downpatrick at the instance of John de Courcy, was a perfect imposture, for even supposing that their grave or graves were known, it is every way improbable that any tangible portion of their remains would have been suffered to continue in them. We have historical evidence that the bones of S. Columba were enshrined before 824. (Reeves' Ec. Ant. pp. 224, 226); and we reasonably conclude that the shrine of St. Patrick, which is mentioned in the Annals, was devoted to the preservation of his remains. (See below at 808, 817, 818, 844, 845; An. Inisfal, 830.)

[x] *Columcille.*—He was born in 518, and therefore was now thirty-four years of age. The discovery of the tomb of St. Patrick at Saul, is thus alluded to by Tirechan in the Book of Armagh:—"Colombcille Spiritu Sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam Patricii ubi est confirmat id est in Sabul Patricii." (Fol. 15, *b. b.*)

[y] *Swearing reliques.*—*Minna*, or enshrined reliques, came to denote oaths as well as reliques, and from the practice of administering oaths on such, came the verb *mionnaim* 'to swear.' Hence also came the Irish word *Ministir*, that is, *mionna aistir* 'travelling relies,' a portable case for holding such objects. (See *O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, p.* 458; Petrie Round Towers, p. 336; Rev. R. King on the Primacy of Armagh, pp. 32, 33.)

[z] *Koach.*—Translated *Phiala* by Colgan in the passage of O'Donnellus which records this occurrence, lib. i. c. 114. (Trias. Th. p. 408, *a.*) *Cuach* is the modern form. It would seem that some relique called 'St. Patrick's Cup' was formerly preserved at Downpatrick, though there is no other record of it.

[a] *Gospel of the Angel.*—Probably an Evangeliarium, like the Books of Kells and Durrow and Dimma. It was customary to place the sacred volume in the tomb with the body of an ecclesiastic of importance. Thus the Gospel which was found in St. Kilian's grave at Wurtzburg, in 743, had been deposited there at his burial in 687. S. Columba is also said to have shown the grave of S. Martin to the people of Tours, and to have received the missal of the saint which was found in his coffin. (O'Donnellus iii., 28, Tr. Th. p. 436, *a.*)

[b] *Bell of the Will.*—*Clog an-oideachta.* Udhacht, or in the earlier forms Oideacht, Eadhacht, signifies a bequeathing. The bell so called is mentioned in the Annals of Four Masters at 1044, 1355, 1425. Having been preserved for many generations in the family of Mulholland, it passed in the possession of the late Adam M'Clean, Esq., of Belfast, after whose death it was purchased by its present possessor the Rev. Doctor Todd

divide these reliques, namely, the Koach to Down, the Bell of the Will to Ardmach, and the Gospel of the Angel to Columcille himself: and it is called the Gospel of the Angel because Columcille received it at the angel's hands.

Or, in this year the repose of David bishop of Ardmacha and Legate.

A.D. 553. [——] The birth of Lugdach son of Cuochæ.[c]

The distemper which is called Samhthrose.[d]

A.D. 554. [——] Cathub son of Fergus,[e] bishop of Achadh-einn died.

Colman Mor[f] son of Diarmait whom Dubhsloit[g] killed.

The church of Bennchar was founded.[h]

A.D. 555. [1 *Jan. Sat.* D 4.] Pelagius,[i] a Roman by birth, sat eleven years and eighteen days. He was buried in the church of St. Peter the Apostle.

The great mortality in this year, that is, the Crom Conaill, which is the Buidhe Conaill.[k]

A.D. 556. [1 *Jan. Mond.* D 15.] The death of Feargna,[l] or Fiachaeh, grandson of Ibdaig, king of Uladh.

A.D. 557. [1 *Jan. Tuesd.* D 26.] The slaying of Colman Mor[m] son of Diarmait, whom Dubhsloit slew.

The convention of Teamhair[n] by Diarmait son of Cearbhall.

And the flight before the son of Maelchon.[o]

T.C.D., for £150. A very beautiful fasciculus containing five excellent drawings of the bell and its shrine, together with an introductory essay, was published by Marcus Ward, & Co., of Belfast, in 1859. See Reeves' Ec. Ant. pp. 369, 375; and Rev. R. King's Early History of the Primacy of Armagh, pp. 40, 43, 70.

[c] *Lugidach son of Cuochæ.*—Or, as it is more intelligibly entered by Tighernach, "Molua mac Hui Oche." In his Life he is called "Filius Coche," but this is incorrect, as the C in the proper name is only the C of *mac* doubled by attraction, and then the *mac* translated to *filius*. See the note below at 608, the year of his death. He was the Molua, or Luanus as he is called by S. Bernard, who founded the Church of Cluain-ferta-Molua, now Clonfertmulloe, or Kyle as it is on the Ordnance Map, in the Queen's County. His father was Carthach, of the sept of Corca-Oiche, mentioned above at 551, and his mother Sochla, whose connection with the Ossraighe led the saint to fix his monastery on their border, where Ossory, Eli, and Leix meet. His Life is printed in Fleming's Collectanea, pp. 368—379.

[d] *Samhthrose.*—"That is, the Leprosy."—Cod. Clar.

[e] *Cathub son of Fergus.*—Tighernach adds, "150 years was the length of his life." His day in the Calendar is April 6. The situation of Achadh-einn is not known; but the parallel place in the annals of Inisfallen, (An. 545) records the "Repose of Cathbadh, the illustrious bishop of Leth-Cuinn." See Reeves' Eccles. Ant. pp. 80, 322.

[f] *Colmin Mor.*—Second son of King Diarmait, from whom descended the Clann-Colmain, or Melaghlins of Meath. Clonlonan in Westmeath was their principal settlement. (MacFirbis, Geneal. MS. p. 161.) See the note on Colman Beg, at 585, 592. The death of Colman Mor is re-entered at 557.

[g] *Dubhloit.*—More fully in Tighernach: "The jugulation of Colman Mor, son of Diarmait, in his chariot by Dubhslat Ua Trena of the Cruithne." (A.D. 558.) The Cruitheni or Picts of Dalaradia were great enemies of the Hy Neill.

[h] *Bennchar was founded.*—Entered again at 558, where see note.

[i] *Pelagius.*—On the death of Vigilius, after an interpape of three months, Pelagius I. was elected and consecrated April 11, 555, the imperial confirmation being required in his case for the first time. He died March 1, 559, having sat 4 years, 10 months, and 18 days. Some catalogues assign him 11 years, 10 months, and 18 days, reckoning from 549, when Vigilius was excommunicated by the African church. (Pagi, ii., pp. 617, 624.) He was buried on the day of his death, and his epitaph is thus given by Baronius:—

HIC REQVIESCIT PELAGIVS PAPA, QUI SEDIT ANNOS QVATVOR, MENSES DECEM, DIES DECEM ET OCTO: DEPOSIT. IV. NON. MARTII.

[k] *Buidhe Conaill.*—This is the disease which was mentioned at 548 as so fatal. It was a species of jaundice which was commonly called *Galar Buidhe* and is known in medical nomenclature as Icterus, from a bird of that name, answering to the Golden Thrush. Geraldus Cambrensis terms it "flava pestis, quam et phisici Icteritiam dicunt." Lhuyd thinks it was the *Vâd Velen* of the Welsh' Archæol. voc *Conaill.)* The disease was not confined to Ireland, for King Maelgon, or Maelgwn Gwynedd, died of the yellow plague, according to Welsh accounts about 550. (Rees' Camb. Brit. Saints, p. 343.)

[l] *Feargna.*—The printed text calls him Fiachach, but the Dublin and Clar. copies give the alias in the text. The Four Masters call him son of Aengus. Tighernach thus records his death:—"Battle of Drumcleithe where was slain Fergna Ua Fidhbadh, King of Ulster, by Deman son of Cairill, and the Ui Eathach Arda. He reigned four years (See Reeves' Eccl. Ant., p. 353.)

[m] *Colmin Mor.*—See above at 554.

[n] *Teamhair.*—See the note below at 559.

[o] *Son of Maelchon.*—This was Brudeus, King of the Picts, of whom Ven. Bede says:—"Venit autem Brittaniam Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus. (H. E. iii. 4.) According to this statement 556 was the year of his accession. Ussher assigns 557 for the event, and in the continuation of Marcellinus' Chronicle, at this date, is recorded:—"In Britannia Bridus rex Pictorum efficitur." (Ussher, Wks., vi. p. 234; Ind. Chron. 557.)

And the death of Gabhran[p] son of Domhangart.

Brendin[q] founded a church in Cluain-ferta.[r]

The death of Eathach son of Conlaeth,[s] king of Uladh.

The death of Bec son of De,[t] the Prophet.

A.D. 558. [——] The church of Bennchar was founded.[u]

A.D. 559. [——] The Convention of Teamhair[v] by Diarmait son of Cearbhall.

And the death of Gabhran[w] son of Domhangart.

The flight before the son of Maelchon.

The battle of Cul-Dreimhne.[x]

A.D. 560. [——] The battle of Cul-Dreimhne[x] won from Diarmait son of Cearbhall: Fergus and Domhnall the two sons of Mac Erc, and Ainmire son of Setna, and Nainnidh son of Duach, were victors, with Aedh[y] son of Eachach Tirmcarna king of Connacht. Through the prayers of Colum-cille they conquered.

The battle of Cul-uinsenn.[z]

A.D. 561. [——] The battle of Cul-uinsenn,[z] in Tethbha [was gained] against Diarmait son of Cerbhall by Aedh son of Brendan: Diarmait fled.

The battle of Mona-daire.[a]

A.D. 562. [1 *Jan. Mond.* ☽ 21.] The battle

Tighernach expresses the present occurrence more fully; —"The flight of the Albanachs before Bruidi son of Maelchon (560.) Chalmers couples the death of Gauran with this exploit of Brudeus, and concludes that the Dalriadic Scots were worsted on the occasion. (Caledonia, i., pp. 209, 230.) See the note at 583, the year after his death.

[p] *Gabhran.*—Pronounced Gouran. He was fifth king of Dalriada, and founder of the Cinel Gabhrain, who occupied Cantyre. Fordun says that he was treacherously slain at Inverlochyne, after a reign of 34 years, by his nephew Eugenius or Eochadius Hebdir; upon which his wife fled with Eoganan and Aidan to Ireland. (Scotichron. Lib. ii., c. 24, vol. i., p. 128.) Chalmers presumes he was slain by Brudeus. See last note. Ogygia, p. 472. Aidan, who was inaugurated king by S. Columba, was his son.

[q] *Brendin.*—This was the Saint whose mysterious voyage to the west was so much celebrated in ancient times. He was son of Finnlogha, grandson of Alti, the contemporary and friend of S. Columba, in whose life he is mentioned under his sept name of "Brendan Mac-U-Alti." In Tighernach, at 559, he is called Brendan Mac Ua Tellta. He died in 576, where see the note.

[r] *Cluain-Ferta.*—That is, "Meadow of the grave," now Clonfert, a bishop's see and parish in the most westerly part of Galway, near the Shannon. The Annals of Inisfallen, (at 553) place this foundation on the day of the battle of Cooldrevny:—"Diarmait vero fugit, et in quo die Cluainferta Brenainn fundata est, angelo imperante."

[s] *Eathach son of Conlaeth.*—See the note on Eochaidh at 552.

[t] *Bec son of De.*—See the note at 552.

[u] *Bennchar was founded.*—Bangor, in the Ards, or as this is Latinized, *Altitudo Ultorum*. The founding is entered above at 554, but the present date agrees with Tighernach, Ussher, and the best authorities. For notices of Bangor see the Ulster Jour. of Archæol., vol. i., pp. 168, 179; Reeves' Eccles. Aut. pp. 13, 152, 199; Archdall, Monast. p. 106.

[v] *Convention of Teamhair.*—Entered above at 557, but this is the true year, being 560 of Tighernach who says, *Cena postrema Temrach la Diarmait mic Carbuill.* Dermot is recorded to have been the last monarch who kept his regal residence in Tara, and the curse of St. Ruadhan of Lorrha is assigned by the Irish as the cause of its abandonment. Even the northern chroniclers record the desertion of Tara, and ascribe the occurrence to an unrighteous decision of the sovereign. (Kongs-Skuggsio, cited by Johnstone, Antiq. Celt. Scand. p. 289.)

The ancient poetical memoir of St. Patrick called Fiech's Hymn, alludes to the fate of Tara in the line

'*Nim dil cidh ditrubh Temhair.*'

'Not agreeable that Tara should be deserted.'

[w] *Death of Gabhran.*—On this and the following entry see the note at 557.

[x] *Battle of Cul-Dreimhne.*—The ostensible cause of this battle was Dermot's execution of Curnan son to the King of Connaught, who was forced from St. Columba's protection whither he had fled, and the desire on the part of the Northern Hy-Neill to revenge the insult offered to their kinsman. The real cause was the rivalry of the two great families, and the religious element which was thrown into it. That it was considered an era in the life of St. Columba appears from Adamnan's words, who dates the arrival of St. Columba in Britain as occurring in the "second year after the batttle of Cule Drebene." The parties who are mentioned as leagued in this encounter appeared in conjunction at the battle of Sligo, in 542. The name Cooledrevny is now obsolete, but Colgan states that the place was in the territory of Carbury, near Sligo, on the North.—(Trias Thau. p. 452). It must therefore have been in the neighbourhood of the church of Drumcliff.

[y] *Aedh.*—He was father of Curnan, whose violent death had exasperated S. Columba.

[z] *Cul-Uinsenn.*—'Corner of the ash trees,' now unknown, except that being in Teffia it was probably in Westmeath, to the north of Durrow. The victor in this battle was son of Brenann the king's third cousin, by whom Durrow had been granted to S. Columba for the erection of a monastery.

[a] *Mona-daire-Lothuir.*—This battle between the Dalaradian Picts and the Hy Neill is mentioned by Adamnan, but under the name *Ondemone*, which Colgan, or the transcribers of the Reichenau M.S., took the liberty of changing to *Mona-moire* (i. 7, Tr. Th., p. 314 *b.*) Tigher-

of Mona-daire Lothair[a] [was gained] over the Cruithne by the Hy Neill of the North. Baedan Mac Cinn,[b] with two of the Cruithne, fought against the rest of the Cruithne: the race of Eoghan and Conall, who were hired, received in payment Lee and Ard Eolargg.[c]

Aedan son of Fiachrach dies.

The slaying of Colman Mor,[d] son of Diarmait.

A.D. 563. [1 *Jan. Tues.* ☽ 3.] A great storm occurred.

The death of Laisre of Daimhinis.[f]

Or, in this year Brendan founded the church of Cluain-ferta.[g]

A.D. 564. [1 *Jan. Thur.* ☽ 13.] The assassination of Diarmait son of Cearbhall,[h] by Aedh Dubh,[i] son of Suibhne. He was succeeded by the two sons of Mac Erca, Fergus and Domhnall.[k]

The repose of Brendan of Biorr[l] as some say.

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much says:—"The battle of Mona-daire-Lothair was gained against the Cruithne by the northern Hy-Neill, in which were slain seven princes of the Cruithne, with Aedh Breacc. Baedan son of Cinn, with two of the Cruithne, fought against the Cruithne; and the Cenel Eoghain, hired for pay, received Lee and Ard Eolarg." Some lives of Cennfaela which are cited state that the battle was "because of a partition that was not just," and, after it, that "King Aimmire returned into possession of Setna." Adamnan represents the battle between the Cruthinii under Echodius Laib, and Aimmire son of Setna with Domhnall and Fergus sons of Mac Ere. The cause was probably the debateable territory of the county of Derry, lying between the Bann and Roe; for this tract, under the name of Lee and Carloegh, had been granted in 483 to the King of Dalaradia in consideration of his services to the Hy-Neill at the battle of Ocha. The place of the battle has not been identified, but from the lines of Cennfaeladh

"The battle of all the Cruithne was fought
And Elne was burned"

we may reasonably conjecture that it was between the Bann and the Bush, in the tract now forming the N.E. Liberties of Coleraine.

Among the occurrences of this year omitted by these annals was the removal of S. Columba to Iona, which Tighernach places at 563, and thus notices:—"Navigatio Columbæ Cille ad insulam Ia etatis suæ xlii." And the Annals of Innisfallen at 555, "Columcille in pilgrimage. His first night in Alba fell on Pentecost."

[b] *Baedan mac Cinn.*—Baedan son of Cairill was King of Uladh from 565 to 585.

[c] *Lee and Ard Eolargg.*—Li, sometimes called Fir Li, was that part of the county of Derry lying on the west side of the Bann. It is represented as extending from Camus to the Bior or Moyola river. Ard Eolairg appears from Tirechan's Life of St. Patrick to have lain eastwards of Ailech. O'Donnellus places Carraic Eolairg on the bank of Lough Foyle. The Four Masters call this place Carn Eolairg. It is curious that the equivalent for this name at 483 is Cairloegh, probably the same as Carn-Loeg one of the abodes of Cethern, who gave name to Dun-Ceithern, in the county of Derry. (Book of Leinster, fol. 63, *b. b.*)

[d] *Aedan son of Fiachrach*—Tighernach, at 563, calls him Aedan Ua Fiachrach, but without clue to his history. Colgan makes him a saint, (Ac. SS. p. 192, *b.*), although the word *obiit* indicates that he was a layman.

[e] *Colman Mor.*—See the note at 554.

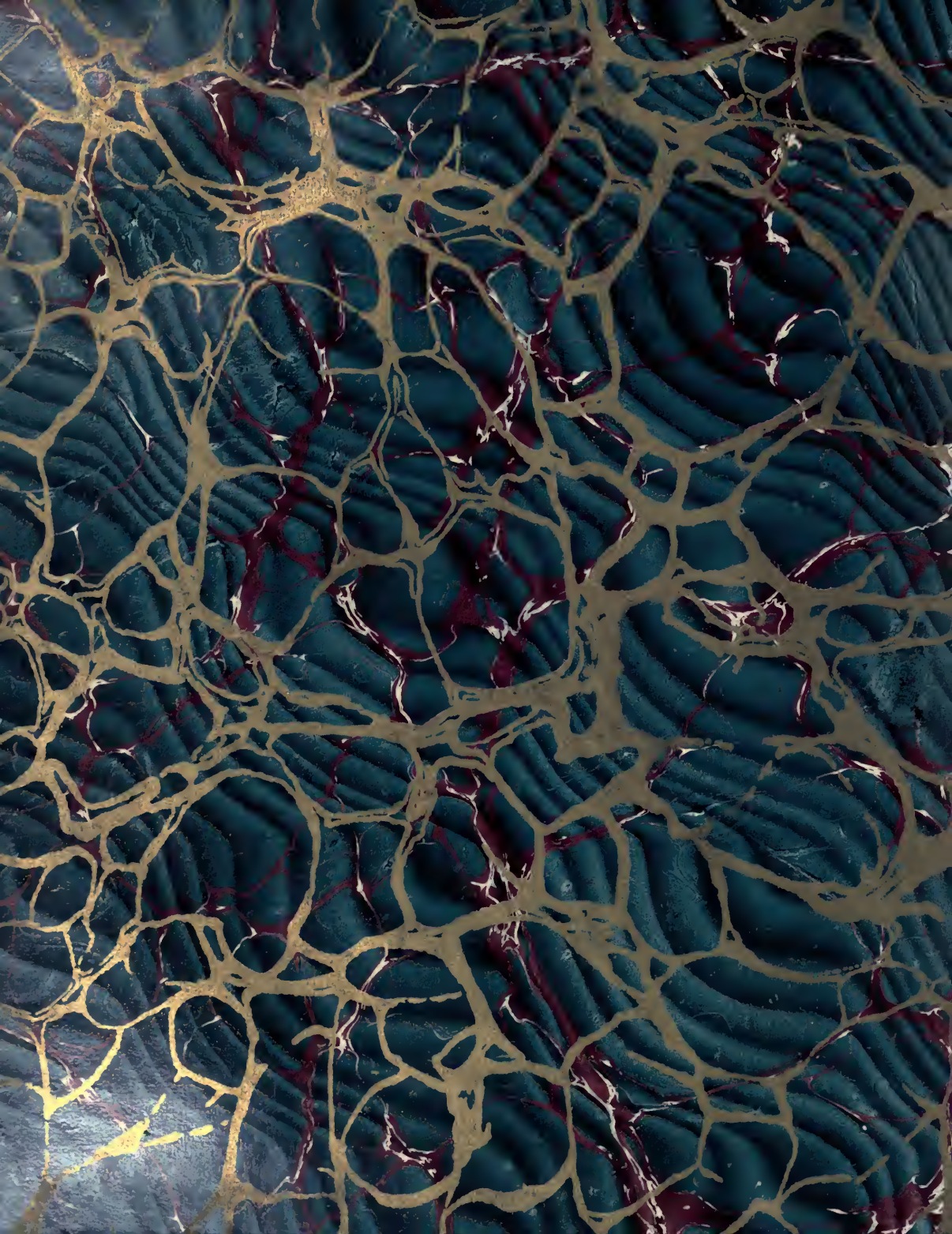
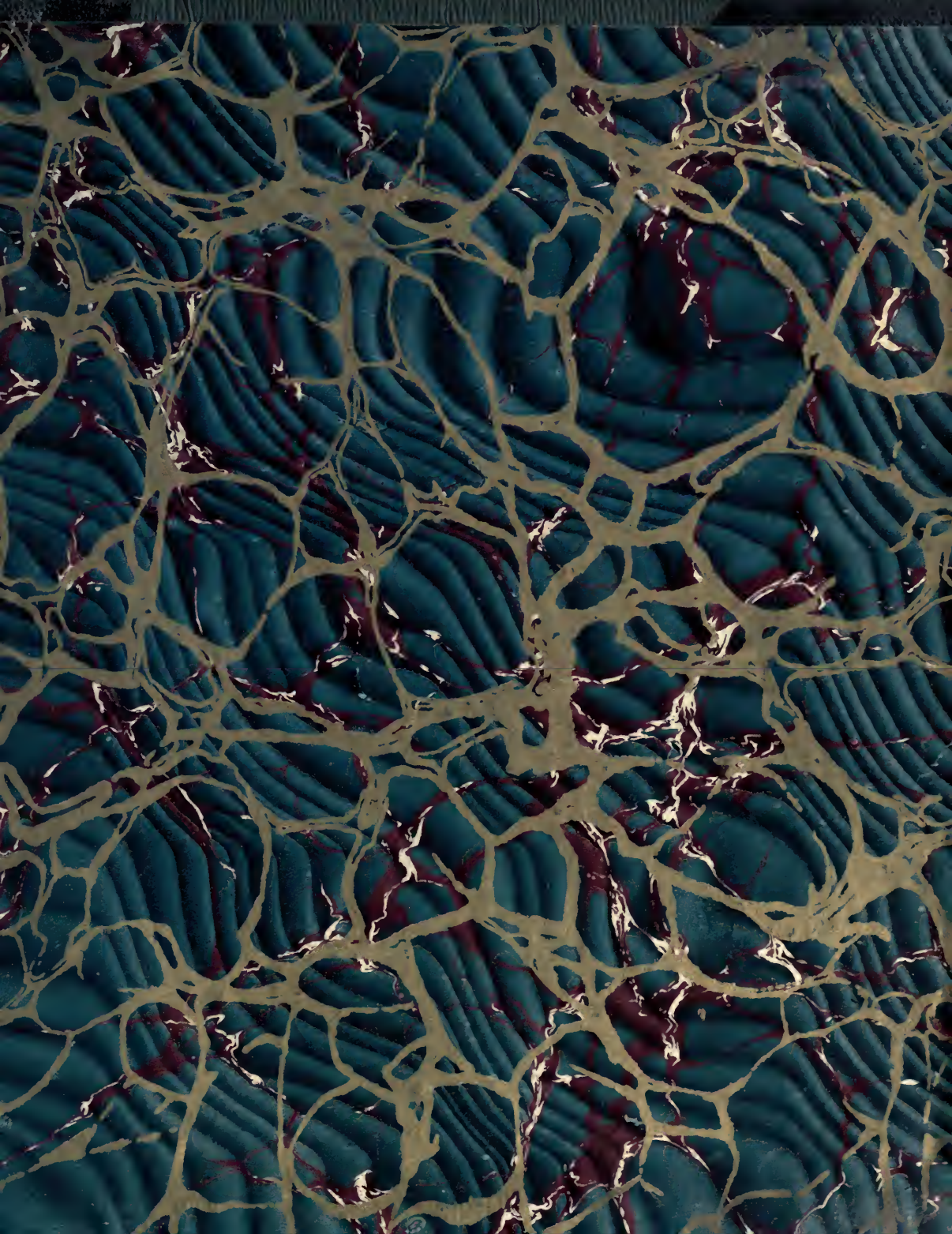
[f] *Laisre of Daimhinis.*—There were three famous saints of this name, who generally appear in Irish hagiology with the prefix *Mo*, in the form *Molaissi;* namely, Molaissi son of Cairill, abbot of Lethglin, whose day is the 18th of April; Molaissi son of Declan, abbot of Inishmurray, 12th August; and Molaissi son of Nadfraich, abbot of Daimhinis, the one in question whose festival is the 12th of September. He was of the race of Irial, son of Conall Cearnaigh, and 7th in descent from Crunn Badhraighe, son of Eochaidh Cobha, son of Fiacha Araidhe, who died in 236. He founded the church of *Daimh inis*, 'Bovium insula,' in Loch Erne, now called Devenish, near Enniskillen, which is remarkable for its beautiful Round Tower. (Petries' Round Towers, pp. 355, 395., Archdall, Monast. p. 259.)

[g] *Cluainferta*—See the note at 557.

[h] *Assassination of Diarmaid.*—According to an ancient life of Diarmait, preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, it appears that the king was making a royal visitation of Ireland, and that when in Dalaradia he went into the house of Banban, at Rath-beg, near Antrim, where he was set upon by Aedh Dubh, and transfixed with a spear. (H. 2, 16 fol., 809.) To which the Annals add that his head was borne for interment to Clonmaenoise, but that his body was buried in Connor. (Reeves' Ec. Ant. p. 279; Cambrensis Eversus, p. 75, or vol. ii., p. 12, Dub. 1850.)

[i] *Aedh Dubh.*—He was king of Dalaradia, whose father Suibhne Araidhe had been put to death by Diarmait, and he had in early life been taken in fosterage by Diarmait. Bec mac De is said to have forewarned the king against Aedh, upon which he was banished into Alba, but returned to perpetrate this deed. Adamnanus, who lived a century after, thus speaks of him:—"Qui scilicet *Aidus Niger* valde sanguinarius homo, et multorum fuerat trucidator, qui et Diermitium filium Cerbuill totius Scotiæ regnatorem, Deo auctore ordinatum interfecerat."—Vita S. Columbæ. i., 36. He afterwards fled to Scotland and took the clerical habit in one of the Columban monasteries. But he returned to Ireland and became King of Uladh in 581, and at last was killed in 587.

[k] *Fergus and Domhnall.*—The sovereignty now passed to members of the northern Hy-Neill and continued in that race for five successions.

[l] *Brendan of Biorr.*—Sometimes called Brendanus senior or 'son of Neman,' to distinguish him from Brendan son of Finnlogha the founder of Clonfert. He was of the Dal-Aulam, or descendants of Corb Aulam, a branch of

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